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<thead>
<tr>
<th>DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE</th>
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<tr>
<td>001a. memo</td>
<td>Don Steinberg to Anthony Lake re: Public Presentation of Foreign Policy (4 pages)</td>
<td>10/27/1993</td>
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<tr>
<td>001b. list</td>
<td>Key Specific Recommendations (1 page)</td>
<td>ca. 10/27/1993</td>
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**COLLECTION:**
- Clinton Presidential Records
- National Security Council
- Press (Philip J. (PJ) Crowley)

**OA/Box Number:** 3104

**FOLDER TITLE:**
- Foreign Policy-General [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]
- 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]
During his first year in office, President Clinton has worked hard to refocus the national government on addressing the problems and needs of all Americans. Attached is a summary of the administration's major accomplishments to date.

- He fought for a tough federal budget that brought lower interest rates and, therefore, made it easier to buy a car or to refinance a home mortgage;

- Proposed and won passage of a tax cut for full-time, low-wage workers - making sure that work is better paid than welfare. That program also created new incentives to help small businesses invest and create jobs;

- Introduced major legislation to make the health care system work better and cost less.

- Reasserted America's leadership in foreign policy by working to expand world trade, jobs and exports and promote democracy, market reform and human rights.

- Maintained strong armed forces, strengthened security ties and extended efforts to halt weapons proliferation, reaffirming our commitment to a robust national defense.

- Fought for passage of a crime bill that will eventually put 100,000 more police on the street;

- The first year of any presidency is marked by more than legislation. The President also addressed some of the moral challenges gripping America today: the problems of violent crime, the breakdown of the family, and the disappearance of spirituality from modern life. As the President said in his New Year's Day Radio Address this year, "For too long, we've been coming apart instead of coming together. In 1993, we began to reverse that, and I'm grateful."

A more detailed accounting of the first year successes of the Clinton administration follows.
THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION
FIRST-YEAR ACCOMPLISHMENTS

"Our democracy must be not only the envy of the world but the engine of our own renewal. There is nothing wrong with America that cannot be cured by what is right with America." (Inaugural Address)

SUMMARY

"Profound and powerful forces are shaking and remaking our world, and the urgent question of our age is whether we can make change our friend and not our enemy. ... We know we have to face hard truths and take strong steps." (Inaugural Address)

From day one, President Clinton and Vice President Gore have broken the gridlock that paralyzed Washington for years. Working effectively with Congress, they have laid a solid foundation for economic recovery and made a strong start on achieving the President's key priorities.

The President and Congress had a remarkable year. Congressional Quarterly found that legislation on which the President took a stand passed 88.6 percent of the time, the highest first-year success rate since President Eisenhower in 1953. Another found that the President won tough votes at an even higher rate -- over 90 percent, better than the record of President Johnson in 1965. Bipartisan support was crucial to the passage of key legislation such as National Service, NAFTA, the Family and Medical Leave Act and flood relief. For only the second time in 60 years, there has been no Presidential veto. Below are some highlights:

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"We have to ask everyone to contribute something to get the job done. But we're going to ask the most from those who got the most and gave the least during the past dozen years, those at the top of ladder. And we're going to do everything we can to protect people who are suffering the most from declining incomes and vanishing jobs, the middle class and the working poor." (First Radio Address)

MORE JOBS

Jobs are being created at the fastest rate in 4 years. In the first year of the Clinton Administration, more than 1.6 million new private sector jobs have been created -- over half a million more than during the previous four years.

- Unemployment dropped to 6.4 percent in December, 1993 -- a three-year low.
- In the first year of the Clinton administration, the economy has generated 164,000 new payroll jobs per month -- four times the average pace over the previous four years.

HISTORIC DEFICIT REDUCTION

- Passed the largest deficit-cutting plan in history -- more than $500 billion over five years.
- The deficit reduction package included $255 billion in specific spending cuts and an unprecedented "hard freeze" -- a 12 % real reduction -- on all discretionary spending.

LOWER INTEREST RATES

American consumers are benefitting from low interest and mortgage rates that make it easier to buy a home and reduce the burden on those who already pay their mortgages.

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- As a result of these low rates, more than 5.4 million Americans have refinanced their homes in 1993 for a savings of $10 billion just this year. A homeowner with a $100,000 mortgage who refinances and saves 2 percentage points will save $1,700 per year.
- Housing starts climbed from 1.17 million last January to 1.43 million in November -- the highest level in over 3 years. Construction spending is up 10% over previous years and existing home sales are the highest in 14 years.
- As a result of the low rates, business investment is surging. Over the past year, spending for producers' durable equipment has expanded at the fastest pace since 1984.

EXPANDING MARKETS FOR U.S. EXPORTS

- Concluded the North American Free Trade Agreement and signed implementing legislation, ensuring that Americans will take a leadership role in the expanding global economy and opening markets that will create jobs.
Negotiated a successful GATT that will lower trade barriers among over 170 nations, save American consumers billions of dollars, and create hundreds of thousands of jobs.

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Advanced the United States trade agenda in Asia by convening the first-ever summit of Asian-Pacific leaders (APEC) and agreeing with Japan on a framework for trade talks. Promoted G-7 growth policies at Tokyo summit.

HELPING SMALL BUSINESS

Made new tax cuts available to over 90% of small businesses. Increased expensing of investment and provided a new targeted capital gains cut for long-term investments in small businesses -- incentives that will create hundreds of thousands of jobs in the next five years.

Signed the Small Business Guaranteed Credit Enhancement Act of 1993, increasing the availability of SBA-guaranteed loans.

Initiated aggressive action to alleviate the credit crunch on small and medium-sized businesses through regulatory initiatives to reduce burdens on banks.

A GROWTH-ORIENTED HIGH-TECH POLICY

Developed a National Export Strategy, eliminating export controls on $37 billion worth of American high-tech products that support high-wage American jobs.

Developed an action plan for the National Information Infrastructure and ordered the transfer of 200 MHz of spectrum to the private sector to jump-start new wireless technologies.

Shifted federal R&D priorities heavily toward civilian technology.

Provided incentives for private-sector research and development and new business formation by extending the R&D tax credit.

HELPING COMMUNITIES

Created nine Economic Empowerment Zones and 95 Enterprise Communities. The plan gives local communities the incentives and regulatory flexibility to work with the private sector in developing comprehensive economic development strategies.

Transmitted to Congress the Community Development Banking and Financial Institutions Act of 1993, which creates a $382 million federal fund to subsidize the development of community development banks and institutions.

Introduced the Housing and Community Development Act of 1993, revamping rent policy for public housing tenants and making home ownership easier for low-income Americans.

Instituted the Defense Reinvestment and Conversion Initiative, which implemented $1.7 billion in specific defense conversion programs for 1993. The package includes funding for worker training and adjustment, investments in hard-hit communities, and the Technology Reinvestment Project to help small defense firms make the transition to commercial markets.
SAFER STREETS

"We must pass a tough crime bill. I support an initiative to put 100,000 more police officers on the street -- to provide boot camps for first-time non-violent offenders, and more space for the hardened criminals in jail. And I support an initiative to do what we can to keep guns out of the hands of criminals." (Joint Session Address)

GUNS OFF THE STREET

- President Clinton signed the Brady Bill on November 30, 1993 -- breaking seven years of gridlock. The Brady Bill requires a five-day waiting period for the purchase of handguns.
- Banned imports of foreign assault pistols, such as the Uzi, and called for a ban on all assault weapons. The Senate crime bill includes the toughest assault weapons ban ever passed.
- Tightened federal gun dealer licensing requirements by improving background checks on prospective dealers, requiring dealers to obtain more reliable identification from purchasers and scrutinizing multiple handgun sales reports. Proposed dramatically increasing the federal licensing fee for gun dealers to reduce the 284,000 gun dealers in the U.S. today.
- Pushed for passage of a measure in the Senate crime bill which bans the possession of handguns by minors.

100,000 NEW POLICE OFFICERS

- To make our streets safer, the crime bill passed by Congress adopts the President's plan to put 100,000 more police officers on the streets with heavy emphasis on community policing.
- Signed the Police Hiring Supplement, which awards $200 million to communities for community policing; federal grants were awarded to 74 cities in December.

SAFER SCHOOLS

- Expanded funding for the SAFE Schools Initiative. The President proposed and the Senate passed strong new measures as part of the crime bill to make our nation's schools safer.

STOP DRUGS

- Elevated the Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy to Cabinet rank.
- Signed an Executive Order strengthening the Office of Drug Policy's agency-wide jurisdiction over drug policy, including issues involving national security.
- Included treatment for substance abuse as part of the comprehensive health benefits package in the Health Security Act.

MORE PRISONS AND BOOT CAMPS

- The crime bill will fund the construction of new prisons to make sure that criminals stay behind bars and expand boot camps for young offenders.
HELPING FAMILIES

"...There is a lot more we need to do to help people trapped in welfare move to work and independence; to strengthen child support enforcement; to reward those who work 40 hours a week and have children at home with an increase in the earned income tax credit so we can really say we're rewarding work instead of dependence -- to immunize all the children of this country so more parents won't have to take advantage of family leave because their children will be well, and strong, and healthy." (Family and Medical Leave Act signing)

TAX CUTS FOR WORKING FAMILIES (EITC)

- Expanded the Earned Income Tax Credit by $21 billion over five years to reward work over welfare. This year, 14 million families will receive $13 billion in benefits from the EITC. When fully implemented, more than 20 million households with incomes of $27,000 or less will benefit.

FAMILY AND MEDICAL LEAVE

- Signed the Family and Medical Leave Act, providing up to 12 weeks of unpaid job-protected leave for employees to care for family members. As a result, Americans will not have to face the difficult choice between caring for their families or keeping their jobs.

FAMILY SUPPORT

- Funded the Family Preservation and Support Initiative to help prevent child abuse and help parents learn the skills and tools they need to raise their children.

HEAD START

- Increased funding for Head Start by $550 million, allowing 100,000 additional children to participate in the program.

IMMUNIZATIONS

- Signed a comprehensive Child Immunization Plan to provide vaccines, free of charge, to six million additional American children.

UNEMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE

- Signed the Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act of 1993, extending unemployment benefits for up to 26 weeks for victims of the recession and providing $4 billion in emergency unemployment compensation to approximately 1.9 million unemployed American workers. Quick action on the unemployment benefits bill kept 250,000 to 300,000 unemployed Americans each week from falling through the safety net.

FOOD ASSISTANCE

- Fully funded the special supplemental food program for Women, Infants and Children, increasing average participation by 300,000 families, and enacted key provisions of the Mickey Leland Act, broadening food stamp assistance for poor families with children.
COMPREHENSIVE HEALTH CARE REFORM

"We must make this our most urgent priority, giving every American health security—health care that can never be taken away, health care that is always there....Now, these, my fellow Americans, are the principles on which I think we should base our efforts: Security, simplicity, savings, choice, quality and responsibility." (Health Care Address)

HEALTH SECURITY

- Introduced the Health Security Act of 1993, a comprehensive plan to reform the nation's health care system to guarantee every American comprehensive health benefits that can never be taken away. The solution is a system of guaranteed private insurance. It will guarantee every American health security, simplify our system by reducing paperwork and cracking down on fraud, achieve savings, protect and expand our choices of doctors and health plans, improve the quality of care and ask everyone to take responsibility.

RIGHT TO CHOOSE

- Revoked the Reagan/Bush restrictions on abortion counseling ("the gag rule"), abortions in military hospitals, "Mexico City" policy and RU-486 imports.

IMPROVING MEDICAL RESEARCH

- Signed the National Institutes of Health Revitalization Act, removing the federal ban on fetal-tissue transplants and research, establishing the Offices of Women's Health Research, Minority Health Research and Alternative Medicine, and consolidating the direction and the budget of AIDS research.

AIDS

- Increased Ryan White Act funding for outpatient AIDS care by $231 million to $579 million for Fiscal Year 1994, and proposed a 20% increase in NIH spending for AIDS research.

- Appointed first ever AIDS czar to focus on consolidating federal resources and funds to find a cure and address the issues of AIDS.
EDUCATION AND SERVICE

"Americans of every generation face profound challenges in meeting the needs that have been neglected for too long in this country ... for those who answer the call and meet these challenges, I propose that our country honor your service with new opportunities for education." (Rutgers University Address)

AFFORDABLE EDUCATION

- Signed the Student Loan Reform Act of 1993 making college more affordable to more students and saving taxpayer money through direct federal lending and income contingent loans. Eliminating the "middle man" will reduce the cost of loans saving $3 billion over the next five years and $2 billion each year thereafter.

NATIONAL SERVICE ACT

- Signed into law the National Service Act that will enable 100,000 Americans to serve their communities and our country and earn assistance in paying for higher education. The AmeriCorps participants will directly address the nation's critical needs in areas of education, human service, public safety and the environment.

BETTER SCHOOLS

- Introduced the "Goals 2000: Educate America Act," a comprehensive national education reform program, and the "Improving America's Schools Act."

- Signed an Executive Order on Historically Black Colleges and Universities mobilizing a federal effort to foster the development and success of these institutions and their graduates.

SUMMER JOBS

- Signed the 1993 Summer Youth Employment and Training Program which provided 700,000 disadvantaged young people with a chance to do meaningful community work, gain labor market skills and earn money.

JOB TRAINING

- Introduced the School-to-Work Opportunities Act, providing funding to states and communities to develop and implement training programs and establish national standards for such programs.
RESTORING TRUST IN GOVERNMENT

"The confidence of the people who pay our bills ... in Washington is not high. We must restore it. We must begin again to make government work for ordinary taxpayers, not simply for organized interest groups." (Joint Session Address)

REINVENTING GOVERNMENT

- Conducted the National Performance Review, which includes more than 1200 recommendations to make government work better and cost less. NPR will trim the government's payroll by 252,000 jobs and streamline government operations. It will cut red tape, eliminate obsolete and duplicative regulations and end special privileges.

MOTOR VOTER BILL

- Signed the National Voter Registration Act, making it easier for 70 million unregistered Americans to vote by allowing them to register when they get their driver's licenses.

OPENING THE RECORD ON HUMAN RADIATION EXPERIMENTS

- Opened an investigation into Cold War-era government sponsored radiation experiments.

FEMA REORGANIZATION AND DISASTER RESPONSE

- Turned FEMA into an effective, rapid-response organization for the benefit of victims of nearly 80 declared emergencies, including the Great Flood and the California fires.

REDUCING COSTS TO TAXPAYERS

- Ordered a reduction in federal perks, removing taxpayer subsidies of executive dining rooms, limiting use of government aircraft and restricting uses of government vehicles.

- Signed the Government Performance and Results Act of 1993, requiring agencies to develop strategic plans and performance measures to improve effectiveness and public accountability.

- Reduced the White House staff by 25%.

AN ADMINISTRATION THAT LOOKS LIKE AMERICA

- Appointed the most diverse Cabinet and Administration in history. The Cabinet is 29% African-American and 14% Hispanic; six women occupy cabinet-level posts.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE AND LOBBYING REFORM

- Helped pass sweeping campaign finance reform bills in the House and Senate. Both bills aim to limit campaign spending, cut the influence of PAC's and the use of "soft money."

- Signed an Executive Order imposing the strictest Administration ethics code in history -- forbidding senior appointees from lobbying for up to five years after leaving government.

- Eliminated the tax deduction for lobbying expenses.
PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT

"For too long we have been told that we have to choose between the economy and the environment; between our obligations to our own people and our responsibilities to the future and to the rest of the world; .... America can maintain our lead in the world economy by taking the lead to preserve the world environment." (Earth Day Address)

CLIMATE CHANGE ACTION PLAN

- Introduced an innovative and comprehensive Climate Change Action Plan that saves government and industry money, spurs economic growth, creates jobs, and addresses one of the most threatening environmental problems today: global warming.

FOREST MANAGEMENT PLAN

- Developed a Forest Management Plan that finally broke the impasse on forest issues in the Pacific Northwest. Today federal agencies are working with those who live and work in the region to implement the plan and restore the region's economic and environmental health.

WETLANDS

- Introduced a wetlands plan to protect these prolific ecosystems, which filter and cleanse water, and provide a buffer against flooding. The Administration's package reflects the vital need for effective protection and restoration of the nation's wetlands, and advocates much needed reforms to increase the fairness and flexibility of federal regulatory programs.

CREATING MARKETS FOR "GREEN" GOODS

- Signed executive orders -- to lead by example and use government purchasing power to stimulate markets for environmental products while saving taxpayers money. Executive orders cover the following:
  - Recycled paper and environmentally preferable goods for federal purchases;
  - Alternative-fuel vehicles for federal fleets;
  - Energy-efficient computers for all government uses;
  - Accelerated government phase-out of ozone-depleting chemicals;
  - Pollution Prevention -- federal facilities to cut toxic emissions 50% and report them under "Right to Know" laws.

BIODIVERSITY

- The President signed the Biodiversity Convention -- reversing the previous Administration's stance. The Administration engaged industry and the environmental community to resolve their concerns, and the United States signed the treaty in June.
RE-AFFIRMING AMERICA’S GLOBAL LEADERSHIP

"With the Cold War over, many people ask whether the United States plans to retreat or remain active in the world; and if active, to what end...We cannot solve every problem, but we must and will serve as a fulcrum for change and a pivot point for peace." (United Nations General Assembly Address)

PROMOTING DEMOCRACY, MARKET REFORM AND HUMAN RIGHTS

- Led international support for democracy and market reform in Russia and other former Soviet states through bilateral/multilateral aid and firm support for reformers. Created Gore-Chernomyrdin Commission to cooperate in space, energy, defense conversion and other areas. Secured repeal of many outdated Cold War laws.

- Restored U.S. consensus on China policy for the first time since Tiananmen Square, setting the basis for dialogue to secure improved Chinese behavior on human rights, non-proliferation and trade.

- Supported South Africa's transition from apartheid to democracy, including non-racial elections in April 1994, through diplomacy, aid and lifting of sanctions.

- Promoted efforts to restore democracy and return President Aristide to Haiti through helping to negotiate the Governor's Island process; adopted tough international sanctions when the military in Haiti reneged on its commitments.

- Proposed summit meeting of democratic leaders from this hemisphere for 1994.

MIDDLE EAST PEACE

- Reinvigorated the Middle East peace process, leading to historic White House signing between Israel and the PLO. Enlisted international support for process, including $2 billion pledged at the Washington Conference.

COMMITMENT TO A STRONG NATIONAL DEFENSE

- Completed the "Bottom Up Review," the first comprehensive strategic review of defense needs for the post-Cold War world. The process provides a road-map to maintaining strong national security while identifying substantial defense savings.

- Initiated the first review of nuclear posture since the end of the Cold War, including policy doctrine, force structure, operations and safety.

STRENGTHENING SECURITY TIES

- Called for a NATO Summit in January 1994. At that summit, proposed and won approval by NATO and the East European nations of a "Partnership for Peace" to adapt the alliance to our new European security requirements by offering former Soviet republics and Central/East European nations closer ties to NATO.

- Reaffirmed our commitment in East Asia and laid out a vision of future Asian security during visit to Tokyo, Seoul and DMZ.
EFFORTS TO STOP WEAPONS PROLIFERATION

Through intense diplomatic efforts, convinced Belarus and Kazakhstan to accede to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and become non-nuclear weapon states. With Ukraine and Russia, reached agreement on a comprehensive tri-lateral deal to rid Ukraine of more than 1800 warheads and 176 ICBM's today aimed at the United States.

Adopted a comprehensive non-proliferation and export control policy, and acted firmly to combat the spread of weapons of mass destruction by North Korea, Iran, Iraq, China and others. Announced counter proliferation initiative to combat emerging missile, nuclear, biological and chemical weapons threats.

Suspended nuclear testing and began work with other governments to achieve a Comprehensive Test Ban treaty by 1996. Obtained Senate approval for Open Skies Treaty and sent to Senate the Chemical Weapons Convention, which would ban an entire class of weapons of mass destruction.

COMBATTING TERRORISM

Attacked Iraqi intelligence headquarters in response to Iraqi sponsored plot to assassinate President Bush; imposed new US/UN sanctions on Libya to press for those implicated in Pan Am 103 bombing to be brought to justice; adopted policy of "double containment" of Iran and Iraq.

RELIEVING HUMAN SUFFERING

Provided relief to Bosnia through longest humanitarian airlift in our history; promoted peace talks, enforced the "no-fly zone" and sanctions against Serbia, and secured NATO's firm commitment to air strikes if needed to ensure relief and prevent Sarajevo's strangulation.

Resisted calls for precipitous pull-out from Somalia, allowing Somalia the opportunity to prevent a return to the chaos which caused 350,000 deaths before our entry. Attacks on US/UN forces have declined and a commission of inquiry has been established to determine responsibility for attacks on U.N. forces.

STREAMLINING AND REFORM OF AID

Proposed the most comprehensive restructuring of foreign aid since the Kennedy Administration, leaving behind outdated Cold War outlook and promoting economic growth, democracy, peace, sustainable development and humanitarian relief. Committed to maintaining assistance at current levels to Israel and Egypt.

TOUGH STAND ON ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION

Adopted new policies to combat illegal immigration through cooperation with foreign governments and new enforcement, while facilitating legal immigration.

POW/MIA'S

Aggressively pursued the fullest possible accounting of our POW/MIA's with Vietnam, including return of remains, release of documents, and cooperation on discrepancy cases, and with Laos. Sent two Presidential missions to Vietnam to pursue this matter.
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o Developed an action plan for the National Information Infrastructure and ordered the transfer of 200 MHz of spectrum to the private sector to jump-start new wireless technologies.

o Shifted federal R&D priorities heavily toward civilian technology.

o Provided incentives for private-sector research and development and new business formation by extending the R&D tax credit.

HELPING COMMUNITIES

o Created nine Economic Empowerment Zones and 95 Enterprise Communities. The plan gives local communities the incentives and regulatory flexibility to work with the private sector in developing comprehensive economic development strategies.

o Transmitted to Congress the Community Development Banking and Financial Institutions Act of 1993, which creates a $382 million federal fund to subsidize the development of community development banks and institutions.

o Introduced the Housing and Community Development Act of 1993, revamping rent policy for public housing tenants and making home ownership easier for low-income Americans.

o Instituted the Defense Reinvestment and Conversion Initiative, which implemented $1.7 billion in specific defense conversion programs for 1993. The package includes funding for worker training and adjustment, investments in hard-hit communities, and the Technology Reinvestment Project to help small defense firms make the transition to commercial markets.
SAFER STREETS

"We must pass a tough crime bill. I support an initiative to put 100,000 more police officers on the street -- to provide boot camps for first-time non-violent offenders, and more space for the hardened criminals in jail. And I support an initiative to do what we can to keep guns out of the hands of criminals." (Joint Session Address)

GUNS OFF THE STREET

- President Clinton signed the Brady Bill on November 30, 1993 -- breaking seven years of gridlock. The Brady Bill requires a five-day waiting period for the purchase of handguns.
- Banned imports of foreign assault pistols, such as the Uzi, and called for a ban on all assault weapons. The Senate crime bill includes the toughest assault weapons ban ever passed.
- Tightened federal gun dealer licensing requirements by improving background checks on prospective dealers, requiring dealers to obtain more reliable identification from purchasers and scrutinizing multiple handgun sales reports. Proposed dramatically increasing the federal licensing fee for gun dealers to reduce the 284,000 gun dealers in the U.S. today.
- Pushed for passage of a measure in the Senate crime bill which bans the possession of handguns by minors.

100,000 NEW POLICE OFFICERS

- To make our streets safer, the crime bill passed by Congress adopts the President's plan to put 100,000 more police officers on the streets with heavy emphasis on community policing.
- Signed the Police Hiring Supplement, which awards $200 million to communities for community policing; federal grants were awarded to 74 cities in December.

SAFER SCHOOLS

- Expanded funding for the SAFE Schools Initiative. The President proposed and the Senate passed strong new measures as part of the crime bill to make our nation's schools safer.

STOP DRUGS

- Elevated the Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy to Cabinet rank.
- Signed an Executive Order strengthening the Office of Drug Policy's agency-wide jurisdiction over drug policy, including issues involving national security.
- Included treatment for substance abuse as part of the comprehensive health benefits package in the Health Security Act.

MORE PRISONS AND BOOT CAMPS

- The crime bill will fund the construction of new prisons to make sure that criminals stay behind bars and expand boot camps for young offenders.
HELPING FAMILIES

"...There is a lot more we need to do to help people trapped in welfare move to work and independence; to strengthen child support enforcement; to reward those who work 40 hours a week and have children at home with an increase in the earned income tax credit so we can really say we're rewarding work instead of dependence -- to immunize all the children of this country so more parents won't have to take advantage of family leave because their children will be well, and strong, and healthy." (Family and Medical Leave Act signing)

TAX CUTS FOR WORKING FAMILIES (EITC)

- Expanded the Earned Income Tax Credit by $21 billion over five years to reward work over welfare. This year, 14 million families will receive $13 billion in benefits from the EITC. When fully implemented, more than 20 million households with incomes of $27,000 or less will benefit.

FAMILY AND MEDICAL LEAVE

- Signed the Family and Medical Leave Act, providing up to 12 weeks of unpaid job-protected leave for employees to care for family members. As a result, Americans will not have to face the difficult choice between caring for their families or keeping their jobs.

FAMILY SUPPORT

- Funded the Family Preservation and Support Initiative to help prevent child abuse and help parents learn the skills and tools they need to raise their children.

HEAD START

- Increased funding for Head Start by $550 million, allowing 100,000 additional children to participate in the program.

IMMUNIZATIONS

- Signed a comprehensive Child Immunization Plan to provide vaccines, free of charge, to six million additional American children.

UNEMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE

- Signed the Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act of 1993, extending unemployment benefits for up to 26 weeks for victims of the recession and providing $4 billion in emergency unemployment compensation to approximately 1.9 million unemployed American workers. Quick action on the unemployment benefits bill kept 250,000 to 300,000 unemployed Americans each week from falling through the safety net.

FOOD ASSISTANCE

- Fully funded the special supplemental food program for Women, Infants and Children, increasing average participation by 300,000 families, and enacted key provisions of the Mickey Leland Act, broadening food stamp assistance for poor families with children.
COMPREHENSIVE HEALTH CARE REFORM

"We must make this our most urgent priority, giving every American health security—health care that can never be taken away, health care that is always there...Now, these, my fellow Americans, are the principles on which I think we should base our efforts: Security, simplicity, savings, choice, quality and responsibility." (Health Care Address)

HEALTH SECURITY

- Introduced the Health Security Act of 1993, a comprehensive plan to reform the nation's health care system to guarantee every American comprehensive health benefits that can never be taken away. The solution is a system of guaranteed private insurance. It will guarantee every American health security, simplify our system by reducing paperwork and cracking down on fraud, achieve savings, protect and expand our choices of doctors and health plans, improve the quality of care and ask everyone to take responsibility.

RIGHT TO CHOOSE

- Revoked the Reagan/Bush restrictions on abortion counseling ("the gag rule"), abortions in military hospitals, "Mexico City" policy and RU-486 imports.

IMPROVING MEDICAL RESEARCH

- Signed the National Institutes of Health Revitalization Act, removing the federal ban on fetal-tissue transplants and research, establishing the Offices of Women's Health Research, Minority Health Research and Alternative Medicine, and consolidating the direction and the budget of AIDS research.

AIDS

- Increased Ryan White Act funding for outpatient AIDS care by $231 million to $579 million for Fiscal Year 1994, and proposed a 20% increase in NIH spending for AIDS research.

- Appointed first ever AIDS czar to focus on consolidating federal resources and funds to find a cure and address the issues of AIDS.
EDUCATION AND SERVICE

"Americans of every generation face profound challenges in meeting the needs that have been neglected for too long in this country ... for those who answer the call and meet these challenges, I propose that our country honor your service with new opportunities for education." (Rutgers University Address)

AFFORDABLE EDUCATION

- Signed the Student Loan Reform Act of 1993 making college more affordable to more students and saving taxpayer money through direct federal lending and income contingent loans. Eliminating the "middle man" will reduce the cost of loans saving $3 billion over the next five years and $2 billion each year thereafter.

NATIONAL SERVICE ACT

- Signed into law the National Service Act that will enable 100,000 Americans to serve their communities and our country and earn assistance in paying for higher education. The AmeriCorps participants will directly address the nation's critical needs in areas of education, human service, public safety and the environment.

BETTER SCHOOLS

- Introduced the "Goals 2000: Educate America Act," a comprehensive national education reform program, and the "Improving America's Schools Act."

- Signed an Executive Order on Historically Black Colleges and Universities mobilizing a federal effort to foster the development and success of these institutions and their graduates.

SUMMER JOBS

- Signed the 1993 Summer Youth Employment and Training Program which provided 700,000 disadvantaged young people with a chance to do meaningful community work, gain labor market skills and earn money.

JOB TRAINING

- Introduced the School-to-Work Opportunities Act, providing funding to states and communities to develop and implement training programs and establish national standards for such programs.
RESTORING TRUST IN GOVERNMENT

"The confidence of the people who pay our bills ... in Washington is not high. We must restore it. We must begin again to make government work for ordinary taxpayers, not simply for organized interest groups." (Joint Session Address)

REINVENTING GOVERNMENT

- Conducted the National Performance Review, which includes more than 1200 recommendations to make government work better and cost less. NPR will trim the government's payroll by 252,000 jobs and streamline government operations. It will cut red tape, eliminate obsolete and duplicative regulations and end special privileges.

MOTOR VOTER BILL

- Signed the National Voter Registration Act, making it easier for 70 million unregistered Americans to vote by allowing them to register when they get their driver's licenses.

OPENING THE RECORD ON HUMAN RADIATION EXPERIMENTS

- Opened an investigation into Cold War-era government sponsored radiation experiments.

FEMA REORGANIZATION AND DISASTER RESPONSE

- Turned FEMA into an effective, rapid-response organization for the benefit of victims of nearly 80 declared emergencies, including the Great Flood and the California fires.

REDUCING COSTS TO TAXPAYERS

- Ordered a reduction in federal perks, removing taxpayer subsidies of executive dining rooms, limiting use of government aircraft and restricting uses of government vehicles.
- Signed the Government Performance and Results Act of 1993, requiring agencies to develop strategic plans and performance measures to improve effectiveness and public accountability.
- Reduced the White House staff by 25%.

AN ADMINISTRATION THAT LOOKS LIKE AMERICA

- Appointed the most diverse Cabinet and Administration in history. The Cabinet is 29% African-American and 14% Hispanic; six women occupy cabinet-level posts.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE AND LOBBYING REFORM

- Helped pass sweeping campaign finance reform bills in the House and Senate. Both bills aim to limit campaign spending, cut the influence of PAC's and the use of "soft money."
- Signed an Executive Order imposing the strictest Administration ethics code in history -- forbidding senior appointees from lobbying for up to five years after leaving government.
- Eliminated the tax deduction for lobbying expenses.
PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT

"For too long we have been told that we have to choose between the economy and the environment; between our obligations to our own people and our responsibilities to the future and to the rest of the world; .... America can maintain our lead in the world economy by taking the lead to preserve the world environment." (Earth Day Address)

CLIMATE CHANGE ACTION PLAN

- Introduced an innovative and comprehensive Climate Change Action Plan that saves government and industry money, spurs economic growth, creates jobs, and addresses one of the most threatening environmental problems today: global warming.

FOREST MANAGEMENT PLAN

- Developed a Forest Management Plan that finally broke the impasse on forest issues in the Pacific Northwest. Today federal agencies are working with those who live and work in the region to implement the plan and restore the region's economic and environmental health.

WETLANDS

- Introduced a wetlands plan to protect these prolific ecosystems, which filter and cleanse water, and provide a buffer against flooding. The Administration's package reflects the vital need for effective protection and restoration of the nation's wetlands, and advocates much needed reforms to increase the fairness and flexibility of federal regulatory programs.

CREATING MARKETS FOR "GREEN" GOODS

- Signed executive orders -- to lead by example and use government purchasing power to stimulate markets for environmental products while saving taxpayers money. Executive orders cover the following:
  - Recycled paper and environmentally preferable goods for federal purchases;
  - Alternative-fuel vehicles for federal fleets;
  - Energy-efficient computers for all government uses;
  - Accelerated government phase-out of ozone-depleting chemicals;
  - Pollution Prevention -- federal facilities to cut toxic emissions 50% and report them under "Right to Know" laws.

BIODIVERSITY

- The President signed the Biodiversity Convention -- reversing the previous Administration's stance. The Administration engaged industry and the environmental community to resolve their concerns, and the United States signed the treaty in June.
RE-AFFIRMING AMERICA'S GLOBAL LEADERSHIP

"With the Cold War over, many people ask whether the United States plans to retreat or remain active in the world; and if active, to what end...We cannot solve every problem, but we must and will serve as a fulcrum for change and a pivot point for peace." (United Nations General Assembly Address)

PROMOTING DEMOCRACY, MARKET REFORM AND HUMAN RIGHTS

- Led international support for democracy and market reform in Russia and other former Soviet states through bilateral/multilateral aid and firm support for reformers. Created Gore-Chernomyrdin Commission to cooperate in space, energy, defense conversion and other areas. Secured repeal of many outdated Cold War laws.

- Restored U.S. consensus on China policy for the first time since Tiananmen Square, setting the basis for dialogue to secure improved Chinese behavior on human rights, non-proliferation and trade.

- Supported South Africa's transition from apartheid to democracy, including non-racial elections in April 1994, through diplomacy, aid and lifting of sanctions.

- Promoted efforts to restore democracy and return President Aristide to Haiti through helping to negotiate the Governor's Island process; adopted tough international sanctions when the military in Haiti reneged on its commitments.

- Proposed summit meeting of democratic leaders from this hemisphere for 1994.

MIDDLE EAST PEACE

- Reinvigorated the Middle East peace process, leading to historic White House signing between Israel and the PLO. Enlisted international support for process, including $2 billion pledged at the Washington Conference.

COMMITMENT TO A STRONG NATIONAL DEFENSE

- Completed the "Bottom Up Review," the first comprehensive strategic review of defense needs for the post-Cold War world. The process provides a road-map to maintaining strong national security while identifying substantial defense savings.

- Initiated the first review of nuclear posture since the end of the Cold War, including policy doctrine, force structure, operations and safety.

STRENGTHENING SECURITY TIES

- Called for a NATO Summit in January 1994. At that summit, proposed and won approval by NATO and the East European nations of a "Partnership for Peace" to adapt the alliance to our new European security requirements by offering former Soviet republics and Central/East European nations closer ties to NATO.

- Reaffirmed our commitment in East Asia and laid out a vision of future Asian security during visit to Tokvo, Seoul and DMZ.
EFFORTS TO STOP WEAPONS PROLIFERATION

- Through intense diplomatic efforts, convinced Belarus and Kazakhstan to accede to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and become non-nuclear weapon states. With Ukraine and Russia, reached agreement on a comprehensive tri-lateral deal to rid Ukraine of more than 1800 warheads and 176 ICBM's today aimed at the United States.

- Adopted a comprehensive non-proliferation and export control policy, and acted firmly to combat the spread of weapons of mass destruction by North Korea, Iran, Iraq, China and others. Announced counter proliferation initiative to combat emerging missile, nuclear, biological and chemical weapons threats.

- Suspended nuclear testing and began work with other governments to achieve a Comprehensive Test Ban treaty by 1996. Obtained Senate approval for Open Skies Treaty and sent to Senate the Chemical Weapons Convention, which would ban an entire class of weapons of mass destruction.

COMBATTING TERRORISM

- Attacked Iraqi intelligence headquarters in response to Iraqi sponsored plot to assassinate President Bush; imposed new US/UN sanctions on Libya to press for those implicated in Pan Am 103 bombing to be brought to justice; adopted policy of "double containment" of Iran and Iraq.

RELIEVING HUMAN SUFFERING

- Provided relief to Bosnia through longest humanitarian airlift in our history; promoted peace talks, enforced the "no-fly zone" and sanctions against Serbia, and secured NATO's firm commitment to air strikes if needed to ensure relief and prevent Sarajevo's strangulation.

- Resisted calls for precipitous pull-out from Somalia, allowing Somalia the opportunity to prevent a return to the chaos which caused 350,000 deaths before our entry. Attacks on US/UN forces have declined and a commission of inquiry has been established to determine responsibility for attacks on U.N. forces.

STREAMLINING AND REFORM OF AID

- Proposed the most comprehensive restructuring of foreign aid since the Kennedy Administration, leaving behind outdated Cold War outlook and promoting economic growth, democracy, peace, sustainable development and humanitarian relief. Committed to maintaining assistance at current levels to Israel and Egypt.

TOUGH STAND ON ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION

- Adopted new policies to combat illegal immigration through cooperation with foreign governments and new enforcement, while facilitating legal immigration.

POW/MIA'S

- Aggressively pursued the fullest possible accounting of our POW/MIA's with Vietnam, including return of remains, release of documents, and cooperation on discrepancy cases, and with Laos. Sent two Presidential missions to Vietnam to pursue this matter.
FOREIGN POLICY: RE-AFFIRMING AMERICA'S LEADERSHIP

"The United States occupies a unique position in world affairs today. Yet with the Cold War over, many people ask whether the United States plans to retreat or remain active in the world; and if active, to what end. Let me answer that question as clearly and plainly as I can. The United States intends to remain engaged and to lead. We cannot solve every problem, but we must and will serve as a fulcrum for change and a pivot point for peace." (United Nations General Assembly, September 27, 1993)

EXPANDING WORLD TRADE, JOBS AND EXPORTS

- Served interests of American workers and businesses by making economic issues a foreign policy priority; passed the North American Free Trade Agreement, co-ordinated G-7 growth policies at Tokyo Summit, agreed with Japan on framework for trade talks, convened first-ever Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation leaders meeting and made efforts to reach a successful GATT agreement.

PROMOTING DEMOCRACY, MARKET REFORM, AND HUMAN RIGHTS

- Led support for democracy and market reform in Russia and other former Soviet states through bilateral/multilateral aid and firm support for reformers. Created Gore-Chernomyrdin Commission to cooperate in space, energy, defense conversion and other areas. Secured repeal of many outdated Cold War laws.

- Restored U.S. consensus on China policy for the first time since Tiananmen Square, setting the basis for dialogue to secure improved Chinese behavior on human rights, non-proliferation and trade

- Supported South Africa's transition from apartheid to democracy, including non-racial elections in April 1994, through diplomacy, aid and lifting of sanctions.

- Promoted efforts to restore democracy and President Aristide to Haiti through helping to negotiate the Governor's Island agreement; adopted tough international sanctions when the military in Haiti reneged on its commitments.

- Proposed summit meeting of democratic leaders from this hemisphere for 1994.

- Introduced reorganization of international broadcasting, continuing support for Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty and creation of new Asian Democracy Radio service, while achieving substantial budgetary savings.

- Led efforts to resist the "auto-coup" in Guatemala, resulting in the safeguarding of democracy and the naming of human rights activist de Leon as President.


- Achieved increase in funding for National Endowment for Democracy to support essential efforts to promote democracy and human rights worldwide.
MIDDLE EAST PEACE

- Reinvigorated Middle East peace process, leading to historic White House signing between Israel and the PLO. Enlisted international support for process, including $2 billion pledged at the Washington Conference.

RELIEVING HUMAN SUFFERING

- Provided relief to Bosnia through longest humanitarian airlift in our history; promoted peace talks, enforced the "no-fly zone" and sanctions against Serbia, and secured NATO's commitment to airstrikes if needed to ensure relief flows and prevent Sarajevo's strangulation.

- Resisted calls for precipitous pull-out from Somalia, allowing Somalia the opportunity to prevent a return to the chaos which caused 350,000 deaths before our entry. Attacks on US/UN forces have declined and a commission of inquiry has been established to hold accountable those responsible for attacks on U.N. forces. Praised the Army Rangers heroic actions in this humanitarian effort.

COMBATTING TERRORISM

- Attacked Iraqi intelligence headquarters in response to Iraqi sponsored plot to assassinate President Bush; imposed new US/UN sanctions on Libya to press for those implicated in Pan Am 103 bombing to be brought to justice; adopted policy of "double containment" of Iran and Iraq.

TOUGH STAND ON ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION

- Adopted new policies to combat illegal immigration through cooperation with foreign governments and new enforcement, while facilitating legal immigration.

ENHANCED ANTI-DRUG EFFORTS

- Devised policies to more effectively combat international drug trafficking, moving away from interdiction strategy to a more balanced approach targeting drug cartels and cooperating with democratic governments in the hemisphere.

STREAMLINING AND REFORM OF AID

- Proposed the most comprehensive restructuring of foreign aid since the Kennedy Administration, leaving behind Cold War baggage and promoting economic growth, democracy, peace, sustainable development and humanitarian relief. Committed to maintain assistance at current levels to Israel and Egypt.

PROTECTING THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT

- Signed the Biodiversity Convention and sent it to the Senate for ratification; prepared a national action plan on global climate change; agreed to meet the goals of sustainable forest management by the year 2000; proposed new structure for the Global Environmental Facility, which funds effort by developing countries on global climate, biodiversity and oceans issues, to make it more environmentally responsive and democratic; negotiated replenishment of multilateral fund for ozone protection.
COMMITMENT TO A STRONG NATIONAL DEFENSE

"The changes of recent years allow us to be hopeful. But common sense reminds us to be prepared. One way we must be prepared is by ensuring that our Forces have what they need to get the job done, the equipment and the quality people needed to ensure that we can achieve decisive victory should we be called to battle once again." (West Point, May 29, 1993)

ENSURING STRONG ARMED FORCES

- Completed the "Bottom Up Review," the first comprehensive strategic review of defense needs for the post-Cold War world. The process provides a road-map to maintaining strong national security while identifying substantial defense savings.

- Ensured adequate funding for national security by resisting precipitous cuts in defense spending proposed by some members of Congress.

- Initiated the first review of nuclear posture since the end of the Cold War, including policy doctrine, force structure, operations and safety.

- Visited military installations of every service branch and selected Army General John Shalikashvili as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

STRENGTHENING SECURITY TIES

- Proposed a "Partnership for Peace" -- embraced by allies, Russia and others -- to adapt NATO to our new European security requirements by offering former Soviet republics and Central/East European nations closer ties with NATO. Called for NATO Summit, to take place in January 1994.

- Reaffirmed our commitment in East Asia and laid out a vision of future Asian security during visit to Tokyo, Seoul and DMZ.

DETERMINED EFFORTS TO STOP WEAPONS PROLIFERATION

- Adopted a comprehensive non-proliferation and export control policy, and acted firmly to combat the spread of weapons of mass destruction by North Korea, Iran, Iraq, China and others. Announced counter proliferation initiative to combat emerging missile, nuclear, biological and chemical weapons threats.

- Signed framework with Russia for military partnership and accelerated destruction of further nuclear weapons. Worked with other former Soviet states on securing their commitment to control and deactivate nuclear weapons.

- Suspended nuclear testing and began serious work with other governments to achieve a Comprehensive Test Ban treaty by 1996. Obtained Senate approval for Open Skies Treaty and sent to Senate the Chemical Weapons Convention, which would ban an entire class of weapons of mass destruction.

POW/MIA's

- Pursued aggressively the fullest possible accounting of our POW/MIA's with Vietnam, including return of remains, release of documents, and cooperation on discrepancy cases and with Laos. Sent two Presidential missions to Vietnam to pursue this issue.
For Immediate Release

REMARKS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT
IN FOREIGN POLICY SPEECH

Pabst Theater
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

11:51 A.M. CST

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen. Thank you so much for your welcome. And thank you, Secretary Aspin, Dr. Bowman.

Over the past 14 months, Wisconsin gave the Clinton administration three very fine presents. The first was voting for us in November of 1992. (Applause.) I'll never forget that rally in Madison, incidentally. The second and third were lending us Donna Shalala and Les Aspin. (Applause.) Les has made a lasting contribution to our nation's security not just as Secretary of Defense, but in serving this state in Congress for two decades -- where, as he mentioned, we became close, personal friends. And on this occasion, I want to ask all of you to join me in thanking Les Aspin for his tremendous public service. (Applause.)

I'm delighted to be here in Milwaukee with your congressional delegation and your other excellent public leaders. I want to acknowledge Governor Thompson. I want to especially acknowledge my warm and close friends and allies, working partners Senator Herb Kohl and Senator Russ Feingold. We've worked very hard together to help get this country on the right track again and create more jobs and bring interest rates down and get the economy moving. I want to acknowledge my friend, the dean of your House delegation, David Obey -- a long-time friend and partner. And also Tom Barrett, Peter Barca, Gerald Kleczka, Thomas Petri; and also the local and state officials, Mayor John Norquist and Attorney General James Doyle, Speaker Walter Kunicki and County Executive Thomas Ament, Sheriff Richard Artison and others.

As you know, and as has already been mentioned, the President had planned to be here today and was looking forward to it, but had to go early this morning to Arkansas instead because his mother, Virginia Kelley, passed away in the wee hours of the morning. The President, when we spoke this morning, asked me to express his deep regret at not being able to join you, and I'm sure that you join me this morning in expressing our deep condolences to the President and his family as they confront the sad loss.

The President came to this very theater 15 months ago during the campaign when he was a candidate and came at a critical moment. As I look at this beautiful hall and this wonderful audience, I can see why he was so eager to come back and see you again. And I know that he was especially eager to come here today and join in celebrating the victory of the 1994 Rose Bowl Champions, the University of Wisconsin Badgers. (Applause.) It was a wonderful game. And may I say that I watched it with my family, including my mother, who has been spending some time with us the last couple of weeks, who attended law school at the University of Wisconsin. (Applause.) So I claimed honorary Badgerhood on that occasion.

And, boy, if you could have seen Donna Shalala the next day -- (laughter) -- walking -- was she a sight? When the two of them walked into the Cabinet Room and Donna was talking about the football program and the game and everything, it was a great, great day.
SECRETARY ASPIN: -- taller than anybody in the room.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: She was taller than anybody in the room that day. (Applause.) That's a pretty good line, Les. (Laughter and applause.) It's true, too.

When the President was here 15 months ago, on that October day he spoke about America's need for a strong pro-democracy national security policy. In two days, President Clinton will leave for Europe for a series of meetings designed to advance that goal. He will go to Brussels to stress the importance of our economic and security ties with NATO and Europe. He will go to Prague and stress our strong commitment to the new democracies in Poland, Hungary, the Czech republic and Slovakia. He will visit Moscow and stress our support for Democratic reforms there and elsewhere. And he will visit Minsk in Belarus and stress the importance of the progress that state and others are making to dismantle nuclear weapons.

Before he left our shores to talk with foreign leaders, the President wanted to come and talk with you about why this trip is important to the American people. And the President has now asked me to share his views directly with you today because at this point in history, all of Europe stands at a turning point with deep implications for our own security and prosperity.

That's why the President and I and why the President has insisted that our administration focus so much on Europe, particularly Central and Eastern Europe and Russia. At the President's request, my first trip abroad as Vice President was to Poland. There are at least a couple of people here who traveled with me on that occasion. While there I had extensive meetings with President Walesa and shared prayer and communion with him at morning mass in his private chapel.

I just recently visited Hungary last month and met with the new leadership in Budapest. In addition, at the President's request, I enjoyed a lengthy one-on-one meeting during the same visit to Europe with President Kravchuk of Ukraine. And may I say that since taking office, the President and I have met with almost all of the leaders of virtually every Central and Eastern European nation and many of the leaders of the former Soviet republics as well because President Clinton feels so strongly about the importance of our nation's role in contributing to the positive change which is taking place and must continue to take place.

We live at a time of astounding changes. After a half-century of standing firm against Soviet aggression in the Cold War, suddenly the Cold War is over and the Soviet Union is gone. After decades of praying for reconciliation between black and white in South Africa and between Arab and Jew in the Middle East, suddenly we witness handshakes of hope that rivet the world. After decades of dreaming and working for the freedom of captive nations -- as I know many of you have with all your hearts -- suddenly those states are free, and new democracies have blossomed across Europe. And the President has told me that one of the things he is most looking forward to is meeting again with some of those democratic heroes, such as Vaclav Havel and Lech Walesa.

At the same time, some of the world's changes hold great danger for us, such as the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the degradation of the global environment. And we face the changes of a new global economy, changes that offer us many new opportunities but that also can be unsettling for our jobs and our communities. In the face of all these changes, some Americans would prefer that we stay out of the world's squabbles and focus only on our challenges here at home. Europe is facing even harder economic challenges: double-digit unemployment and very sluggish
growth. And many Europeans also might prefer not to get involved with problems beyond their borders. And the economic transformation facing Russia and the other former communist states are more daunting still.

So there is a great temptation in all our nations to focus only on our own problems. But my message today -- and the message of the President's trip -- is very simply this: In order to be strong at home, we must engage abroad as well. We must work with other nations to get the world's economy growing and open foreign markets if we want to sell more exports. We must engage with other nations to lock in the end of the Cold War, or else we would simply end up needing to spend more on defense and less on the domestic investments that we need. We tried running away from the world after World War I. What did it bring us? A depression and another horrible war. But when we helped shape world events after World War II, what did that bring us? Decades of security and prosperity. And that is what we must do again.

During the campaign, the President and I said our foreign policy would be based on economic renewal, strong defenses and the promotion of democracy overseas. In the past year we have made progress toward those goals. We began, of course, by putting our country's economic house back in order; because without a strong economy, we cannot compete and lead abroad. We passed an economic package to cut a half a trillion dollars from our deficits, while investing in education, technology and defense conversion. And, incidentally, if you can remember it, the projection for next year's deficit when we took office was $300 billion. The projection now is way down to $190 billion. The effort is already yielding dividends not just with a reduced deficit which is so important -- we're enjoying low inflation and historically low interest rates.

Consumer confidence is up. Housing starts are booming -- highest number last month in the entire history of the United States of America. And our nation has created more private sector jobs in the past 12 months than in the previous four years combined. And we still have a long way to go. We understand that. And to take one example, we still need to ensure health care for every American that can never be taken away. And we're going to do that, with your help. (Applause.) But we've made a good start. It's been a good first year.

Well, in any event, after putting our own economic house in order, we next took major steps to open up foreign markets to U.S. goods and services so we can boost exports and create more new jobs. We passed the North American Free Trade Agreement, which will lower tariffs on our exports and create over 200,000 new American jobs. We expanded our ties with the fast-growing economies of Asia. And just last month we reached an historic new agreement in the GATT world trade talks that will create another hundreds of thousands -- another set of hundreds of thousands of American jobs and also provide a boost to the entire world economy so that we can get it moving again.

With these steps and others we're putting the economic interests of the American people back at the heart of our foreign policy. We have restored America's leadership on the environment as well. And this past year we have worked to strengthen our nation's defenses.

Under Les Aspin's able leadership, we completed a sweeping review of our military to ensure that we have the forces we need to respond to the diverse threats of this new era. And when we were threatened abroad, such as when we learned of that Iraqi plot to try and assassinate former President Bush, President Clinton used those military forces to hit back hard, to send a clear, unmistakable message.

MORE
We also have worked to promote democratic movements around the world with significantly increased support for reformers in Russia, Ukraine, Armenia and the other new states of the former Soviet Union who seek to close the door to a communist past and usher in a democratic future. We lifted sanctions on South Africa as soon as there was an agreement to end apartheid and hold a nonracial election. (Applause.) And isn't that a sign of hope in our world? (Applause.)

And despite intense budget pressures, we substantially increased funding for programs to support grass roots, democratic organizing from Central America to Asia to Eastern Europe. The success of these new democracies, like the ones in Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia is important to our nation and our security. We must help them succeed. We didn't spend years supporting solidarity just to lose democracy in Poland. We didn't celebrate the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia just to see that birth of freedom die from neglect. We prevailed in the Cold War for their sake and ours. And now we must prevail for their sake and ours in building a broader democratic peace throughout Europe.

The steps we have taken this year make America stronger and safer. I want to take a moment to acknowledge in particular the service of all the men and women who wear our nation's uniform and protect us all over the world. As President Clinton has often said, America's Armed Forces are the best this world has ever known, and we are determined to make sure they remain just that. (Applause.) We're going to make certain they remain the best-trained, best-equipped, best-prepared fighting force on the face of this Earth.

Now, we have done much this past year to make America more secure. But nothing is more important to our security than our relations with Europe. With the Cold War over, some may think Europe doesn't matter as much to our nation as it used to. President Clinton says, they're wrong. The fact is, Europe remains our most valuable trading partner, and our military security remains as interwoven with that of Europe as ever in our history.

Twice in this century, we sent our sons and daughters to Europe to repel aggression and protect the survival of democracy. Two world wars left us with a lesson that is understood in every VFW and American Legion Hall in Wisconsin and across our nation. When Europe fights, we suffer. When Europe is safe and free, we thrive here in the United States.

Now, Europe is enjoying a rebirth of freedom. After a half century of captivity, we've seen the Baltic nations regain their rightful independence. We've seen great dissident heroes, such as Vaclav Havel and Lech Walesa help throw off communist rule and emerge as leaders of their people. We've seen Boris Yeltsin and other courageous democratic reformers in Russia hold elections and write a constitution in the face of fierce reactionary resistance.

This democratic renaissance is cause for hope. But, of course, there is also a dark cloud on Europe's horizon. It is the threat of fiery nationalism, ignited by old resentments, fueled by economic frustration, fanned by self-serving demagogues. We already see it burning across the former Yugoslavia. But it smolders in other states as well, particularly in Europe's East. If we do not begin building new forms of protection, these embers could flare and engulf Europe again, just as they have during this century's worst crises.

President Clinton's goal on this trip is to help build that protection. It cannot come from new walls topped with barbed wire. Rather, the protection new states of Europe need today is the kind all of us carry inside our souls -- the protection that keeps our darkest nature from spilling out into public life, the sense of
tolerance and the habits of the heart that are built up by the
practices of free commerce, open democracy, robust civic life and
respect for differences among individuals and nations.

To those who would ask where in the world such tolerance
can be found, I would say come to Milwaukee. Just look at your city.
Your roots trace back to Poland, Russia, Ukraine, the Baltics, to
Germany, Italy and England, to Africa, Asia and Latin America. You
may be Christian, Jewish or Muslim, and yet you are all one
community. Why? Because you all share the American belief that
there is strength in all our differences; that we can build a
collective civic space large enough for all our separate identities,
that we can be E Pluribus Unum, out of one many. We take that for
granted here in our blessed United States of America. But that idea
is not foreign to Europe. Those very ideas that Jefferson and
Madison wrote into our Declaration of Independence and our
Constitution were European imports, derived from Europe's great age
of reason.

But throughout the former Soviet Union's bloc, those
ideas were strangled by false ideologies and decades of dictatorship.
Now, we have the opportunity to help our cherished values of freedom
take root in places that were homelands to so many of us and our
ancestors. We can help erase the false lines that divided Europe for
too long and heal the scars those divisions left behind. Fostering
the integration of Europe will not only express our highest ideals,
also will be the best investment we can make in our own security
and prosperity.

President Clinton's first goal on this trip will be to
reinvigorate NATO and help ensure that NATO is prepared to meet the
challenges that I just described. NATO is the greatest military
alliance in all human history. We couldn't have won the Cold War
without it. But now, the Soviet Union it helped deter is gone. It
is time for NATO to address Europe's new security challenges, such as
consolidating democracy's gains among NATO's eastern neighbors and
warding off ethnic conflict.

At the NATO summit in Brussels, the President will
propose that NATO create a Partnership For Peace as a major step
toward the new security Europe needs. The Partnership is a new way
of drawing the former communist states into cooperation with the rest
of Europe. It advances an evolutionary process of formal NATO
enlargement, a step toward adding new members of NATO. (Applause.)

The Partnership For Peace invites Europe's new
democracies to take part right away in military and political
cooperation with NATO members as well as with each other. Those
states that join the partnership can participate in military
planning, exercises and operations. The partnership will help foster
democratic practices that can prepare these states for full NATO
membership. The new NATO must address the concerns of those nations
that lie between Russia and Western Europe, for the security of these
states affects the security of America. Let me say that again: The
security of the states that lie between Western Europe and Russia
affects the security of America. (Applause.) Especially after
Russia's recent elections, those states are naturally concerned about
whether they will again be rendered pieces of a buffer zone, prizes
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The Partnership for Peace can build the habits of cooperation that have been the sinews behind NATO and NATO's formal security guarantees. We look forward to beginning such cooperation soon with Poland, the Czech Republic and other former communist states as we create the foundation for a new and broader Europe.

President Clinton's second goal will be to show our support for those people and leaders in former Communist states working to build democracy, and to lay the building blocks of a civil society: political parties, labor unions, business associations and a free press. In Prague, he will meet with leaders of the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia -- the Visegrad nations -- nations that are playing such leading roles in Europe's wave of reform. In Minsk, the President will voice our support for Chairman Shushkevich and other leaders of Belarus's democratic progress. And in Moscow, he will meet with President Boris Yeltsin and other Russian reformers who are steering their nation toward a democratic, market-based and peaceful future.

The strong support for reactionary candidates in the recent Russian elections gave all of us cause for concern. We would be foolish to ignore those results; and it is our duty to condemn the voices of racism and intolerant nationalism wherever such voices are heard. (Applause.) But make no mistake about it, there was another larger message of hope in those Russian elections. An election that looked doubtful only months before was held in a free and fair manner. And when they voted, the Russian people ratified a democratic constitution and elected Russia's first post-Soviet legislature.

All these can help Russia's reformers move ahead. We must not lose faith in the process of reform simply because it moves slowly or encounters setbacks. Changing an entire society is the work of generations. Along the way, the people of Russia and the other new states will doubtless make some bad choices, just as we often have done at times in our own history. Democracy, after all, doesn't turn us into angels, it simply gives us a way to learn collectively from our very human trials and errors. As long as these nations support freedom with protections for ethnic and religious minorities and political dissent, we have faith that reaction will give way to reform.

President Clinton's third goal will be to help reduce the dangers of weapons of mass destruction. (Applause.) When the Soviet Union dissolved, four states were left with its nuclear weapons -- Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus. One key to our security is making sure there is only one nuclear successor state to the Soviet Union. Under the leadership of President Nazarbayev, Kazakhstan has agreed to give up its nuclear weapons. I was pleased to be in Alma-Ata last month on the day his parliament ratified the decision.

We're working with Ukraine to secure a similar agreement. And one reason the President is going to Minsk is to congratulate the people of Belarus and the leaders of Belarus for ratifying the START Treaty and agreeing to live as a nonnuclear state. In addition, in Brussels, we expect NATO to adopt our proposal to address the threat posed by nuclear, biological and chemical weapons as well.

Now, the President's final goal is to support the dramatic progress toward market reforms throughout the former communist states and to work for a greater Europe that is more economically vibrant. Most of Europe, as we all know, is deep in
recession, and if those nations can start growing again we will benefit from more exports and more jobs here in our own nation. Equally important, we must help ensure that economic growth reaches all the way into the former communist states which are making the hard transition to market economies.

Some of the greatest heroes of that flight from communism are people whose names will we never know -- the farmer outside of Sofia working with new pride now that he once again owns the land of his grandfather; the entrepreneur in Riga running a new business out of his apartment; the factory worker in St. Petersburg trying to adapt to the new habits and uncertainties of capitalism.

Freedom's success will depend in large part on their labors. We need to do all that we can to ensure that their labors are rewarded. In Brussels, the President will urge Western Europe's leaders to join our nation in taking steps to make all of our markets more open to goods from Europe's new democracies. In Prague, Moscow and Minsk, he will work with the leaders of those new market democracies to ensure that our economic assistance and trade and investment efforts are well targeted to provide the greatest possible support as these nations make the very difficult transitions to market economies.

Today, the people of the former communist nations are performing human miracles on a daily basis. Without much at all in the way of resources or experience, they're turning economic ruin into working markets. They're replacing gray Orwellian life with the bright and diverse cultures their people once enjoyed. They're reviving the religious traditions that communism could not stamp out. And they're planting strong seedlings of democracy on terrain once laid bare by dictatorship and devastated by the wild fires of war.

The hard work of political and economic transformation belongs to the people of the region and they are making heroic progress, but the stakes for our own nation are enormous. And we must put our shoulder behind the cause of reform as well. It is in America's self-interest for those reforms to succeed and endure. If they do, we will all be more secure. We can prevent another all-engulfing European war. We can make further progress to dismantle the world's doomsday weapons. We can continue maintaining our security with far lower defense budgets. We can create new markets for our exports and new jobs for our people as these new economies begin to grow and thrive. That's why we must not sit on the sidelines. We must continue working to build a broader and freer Europe.

I think back to the Polish uprising of 1863, in which the motto of the Polish fighters was, "For your freedom and ours." (Applause.) They believed in their hearts that their own liberation would liberate others since they were fighting for a broader principle of liberty. Today, the fight for freedom in Europe continues with new hope and high stakes.

The President, as he leaves for these countries, and all of us who have worked with him, know that the struggle to erase communism's scars and ensure democracy's success is not their struggle alone. It must also be our struggle. It is the fight of a lifetime -- our lifetimes. It is the story of a century -- our century. President Clinton and I are committed to make it the work of our nation.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END 12:27 P.M. CST
THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release January 6, 1994

REMARKS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT
IN FOREIGN POLICY SPEECH

Pabst Theater
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

11:51 A.M. CST

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen. Thank you so much for your welcome. And thank you, Secretary Aspin, Dr. Bowman.

Over the past 14 months, Wisconsin gave the Clinton administration three very fine presents. The first was voting for us in November of 1992. (Applause.) I'll never forget that rally in Madison, incidentally. The second and third were lending us Donna Shalala and Les Aspin. (Applause.) Les has made a lasting contribution to our nation's security not just as Secretary of Defense, but in serving this state in Congress for two decades -- where, as he mentioned, we became close, personal friends. And on this occasion, I want to ask all of you to join me in thanking Les Aspin for his tremendous public service. (Applause.)

I'm delighted to be here in Milwaukee with your congressional delegation and your other excellent public leaders. I want to acknowledge Governor Thompson. I want to especially acknowledge my warm and close friends and allies, working partners Senator Herb Kohl and Senator Russ Feingold. We've worked very hard together to help get this country on the right track again and create more jobs and bring interest rates down and get the economy moving. I want to acknowledge my friend, the dean of your House delegation, David Obey -- a long-time friend and partner. And also Tom Barrett, Peter Barca, Gerald Kleczka, Thomas Petri; and also the local and state officials, Mayor John Norquist and Attorney General James Doyle, Speaker Walter Kunicki and County Executive Thomas Ament, Sheriff Richard Artison and others.

As you know, and as has already been mentioned, the President had planned to be here today and was looking forward to it, but had to go early this morning to Arkansas instead because his mother, Virginia Kelley, passed away in the wee hours of the morning. The President, when we spoke this morning, asked me to express his deep regret at not being able to join you, and I'm sure that you join me this morning in expressing our deep condolences to the President and his family as they confront the sad loss.

The President came to this very theater 15 months ago during the campaign when he was a candidate and came at a critical moment. As I look at this beautiful hall and this wonderful audience, I can see why he was so eager to come back and see you again. And I know that he was especially eager to come here today and join in celebrating the victory of the 1994 Rose Bowl Champions, the University of Wisconsin Badgers. (Applause.) It was a wonderful game. And may I say that I watched it with my family, including my mother, who has been spending some time with us the last couple of weeks, who attended law school at the University of Wisconsin. (Applause.) So I claimed honorary Badgerhood on that occasion.

And, boy, if you could have seen Donna Shalala the next day -- (laughter) -- walking -- was she a sight? When the two of them walked into the Cabinet Room and Donna was talking about the football program and the game and everything, it was a great, great day.

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SECRETARY ASPIN: -- taller than anybody in the room.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: She was taller than anybody in the room that day. (Applause.) That's a pretty good line, Les. (Laughter and applause.) It's true, too.

When the President was here 15 months ago, on that October day he spoke about America's need for a strong pro-democracy national security policy. In two days, President Clinton will leave for Europe for a series of meetings designed to advance that goal. He will go to Brussels to stress the importance of our economic and security ties with NATO and Europe. He will go to Prague and stress our strong commitment to the new democracies in Poland, Hungary, the Czech republic and Slovakia. He will visit Moscow and stress our support for Democratic reforms there and elsewhere. And he will visit Minsk in Belarus and stress the importance of the progress that state and others are making to dismantle nuclear weapons.

Before he left our shores to talk with foreign leaders, the President wanted to come and talk with you about why this trip is important to the American people. And the President has now asked me to share his views directly with you today because at this point in history, all of Europe stands at a turning point with deep implications for our own security and prosperity.

That's why the President and I and why the President has insisted that our administration focus so much on Europe, particularly Central and Eastern Europe and Russia. At the President's request, my first trip abroad as Vice President was to Poland. There are at least a couple of people here who traveled with me on that occasion. While there I had extensive meetings with President Walesa and shared prayer and communion with him at morning mass in his private chapel.

I just recently visited Hungary last month and met with the new leadership in Budapest. In addition, at the President's request, I enjoyed a lengthy one-on-one meeting during the same visit to Europe with President Kravchuk of Ukraine. And may I say that since taking office, the President and I have met with almost all of the leaders of virtually every Central and Eastern European nation and many of the leaders of the former Soviet republics as well because President Clinton feels so strongly about the importance of our nation's role in contributing to the positive change which is taking place and must continue to take place.

We live at a time of astounding changes. After a half-century of standing firm against Soviet aggression in the Cold War, suddenly the Cold War is over and the Soviet Union is gone. After decades of praying for reconciliation between black and white in South Africa and between Arab and Jew in the Middle East, suddenly we witness handshakes of hope that rivet the world. After decades of dreaming and working for the freedom of captive nations -- as I know many of you have with all your hearts -- suddenly those states are free, and new democracies have blossomed across Europe. And the President has told me that one of the things he is most looking forward to is meeting again with some of those democratic heroes, such as Vaclav Havel and Lech Walesa.

At the same time, some of the world's changes hold great danger for us, such as the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the degradation of the global environment. And we face the changes of a new global economy, changes that offer us many new opportunities but that also can be unsettling for our jobs and our communities. In the face of all these changes, some Americans would prefer that we stay out of the world's squabbles and focus only on our challenges here at home. Europe is facing even harder economic challenges: double-digit unemployment and very sluggish
growth. And many Europeans also might prefer not to get involved with problems beyond their borders. And the economic transformation facing Russia and the other former communist states are more daunting still.

So there is a great temptation in all our nations to focus only on our own problems. But my message today -- and the message of the President's trip -- is very simply this: In order to be strong at home, we must engage abroad as well. We must work with other nations to get the world's economy growing and open foreign markets if we want to sell more exports. We must engage with other nations to lock in the end of the Cold War, or else we would simply end up needing to spend more on defense and less on the domestic investments that we need. We tried running away from the world after World War I. What did it bring us? A depression and another horrible war. But when we helped shape world events after World War II, what did that bring us? Decades of security and prosperity. And that is what we must do again.

During the campaign, the President and I said our foreign policy would be based on economic renewal, strong defenses and the promotion of democracy overseas. In the past year we have made progress toward those goals. We began, of course, by putting our country's economic house back in order; because without a strong economy, we cannot compete and lead abroad. We passed an economic package to cut a half a trillion dollars from our deficits, while investing in education, technology and defense conversion. And, incidentally, if you can remember it, the projection for next year's deficit when we took office was $300 billion. The projection now is way down to $190 billion. The effort is already yielding dividends not just with a reduced deficit which is so important -- we're enjoying low inflation and historically low interest rates.

Consumer confidence is up. Housing starts are booming - highest number last month in the entire history of the United States of America. And our nation has created more private sector jobs in the past 12 months than in the previous four years combined. And we still have a long way to go. We understand that. And to take one example, we still need to ensure health care for every American that can never be taken away. And we're going to do that, with your help. (Applause.) But we've made a good start. It's been a good first year.

Well, in any event, after putting our own economic house in order, we next took major steps to open up foreign markets to U.S. goods and services so we can boost exports and create more new jobs. We passed the North American Free Trade Agreement, which will lower tariffs on our exports and create over 200,000 new American jobs. We expanded our ties with the fast-growing economies of Asia. And just last month we reached an historic new agreement in the GATT world trade talks that will create another hundreds of thousands -- another set of hundreds of thousands of American jobs and also provide a boost to the entire world economy so that we can get it moving again.

With these steps and others we're putting the economic interests of the American people back at the heart of our foreign policy. We have restored America's leadership on the environment as well. And this past year we have worked to strengthen our nation's defenses.

Under Les Aspin's able leadership, we completed a sweeping review of our military to ensure that we have the forces we need to respond to the diverse threats of this new era. And when we were threatened abroad, such as when we learned of that Iraqi plot to try and assassinate former President Bush, President Clinton used those military forces to hit back hard, to send a clear, unmistakable message.
We also have worked to promote democratic movements around the world with significantly increased support for reformers in Russia, Ukraine, Armenia and the other new states of the former Soviet Union who seek to close the door to a communist past and usher in a democratic future. We lifted sanctions on South Africa as soon as there was an agreement to end apartheid and hold a nonracial election. (Applause.) And isn't that a sign of hope in our world? (Applause.)

And despite intense budget pressures, we substantially increased funding for programs to support grass roots, democratic organizing from Central America to Asia to Eastern Europe. The success of these new democracies, like the ones in Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia is important to our nation and our security. We must help them succeed. We didn't spend years supporting solidarity just to lose democracy in Poland. We didn't celebrate the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia just to see that birth of freedom die from neglect. We prevailed in the Cold War for their sake and ours. And now we must prevail for their sake and ours in building a broader democratic peace throughout Europe.

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President Clinton's first goal on this trip will be to reinvigorate NATO and help ensure that NATO is prepared to meet the challenges that I just described. NATO is the greatest military alliance in all human history. We couldn't have won the Cold War without it. But now, the Soviet Union it helped deter is gone. It is time for NATO to address Europe's new security challenges, such as consolidating democracy's gains among NATO's eastern neighbors and warding off ethnic conflict.

At the NATO summit in Brussels, the President will propose that NATO create a Partnership For Peace as a major step toward the new security Europe needs. The Partnership is a new way of drawing the former communist states into cooperation with the rest of Europe. It advances an evolutionary process of formal NATO enlargement, a step toward adding new members of NATO. (Applause.)

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The hard work of political and economic transformation belongs to the people of the region and they are making heroic progress, but the stakes for our own nation are enormous. And we must put our shoulder behind the cause of reform as well. It is in America's self-interest for those reforms to succeed and endure. If they do, we will all be more secure. We can prevent another all-engulfing European war. We can make further progress to dismantle the world's doomsday weapons. We can continue maintaining our security with far lower defense budgets. We can create new markets for our exports and new jobs for our people as these new economies begin to grow and thrive. That's why we must not sit on the sidelines. We must continue working to build a broader and freer Europe.

I think back to the Polish uprising of 1863, in which the motto of the Polish fighters was, "For your freedom and ours." (Applause.) They believed in their hearts that their own liberation would liberate others since they were fighting for a broader principle of liberty. Today, the fight for freedom in Europe continues with new hope and high stakes.

The President, as he leaves for these countries, and all of us who have worked with him, know that the struggle to erase communism's scars and ensure democracy's success is not their struggle alone. It must also be our struggle. It is the fight of a lifetime -- our lifetimes. It is the story of a century -- our century. President Clinton and I are committed to make it the work of our nation.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)
THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release
January 6, 1994

REMARKS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT
IN FOREIGN POLICY SPEECH

Pabst Theater
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

11:51 A.M. CST

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen. Thank you so much for your welcome. And thank you, Secretary Aspin, Dr. Bowman.

Over the past 14 months, Wisconsin gave the Clinton administration three very fine presents. The first was voting for us in November of 1992. (Applause.) I'll never forget that rally in Madison, incidentally. The second and third were lending us Donna Shalala and Les Aspin. (Applause.) Les has made a lasting contribution to our nation's security not just as Secretary of Defense, but in serving this state in Congress for two decades -- where, as he mentioned, we became close, personal friends. And on this occasion, I want to ask all of you to join me in thanking Les Aspin for his tremendous public service. (Applause.)

I'm delighted to be here in Milwaukee with your congressional delegation and your other excellent public leaders. I want to acknowledge Governor Thompson. I want to especially acknowledge Governor Thompson. I want to especially acknowledge my warm and close friends and allies, working partners Senator Herb Kohl and Senator Russ Feingold. We've worked very hard together to help get this country on the right track again and create more jobs and bring interest rates down and get the economy moving. I want to acknowledge my friend, the dean of your House delegation, David Obey -- a long-time friend and partner. And also Tom Barrett, Peter Barca, Gerald Kleczka, Thomas Petri; and also the local and state officials, Mayor John Norquist and Attorney General James Doyle, Speaker Walter Kunicki and County Executive Thomas Ament, Sheriff Richard Artison and others.

As you know, and as has already been mentioned, the President had planned to be here today and was looking forward to it, but had to go early this morning to Arkansas instead because his mother, Virginia Kelley, passed away in the wee hours of the morning. The President, when we spoke this morning, asked me to express his deep regret at not being able to join you, and I'm sure that you join me this morning in expressing our deep condolences to the President and his family as they confront the sad loss.

The President came to this very theater 15 months ago during the campaign when he was a candidate and came at a critical moment. As I look at this beautiful hall and this wonderful audience, I can see why he was so eager to come back and see you again. And I know that he was especially eager to come here today and join in celebrating the victory of the 1994 Rose Bowl Champions, the University of Wisconsin Badgers. (Applause.) It was a wonderful game. And may I say that I watched it with my family, including my mother, who has been spending some time with us the last couple of weeks, who attended law school at the University of Wisconsin. (Applause.) So I claimed honorary Badgerhood on that occasion.

And, boy, if you could have seen Donna Shalala the next day -- (laughter) -- walking -- was she a sight? When the two of them walked into the Cabinet Room and Donna was talking about the football program and the game and everything, it was a great, great day.
SECRETARY ASPIN: -- taller than anybody in the room.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: She was taller than anybody in the room that day. (Applause.) That's a pretty good line, Les. (Laughter and applause.) It's true, too.

When the President was here 15 months ago, on that October day he spoke about America's need for a strong pro-democracy national security policy. In two days, President Clinton will leave for Europe for a series of meetings designed to advance that goal. He will go to Brussels to stress the importance of our economic and security ties with NATO and Europe. He will go to Prague and stress our strong commitment to the new democracies in Poland, Hungary, the Czech republic and Slovakia. He will visit Moscow and stress our support for Democratic reforms there and elsewhere. And he will visit Minsk in Belarus and stress the importance of the progress that state and others are making to dismantle nuclear weapons.

Before he left our shores to talk with foreign leaders, the President wanted to come and talk with you about why this trip is important to the American people. And the President has now asked me to share his views directly with you today because at this point in history, all of Europe stands at a turning point with deep implications for our own security and prosperity.

That's why the President and I and why the President has insisted that our administration focus so much on Europe, particularly Central and Eastern Europe and Russia. At the President's request, my first trip abroad as Vice President was to Poland. There are at least a couple of people here who traveled with me on that occasion. While there I had extensive meetings with President Walesa and shared prayer and communion with him at morning mass in his private chapel.

I just recently visited Hungary last month and met with the new leadership in Budapest. In addition, at the President's request, I enjoyed a lengthy one-on-one meeting during the same visit to Europe with President Kravchuk of Ukraine. And may I say that since taking office, the President and I have met with almost all of the leaders of virtually every Central and Eastern European nation and many of the leaders of the former Soviet republics as well because President Clinton feels so strongly about the importance of our nation's role in contributing to the positive change which is taking place and must continue to take place.

We live at a time of astounding changes. After a half-century of standing firm against Soviet aggression in the Cold War, suddenly the Cold War is over and the Soviet Union is gone. After decades of praying for reconciliation between black and white in South Africa and between Arab and Jew in the Middle East, suddenly we witness handshakes of hope that rivet the world. After decades of dreaming and working for the freedom of captive nations -- as I know many of you have with all your hearts -- suddenly those states are free, and new democracies have blossomed across Europe. And the President has told me that one of the things he is most looking forward to is meeting again with some of those democratic heroes, such as Vaclav Havel and Lech Walesa.

At the same time, some of the world's changes hold great danger for us, such as the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the degradation of the global environment. And we face the changes of a new global economy, changes that offer us many new opportunities but that also can be unsettling for our jobs and our communities. In the face of all these changes, some Americans would prefer that we stay out of the world's squabbles and focus only on our challenges here at home. Europe is facing even harder economic challenges: double-digit unemployment and very sluggish
growth. And many Europeans also might prefer not to get involved with problems beyond their borders. And the economic transformation facing Russia and the other former communist states are more daunting still.

So there is a great temptation in all our nations to focus only on our own problems. But my message today -- and the message of the President's trip -- is very simply this: In order to be strong at home, we must engage abroad as well. We must work with other nations to get the world's economy growing and open foreign markets if we want to sell more exports. We must engage with other nations to lock in the end of the Cold War, or else we would simply end up needing to spend more on defense and less on the domestic investments that we need. We tried running away from the world after World War I. What did it bring us? A depression and another horrible war. But when we helped shape world events after World War II, what did that bring us? Decades of security and prosperity. And that is what we must do again.

During the campaign, the President and I said our foreign policy would be based on economic renewal, strong defenses and the promotion of democracy overseas. In the past year we have made progress toward those goals. We began, of course, by putting our country's economic house back in order; because without a strong economy, we cannot compete and lead abroad. We passed an economic package to cut a half a trillion dollars from our deficits, while investing in education, technology and defense conversion. And, incidentally, if you can remember it, the projection for next year's deficit when we took office was $300 billion. The projection now is way down to $190 billion. The effort is already yielding dividends not just with a reduced deficit which is so important -- we're enjoying low inflation and historically low interest rates.

Consumer confidence is up. Housing starts are booming -- highest number last month in the entire history of the United States of America. And our nation has created more private sector jobs in the past 12 months than in the previous four years combined. And we still have a long way to go. We understand that. And to take one example, we still need to ensure health care for every American that can never be taken away. And we're going to do that, with your help. (Applause.) But we've made a good start. It's been a good first year.

Well, in any event, after putting our own economic house in order, we next took major steps to open up foreign markets to U.S. goods and services so we can boost exports and create more new jobs. We passed the North American Free Trade Agreement, which will lower tariffs on our exports and create over 200,000 new American jobs. We expanded our ties with the fast-growing economies of Asia. And just last month we reached an historic new agreement in the GATT world trade talks that will create another hundreds of thousands -- another set of hundreds of thousands of American jobs and also provide a boost to the entire world economy so that we can get it moving again.

With these steps and others we're putting the economic interests of the American people back at the heart of our foreign policy. We have restored America's leadership on the environment as well. And this past year we have worked to strengthen our nation's defenses.

Under Les Aspin's able leadership, we completed a sweeping review of our military to ensure that we have the forces we need to respond to the diverse threats of this new era. And when we were threatened abroad, such as when we learned of that Iraqi plot to try and assassinate former President Bush, President Clinton used those military forces to hit back hard, to send a clear, unmistakable message.

MORE
We also have worked to promote democratic movements around the world with significantly increased support for reformers in Russia, Ukraine, Armenia and the other new states of the former Soviet Union who seek to close the door to a communist past and usher in a democratic future. We lifted sanctions on South Africa as soon as there was an agreement to end apartheid and hold a nonracial election. (Applause.) And isn't that a sign of hope in our world? (Applause.)

And despite intense budget pressures, we substantially increased funding for programs to support grass roots, democratic organizing from Central America to Asia to Eastern Europe. The success of these new democracies, like the ones in Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia is important to our nation and our security. We must help them succeed. We didn't spend years supporting solidarity just to lose democracy in Poland. We didn't celebrate the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia just to see that birth of freedom die from neglect. We prevailed in the Cold War for their sake and ours. And now we must prevail for their sake and ours in building a broader democratic peace throughout Europe.

The steps we have taken this year make America stronger and safer. I want to take a moment to acknowledge in particular the service of all the men and women who wear our nation's uniform and protect us all over the world. As President Clinton has often said, America's Armed Forces are the best this world has ever known, and we are determined to make sure they remain just that. (Applause.) We're going to make certain they remain the best-trained, best-equipped, best-prepared fighting force on the face of this Earth.

Now, we have done much this past year to make America more secure. But nothing is more important to our security than our relations with Europe. With the Cold War over, some may think Europe doesn't matter as much to our nation as it used to. President Clinton says, they're wrong. The fact is, Europe remains our most valuable trading partner, and our military security remains as interwoven with that of Europe as ever in our history.

Twice in this century, we sent our sons and daughters to Europe to repel aggression and protect the survival of democracy. Two world wars left us with a lesson that is understood in every VFW and American Legion Hall in Wisconsin and across our nation. When Europe fights, we suffer. When Europe is safe and free, we thrive here in the United States.

Now, Europe is enjoying a rebirth of freedom. After a half century of captivity, we've seen the Baltic nations regain their rightful independence. We've seen great dissident heroes, such as Vaclav Havel and Lech Walesa help throw off communist rule and emerge as leaders of their people. We've seen Boris Yeltsin and other courageous democratic reformers in Russia hold elections and write a constitution in the face of fierce reactionary resistance.

This democratic renaissance is cause for hope. But, of course, there is also a dark cloud on Europe's horizon. It is the threat of fiery nationalism, ignited by old resentments, fueled by economic frustration, fanned by self-serving demagogues. We already see it burning across the former Yugoslavia. But it smolders in other states as well, particularly in Europe's East. If we do not begin building new forms of protection, these embers could flare and engulf Europe again, just as they have during this century's worst crises.

President Clinton's goal on this trip is to help build that protection. It cannot come from new walls topped with barbed wire. Rather, the protection new states of Europe need today is the kind all of us carry inside our souls -- the protection that keeps our darkest nature from spilling out into public life, the sense of
tolerance and the habits of the heart that are built up by the practices of free commerce, open democracy, robust civic life and respect for differences among individuals and nations.

To those who would ask where in the world such tolerance can be found, I would say come to Milwaukee. Just look at your city. Your roots trace back to Poland, Russia, Ukraine, the Baltics, to Germany, Italy and England, to Africa, Asia and Latin America. You may be Christian, Jewish or Muslim, and yet you are all one community. Why? Because you all share the American belief that there is strength in all our differences; that we can build a collective civic space large enough for all our separate identities, that we can be E Pluribus Unum, out of one many. We take that for granted here in our blessed United States of America. But that idea is not foreign to Europe. Those very ideas that Jefferson and Madison wrote into our Declaration of Independence and our Constitution were European imports, derived from Europe's great age of reason.

But throughout the former Soviet Union's bloc, those ideas were strangled by false ideologies and decades of dictatorship. Now, we have the opportunity to help our cherished values of freedom take root in places that were homelands to so many of us and our ancestors. We can help erase the false lines that divided Europe for too long and heal the scars those divisions left behind. Fostering the integration of Europe will not only express our highest ideals, it also will be the best investment we can make in our own security and prosperity.

President Clinton's first goal on this trip will be to reinvigorate NATO and help ensure that NATO is prepared to meet the challenges that I just described. NATO is the greatest military alliance in all human history. We couldn't have won the Cold War without it. But now, the Soviet Union it helped deter is gone. It is time for NATO to address Europe's new security challenges, such as consolidating democracy's gains among NATO's eastern neighbors and warding off ethnic conflict.

At the NATO summit in Brussels, the President will propose that NATO create a Partnership For Peace as a major step toward the new security Europe needs. The Partnership is a new way of drawing the former communist states into cooperation with the rest of Europe. It advances an evolutionary process of formal NATO enlargement, a step toward adding new members of NATO. (Applause.)

The Partnership For Peace invites Europe's new democracies to take part right away in military and political cooperation with NATO members as well as with each other. Those states that join the partnership can participate in military planning, exercises and operations. The partnership will help foster democratic practices that can prepare these states for full NATO membership. The new NATO must address the concerns of those nations that lie between Russia and Western Europe, for the security of these states affects the security of America. Let me say that again: The security of the states that lie between Western Europe and Russia affects the security of America. (Applause.) Especially after Russia's recent elections, those states are naturally concerned about whether they will again be rendered pieces of a buffer zone, prizes to be argued over by others.

The Partnership For Peace is designed to offer these states the confidence that they can integrate into the West rather than always fear what could happen to their East. The Partnership For Peace does not divide East and West in a way that could create a self-fulfilling prophecy of future confrontation. Instead, it tries to integrate a broader Europe. On an equal basis, it provides an open door for all the nations of Central and Eastern Europe as well as the nations emerging from the former Soviet Union, it invites all
of them to forge a new relationship with NATO based on a belief that freedom's boundaries now must recognize not just old history, but also new behavior.

The Partnership for Peace can build the habits of cooperation that have been the sinews behind NATO and NATO's formal security guarantees. We look forward to beginning such cooperation soon with Poland, the Czech Republic and other former communist states as we create the foundation for a new and broader Europe.

President Clinton's second goal will be to show our support for those people and leaders in former Communist states working to build democracy, and to lay the building blocks of a civil society: political parties, labor unions, business associations and a free press. In Prague, he will meet with leaders of the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia -- the Visegrad nations -- nations that are playing such leading roles in Europe's wave of reform. In Minsk, the President will voice our support for Chairman Shushkevich and other leaders of Belarus's democratic progress. And in Moscow, he will meet with President Boris Yeltsin and other Russian reformers who are steering their nation toward a democratic, market-based and peaceful future.

The strong support for reactionary candidates in the recent Russian elections gave all of us cause for concern. We would be foolish to ignore those results; and it is our duty to condemn the voices of racism and intolerant nationalism wherever such voices are heard. (Applause.) But make no mistake about it, there was another larger message of hope in those Russian elections. An election that looked doubtful only months before was held in a free and fair manner. And when they voted, the Russian people ratified a democratic constitution and elected Russia's first post-Soviet legislature.

All these can help Russia's reformers move ahead. We must not lose faith in the process of reform simply because it moves slowly or encounters setbacks. Changing an entire society is the work of generations. Along the way, the people of Russia and the other new states will doubtless make some bad choices, just as we often have done at times in our own history. Democracy, after all, doesn't turn us into angels, it simply gives us a way to learn collectively from our very human trials and errors. As long as these nations support freedom with protections for ethnic and religious minorities and political dissent, we have faith that reaction will give way to reform.

President Clinton's third goal will be to help reduce the dangers of weapons of mass destruction. (Applause.) When the Soviet Union dissolved, four states were left with its nuclear weapons -- Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus. One key to our security is making sure there is only one nuclear successor state to the Soviet Union. Under the leadership of President Nazarbayev, Kazakhstan has agreed to give up its nuclear weapons. I was pleased to be in Alma-Ata last month on the day his parliament ratified the decision.

We're working with Ukraine to secure a similar agreement. And one reason the President is going to Minsk is to congratulate the people of Belarus and the leaders of Belarus for ratifying the START Treaty and agreeing to live as a nonnuclear state. In addition, in Brussels, we expect NATO to adopt our proposal to address the threat posed by nuclear, biological and chemical weapons as well.

Now, the President's final goal is to support the dramatic progress toward market reforms throughout the former communist states and to work for a greater Europe that is more economically vibrant. Most of Europe, as we all know, is deep in
recession, and if those nations can start growing again we will benefit from more exports and more jobs here in our own nation. Equally important, we must help ensure that economic growth reaches all the way into the former communist states which are making the hard transition to market economies.

Some of the greatest heroes of that flight from communism are people whose names will we never know -- the farmer outside of Sofia working with new pride now that he once again owns the land of his grandfather; the entrepreneur in Riga running a new business out of his apartment; the factory worker in St. Petersburg trying to adapt to the new habits and uncertainties of capitalism.

Freedom's success will depend in large part on their labors. We need to do all that we can to ensure that their labors are rewarded. In Brussels, the President will urge Western Europe's leaders to join our nation in taking steps to make all of our markets more open to goods from Europe's new democracies. In Prague, Moscow and Minsk, he will work with the leaders of those new market democracies to ensure that our economic assistance and trade and investment efforts are well targeted to provide the greatest possible support as these nations make the very difficult transitions to market economies.

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Thank you very much. (Applause.)
TO: LAKE

FROM: STEINBERG
    SODERBERG

RECORD ID: 9308345
RECEIVED: 26 OCT 93 17
DOC DATE: 27 OCT 93
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: LEGAL ISSUES
    MEDIA
    NEWS REPORTS

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: PUBLIC PRESENTATION OF FORN POLICY

ACTION: NOTED BY LAKE
    DUE DATE: 29 OCT 93
    STATUS: C
STAFF OFFICER: STEINBERG

FILES: PA
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DOC 1 OF 1

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E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By KPA NARA, Date 9/16/2011
2011-0516-S
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<td>10/27/1993</td>
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**COLLECTION:**
- Clinton Presidential Records
- National Security Council
- Press (Philip J. (PJ) Crowley)
- OA/Box Number: 3104

**FOLDER TITLE:**
- Foreign Policy-General [2]

**RESTRICTION CODES**

- **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.

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- **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]
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- **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]
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By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including the FREEDOM Support Act (Public Law 102-511) (the "Act"), the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended (the "Foreign Assistance Act"), the Foreign Operations, Export Financing and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 1993 (Public Law 102-391), and section 301 of title 3, United States Code, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Secretary of State. (a) There are delegated to the Secretary of State the functions conferred upon the President by:

(1) section 907 of the Act;
(2) paragraphs (1), (2), and (3) of section 498A(b) of the Foreign Assistance Act;
(3) paragraph (1) of section 498A(C) of the Foreign Assistance Act and the requirement to make reports under that section regarding determinations under that paragraph; and
(4) section 599B of Public Law 102-391.

(b) The Secretary of State may at any time exercise any function delegated to the Coordinator under this order or otherwise assigned to the Coordinator.

Sec. 2. Coordinator. There are delegated to the Coordinator designated in accordance with section 102 of the Act the functions conferred upon the President by:

(a) section 104 of the Act, and the Coordinator is authorized to assign responsibility for particular aspects of the reports described in that section to the heads of appropriate agencies;

(b) section 301 of the Act, insofar as it relates to determinations and directives;

(c) section 498A(a), section 498B(c), and section 498B(g) of the Foreign Assistance Act; and

(d) paragraph (2) of section 498A(C) of the Foreign Assistance Act and the requirement to make reports under that section regarding determinations under that paragraph.
Sec. 1. International Development Cooperation Agency. There are delegated to the United States International Development Cooperation Agency the functions conferred upon the President by:

(a) sections 301(a) and 307 of the Act, except insofar as provided otherwise in section 2(b) of this order;

(b) section 498 and section 498C(b)(2) of the Foreign Assistance Act;

(c) paragraph (3) of section 498A(c) of the Foreign Assistance Act and the requirement to make reports under that section regarding determinations under that paragraph;

(d) subsection (d) under the heading "Assistance for the New Independent States of the Former Soviet Union" contained in Title II of Public Law 102-391; and

(e) section 592 of Public Law 102-391, except to the extent otherwise provided in section 5(b) of this order.

Sec. 2. International Development Cooperation Agency. There are delegated to the United States International Development Cooperation Agency the functions conferred upon the President by:

(a) sections 301(a) and 307 of the Act, except insofar as provided otherwise in section 2(b) of this order;

(b) section 498 and section 498C(b)(2) of the Foreign Assistance Act;

(c) paragraph (3) of section 498A(c) of the Foreign Assistance Act and the requirement to make reports under that section regarding determinations under that paragraph;

(d) subsection (d) under the heading "Assistance for the New Independent States of the Former Soviet Union" contained in Title II of Public Law 102-391; and

(e) section 592 of Public Law 102-391, except to the extent otherwise provided in section 5(b) of this order.

Sec. 3. Secretary of Agriculture. There are delegated to the Secretary of Agriculture the functions conferred upon the President by section 807(d) of the Act.

Sec. 4. Secretary of Agriculture. There are delegated to the Secretary of Agriculture the functions conferred upon the President by section 807(d) of the Act.

Sec. 5. Other Agencies. The functions conferred upon the President by:

(a) sections 498B(h) and 498B(i) of the Foreign Assistance Act are delegated to the head of the agency that is responsible for administering the particular program or activity with respect to which the authority is to be exercised; and

(b) the third proviso in section 592 of Public Law 102-391 are delegated to the head of each agency that is responsible for administering relevant programs or activities.

Sec. 6. General. (a) the functions described in sections 3, 4, and 5 of this order shall be exercised subject to the authority of the Coordinator under section 102(a) of the Act or otherwise.

(b) As used in this order, the word "function" includes any duty, obligations, power, authority, responsibility, right, privilege, discretion, or activity.

(c) Functions delegated under this order shall be construed as excluded from the functions delegated under section 1-102(a) of Executive Order No. 12163, as amended.

(d) Any officer to whom functions are delegated or otherwise assigned under this order may, to the extent consistent with law, redelegate such functions and authorize their successive redelegation.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

THE WHITE HOUSE,
December 1, 1993.

# # #
Poor Marks on Foreign Policy

One year ago today, Bill Clinton was elected president with a plurality of only 43 percent of the votes. After nine and a half months in office, his approval rating is only 1 percent higher, according to a poll by the Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press. Both the influential elite and the general public display an uncertainty about the American role in the world — one could call it incipient isolationism — that surely reflects the indecisive leadership of this administration.

The other day, New York Times reporter Thomas L. Friedman pressed national security adviser W. Anthony Lake for a definition of U.S. foreign policy. The best Mr. Lake could come up with — this is no joke — was "pragmatic neo-Wilsonian." The phase is an oxymoron, to be sure, but it is in sync with Mr. Lake's stated goal of "enlarging" democracy around the world now that containment of the Communist threat has moved off the charts.

Yet both the elite and the general public want little if any part of such Wilsonian idealism. The "influentials," as they are called in the Times Mirror survey, advocate an internationalism that is "cautious and minimalist," with low priority to promoting democracy, human rights and free markets as foreign policy goals. As for the general public, "sentiment for American withdrawal from a leadership role in the world is twice as high."

During his nine and a half months in office, Mr. Clinton has conducted foreign policy in such a way that the trend lines all point in directions opposite to what Mr. Lake advocates. Zig-zag policies in Bosnia, Somalia and Haiti have created disillusion with the United Nations, wariness about putting American troops at risk and feelings that the U.S. should concentrate on its own problems.

This last sentiment was promoted by Candidate Clinton, but as president he has an institutional obligation to provide world leadership. For this he was unprepared and appointed a national security team that did not fill the void. Neither Secretary of State Warren Christopher nor Anthony Lake are conceptualists in the Kissinger-Brzezinski tradition. The influential elite that backed up presidential containment policy over 40 years is as ambivalent as the White House.

The Clintonians believe they are at a juncture comparable to the situation Harry Truman inherited at the end of World War II. But where are the Marshalls, Achesons, Lovetts and McCloys who were "present at the creation"? They have not emerged, nor has an underlying consensus.

This has implications, too, for Mr. Clinton's domestic initiatives. With foreign crises pushing into the headlines, a public obsessed by a stagnant economy and violence in the streets watches the president's performance on the world stage and becomes less confident he can deliver at home. But these are still early days in the administration. The president is a fast learner and it is not too late to turn things around — provided he listens hard to what the elite and the public are saying.
Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee:

I am pleased to have the opportunity to talk to you today about the strategic priorities of America's foreign policy.

The world is moving away from one of the most dangerous confrontations in history, and in that fact lies tremendous opportunity for the United States. In the Cold War world, stability was based on confrontation. In the new world, stability will be based on common interests and shared values.

We stand on the brink of shaping a new world of extraordinary hope and opportunity. While I relish the challenge of what lies before us, I am also mindful that the new world we seek will not emerge on its own. We must shape the transformation that is underway in a time of great fluidity.

My job as Secretary of State is to help the President guide the country through this transition. I welcome that challenge.

At the same time, I understand that we must accomplish this transformation at a time when the definitions, certainties, and ground rules of the Cold War have disappeared. I hasten to add that I have no regrets about the passing of the Cold War. Nostalgia for its rigidities can only stem from amnesia. But its demise does mean that we must develop a new domestic consensus to sustain our active engagement in a more complex and interdependent world.

During this period, the United States must maintain a tough-minded sense of our enduring interests: ensuring the security of our nation; the prosperity of our people; and the advancement, where possible, of our democratic values. And it is with those core interests in mind that the Clinton Administration has defined and is pursuing the overarching priorities of America's foreign policy.

We are renewing and updating our key security alliances, while also building on the historically unique situation that the major powers can be partners cooperating for peace -- not competitors locked in conflict. We must reach out to former adversaries to transform them into partners. We are working to contain and resolve regional conflicts, particularly where the threat of expansion or the risk of proliferation poses a very
direct danger to the United States. And we are working to expand trade, spur growth, and enhance the economic security of each and every American.

We can shape the future knowing that the United States is more secure now than at any time since early in this century. Democracy is ascendant from Central America to Central Asia, from South Africa to Cambodia. Free markets are being established in places where they were long forbidden. Millions of people, for the first time in their lives, have the chance to enjoy political freedom and economic opportunity. The United States is working relentlessly to ensure that an ever-increasing number of people know the benefits of democratic institutions, human rights, and free markets.

At the same time, new threats to peace and stability have emerged. The unholy marriage of ethnic violence and aggressive nationalism is shattering fragile states, creating humanitarian tragedies and raising the possibility of wider regional strife. And the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction multiplies the danger of every conflict.

In this period of transition, crises and even setbacks are inevitable. We will work to prevent and manage them. But we will stay on the steady and responsible course we have set. Television is a wonderful phenomenon and sometimes even an instrument of freedom. But television images cannot be the North Star of America's foreign policy.

As I travel the world, I see that virtually every nation wants to define its foreign policy in terms relative to the United States, whether seeking security assurances or expanding trade and investment links with us. They look to us as the fulcrum for global security and, in many cases, for regional security. They know that American international leadership is in their interest. This gives us unparalleled opportunities to influence their conduct. I am here today to say that American engagement and leadership in the world — that an activist American foreign policy -- is most fundamentally in our interest.

PRIORITIES

Today I would like to discuss with this Committee our efforts with respect to several major issues of enduring national interest. These are not the exclusive areas of concern for this Administration. My speeches last spring to the Council of the Americas and the African American Institute described our policy objectives toward Latin America and Africa, respectively. Today I want to discuss in my testimony some of our current top priorities -- priorities that address the great challenges in this era of change. Let me begin with the new centrality of economic policy in our foreign policy.
1. Economic Security

Security in the post-Cold War era will depend as much on strong economies as on strong arsenals. This Administration understands that America's strength at home and its strength abroad are interlocking -- and mutually reinforcing. That is why President Clinton and I have placed economic policy at the heart of our foreign policy. And I believe that this new emphasis is already yielding results.

The President's approach was apparent at the successful July summit meeting of the G-7 nations in Tokyo. For more than a decade, our major industrial allies and trading partners complained that we were not serious about reducing the growth of our budget deficit. By working with the Congress to enact an historic deficit reduction program, President Clinton sent a clear message to the world: America is back as a responsible manager of its own economy and as a dependable leader for global economic cooperation and growth.

Armed with that new credibility in Tokyo, President Clinton won a market access agreement to move the Uruguay Round forward. He was also able to win new pledges for multilateral assistance to Russia, and an agreement to negotiate a new economic framework to correct our unacceptable trade imbalance with Japan. This Administration attaches as high a priority to improving our economic and trade ties with Japan as it does to maintaining our important security and political links.

Let me briefly turn your attention to three events -- all occurring within the next 40 days -- that together will help determine the strength of our economy and the standard of living of our people as we enter the 21st century: the vote on NAFTA, the deadline for GATT, and the meeting of the APEC forum. Each event is also a foreign policy challenge with enormous consequences for our global leadership.

I have been making the case for NAFTA repeatedly in recent weeks, and I believe that there is increasing recognition that NAFTA is one of the great foreign policy opportunities of this generation. For the United States, Canada and Mexico, NAFTA is about more than tariffs and trade, growth and jobs. It will also build a new cooperative relationship with Mexico. Approval of NAFTA will increase Mexico's capacity to cooperate with us on a wide range of vital issues such as illegal immigration, cross-border pollution and narco-trafficking.

NAFTA will also mark a turning point in the history of our relations throughout the hemisphere at a time when democracy is on the march, markets are opening and conflicts are being resolved peacefully. By approving NAFTA, the United States will send a powerful signal that we support these developments. Rejecting NAFTA, on the other hand, would send a
chilling signal about our willingness to engage in Latin America at a time when so many of our neighbors -- including Mexico -- are genuinely receptive to closer cooperation with us.

There is no good time to defeat NAFTA -- but there could be no worse time than when the GATT negotiations are in their final crucial days leading up to the December 15 deadline. At this delicate, decisive stage of the Uruguay Round, the United States must maintain maximum leverage -- and exercise maximum leadership. A setback on NAFTA would compromise both. Rejecting NAFTA would create the perception that America is not prepared to act on behalf of its global economic interests at a time when those interests are so clearly at stake.

NAFTA is now in our hands, but the United States cannot conclude the Uruguay Round on its own. The EC, Japan, the ASEAN nations, and others must also move. None of the remaining trade-offs in goods, services or agriculture will be easy for any nation -- but they must be made. I want to remind our allies and trading partners in Europe once again that advancing transatlantic security requires us not only to focus on renewing the NATO Alliance but also on successfully concluding the GATT negotiations. The Uruguay Round is critically important to the revival of the world economy, not only to our major industrial allies, but to developing countries in Africa, Latin America, and Asia that are seeking sustained growth and sustainable development.

Nowhere is economic growth faster-- or the export opportunities for American business greater-- than in the dynamic Asia-Pacific region. In two weeks, I will go to Seattle to host a meeting of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum. The APEC conference-- and the historic gathering of leaders that President Clinton has called at its conclusion-- will enable us to establish a framework for regional economic integration and trade liberalization among 15 economies that now account for nearly half the world's GNP. It will expand America's economic presence in a region to which our future is increasingly linked.

These are 40 days that can shake the economic world and shape America's future position in it. With NAFTA, GATT, and APEC, there is an extraordinary convergence of opportunities for the United States. I view each of these challenges, along with the President's deficit reduction program and successes in Tokyo last summer, as integral elements of the most ambitious international economic agenda that any President has undertaken in almost half a century. And as Secretary of State, I see each as a foreign policy as well as an economic policy opportunity-- because in the post-Cold War world, our national security is inseparable from our economic security.
2. Support for Reform in Russia and the NIS

This Administration is placing special emphasis on our support for political and economic reform in Russia and in the other states of the former Soviet Union. Helping ensure the success of this process is our highest foreign policy priority. That is the reason President Clinton is seeking to build a strategic alliance with post-communist reformers throughout the area.

If the people of Russia succeed in their heroic struggle to build a free society and a market economy, the payoffs for the United States will be transforming: a permanently diminished threat of nuclear war; lower defense budgets; vast new markets; and cooperation on the global and regional issues that once divided us. Helping democracy prevail in Russia remains the wisest— and least expensive— investment that we can make in America's security.

Mr. Chairman, the House and Senate have recognized the value of this investment. With the support of Congress, the United States initially pledged 1.6 billion dollars in bilateral assistance programs to Russia and the New Independent States. In Tokyo last July, we proposed a three billion dollar special privatization and restructuring program, which our G-7 partners have joined. And in late September, as the crisis in Moscow between reform and reaction was approaching its climax, this Congress approved the Administration's request for 2.5 billion dollars in additional technical and humanitarian assistance.

As you know, I went to Moscow two weeks ago to reaffirm, on behalf of President Clinton, our steadfast support for reform in the wake of the early October crisis. I made the case that the credibility of December's parliamentary elections -- and the prospects for Russian democracy -- depend on open dissent and a free press. President Yeltsin and Foreign Minister Kozyrev reiterated their commitment to reform and their determination to hold free and fair elections -- and to allow press freedom.

Despite the hardships inevitably associated with a transformation of this magnitude, the Russian people have chosen reform over reaction. My visit gave me renewed confidence that reform will win their support once again. We now look forward to a January summit between President Clinton and President Yeltsin in Moscow— a summit that we expect will broaden and deepen the new cooperative relationship we are forging.

3. Europe and NATO

The trip I completed last week was designed not only to reinforce our partnership with Russia, but to help renew the
NATO alliance at a time of new and different security challenges in Europe. The United States has an enduring political, military, economic and cultural link to Europe that must be preserved. The European Community is our largest single trading partner, and we have a powerful stake in the collective security guaranteed by NATO. This Alliance of democracies -- the most successful in history -- can lay the foundation of an undivided continent rooted in the principles of political liberty and economic freedom.

To meet the new challenges in Europe, the Alliance must embrace innovation, or risk irrelevance. Accordingly, the United States is proposing to transform NATO's relationship with the new democracies of the East.

The January summit should formally open the door to an evolutionary process of NATO expansion. This process should be non-discriminatory and inclusive. It should not be tied to a specific timetable or criteria for membership.

The summit should also initiate practical military cooperation between NATO forces and those to the East. To that end, we have proposed a Partnership for Peace. The Partnership would be open to all members of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council as well as others. It excludes no nations and forms no new blocs.

Our idea is to build the Partnership for Peace over time, at a pace geared to each Partner's interest and capabilities. The Partnership would involve tangible cooperation and would channel members' defense efforts toward the ability to participate with NATO in a range of multinational missions. This Partnership for Peace would play an important role in the evolutionary process of NATO expansion, creating an evolving security relationship that could culminate in NATO membership.

This Partnership is a first step by the Alliance to help fill the vacuum of insecurity and instability that was created in Central and Eastern Europe by the demise of the Soviet empire. It reflects our strong belief that the reform movements in Eastern Europe must be bolstered by the prospect of security cooperation with the West. Reaction to this proposal has been positive - from Allies, from NATO Secretary General Woerner, from Central and East European countries (including the Baltic States) and from Russia and the New Independent States.

4. Asia and the Pacific

No area of the world will be more important for American interests than the Asia-Pacific region. This region contains the world's most dynamic economies, and it is the most lucrative terrain for American exports and jobs. It is thus crucial to the President's domestic agenda. We have vital
security stakes in an area where we have fought three wars in the past half-century and where major powers intersect. And we seek to promote our values in the world's most populous region, where democracy is on the move yet repressive regimes remain.

The stakes in Asia are therefore high for America. That is why President Clinton travelled there on his first trip overseas. That is why I have been there three times as Secretary.

The upcoming APEC meeting will elaborate the President's vision of a New Pacific Community which he set forth in July in his statements in Tokyo and Seoul. The basic outlines are already clear:

- A more prosperous community through open markets and open societies.
- A more secure community through maintenance of our alliances and forward military presence, non-proliferation policies, and engagement in regional dialogues.
- A freer community through advocacy of open societies which contribute both to development and peace.
- Regional cooperation on global issues like the environment, narcotics, refugees and health problems.

The Clinton Administration is placing special emphasis on developing regional approaches so as to construct -- with others -- a New Pacific Community. But clearly bilateral ties are also part of this vision. Let me briefly mention two that are central to our concerns.

The cornerstone of our Asia-Pacific policy remains our relationship with Japan. The President seeks to shape a durable and comprehensive partnership as we head toward the next century. As I have emphasized, we need to place our economic ties on as sound and cooperative a basis as we have established on security, political and global issues.

We are working out a comprehensive relationship with China that permits resolution of differences in a broad strategic context. As I have made clear on previous occasions, we have continuing concerns with China, including human rights, proliferation, and market access. We are actively working to make strides in each area, and share with the Congress the need to make measurable progress. The clock is ticking on next Spring's decision on MFN renewal. Unless there is overall significant progress on human rights, the President will not be in a position to recommend extension.
5. The Middle East

The Middle East is a region where the United States has both vital interests and the influence to protect those interests. This fact was powerfully demonstrated in our successful leadership in stemming aggression in the Persian Gulf. Nowhere is this intersection between interests and influence more apparent than in the Arab-Israeli peace process. For four decades we have been involved in the search for Middle East peace not only because it is the right thing to do, but because our interests and those of our friends demand it. The pursuit of peace cannot guarantee stability in the region. But it can reduce the dangers of war and enhance the well-being of our allies -- Israeli and Arab alike. This in turn will help preserve our political and economic stake in one of the world's most important strategic regions.

In the Middle East, the recent breakthrough between Israelis and Palestinians has fundamentally changed the landscape of the Arab-Israeli conflict. There is much work to be done to transform the Declaration of Principles into an enduring agreement and changed realities on the ground.

The challenge now is to reinforce this breakthrough and broaden it to achieve a comprehensive settlement that will last. We will continue to work very closely with the parties themselves in pursuit of three goals.

First, it is essential that Israelis and Palestinians implement their Declaration of Principles in a timely manner. Implementing the accord will build the strength of the peace constituencies. It will show that negotiations work and demonstrate that extremists cannot stop the march toward peace. This accord must succeed. This means that Israelis and Palestinians need to be flexible and patient as they work through the complicated issues on the table. It also means that the international community needs to lend its support. That effort began with the October 1 Conference to Support Middle East Peace, which we organized. It will continue this week in Paris when the Ad Hoc Liaison Committee meets to coordinate assistance to Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza. We must work to make the recent turning point for peace irreversible, as we work to make the benefits of peace irresistible.

Second, it is also essential that we continue our efforts to move toward a comprehensive settlement. This means ensuring that progress is achieved on the other tracks, and that progress on the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations facilitates rather than impedes movement on the others. On the Israeli-Syrian track, there are complex issues relating to peace, withdrawal, and security that continue to separate the parties. These issues should be amenable to a negotiated settlement, and we are prepared to play our role as a peace partner with both the Syrians and Palestinians.
Lebanese are focused on trying to find a way to meet their respective needs on the same three issues. And Jordan and Israel, having concluded an historic agenda in Washington, are in the process of organizing their negotiations in a practical manner on key issues.

We are committed to a comprehensive settlement, and we believe the parties are, too. Our Special Middle East Coordinator, Dennis Ross, came back from his recent trip to the region with the strong view that all parties are committed to this process and to working with us to find ways to overcome the gaps that separate them. And we will be unflagging in this effort.

Third, we are trying to create the proper environment for peace in the region. As the implementation of the Declaration of Principles moves forward, we are encouraging Israelis and Palestinians to reach out toward one another and create an atmosphere on the ground that facilitates their work at the negotiating table. At the same time, we are asking the Arab states to do their share. Tunisia's decision to host the refugee working group last month was significant, as was the Qatari Foreign Minister's meeting with Israeli Foreign Minister Peres. Oman has offered to host the next working group meeting on water. Egypt will host the next working group meeting on the environment. Morocco hosted Prime Minister Rabin on his return from the September 13 signing ceremony in Washington. Arab and Israeli business people are talking about translating the potential for regional economic growth into reality.

But more needs to be done. Anachronisms such as the Arab boycott of Israel must end, and anti-Israeli UN resolutions that have been on the books for too long must be removed. There has been some movement on both of these issues, and we will work to build greater momentum.

Working at times as a catalyst, as a facilitator, or as a source of reassurance — and, when needed, as an intermediary — the United States is committed to doing everything we can to help secure what has been achieved and push for breakthroughs on other fronts. The President and I will stay actively involved. I will travel to the region when appropriate to promote the sustained progress that I believe is within reach. There is much work to be done, but I am very hopeful about the prospects for a comprehensive peace.

6. Non-Proliferation and Other Global Issues

Nuclear weapons give rogue states disproportionate power, destabilize entire regions, and threaten human and environmental disasters. They can turn local conflicts into serious threats to our security. In this era, weapons of mass destruction are more readily available — and there are fewer inhibitions on their way.
This Administration is working for global enforcement of non-proliferation standards. We are also pursuing specific strategies in each region where there is a real potential for proliferation. We lead the international effort to persuade North Korea to adhere to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and to its nuclear safeguards obligations. We are working to ensure that Iran does not acquire nuclear weapons, and that Iraq does not restore its former capabilities. We have sanctioned China and Pakistan for China's transfer of ballistic missile components to Pakistan.

Let me describe the progress made on non-proliferation and denuclearization during my trip to Russia and the NIS. I visited Kazakhstan, Ukraine, and Belarus, where hundreds of old Soviet nuclear weapons remain. In 1992, these former Soviet states committed themselves to ratify the START I treaty and adhere to the NPT as non-nuclear states. We have taken significant steps forward. Belarus has already fulfilled its commitments. In Kazakhstan, which has ratified START I, President Nazarbayev for the first time set a deadline for accession to the NPT -- the end of this year.

Ukraine reaffirmed its commitments and their applicability to all strategic offensive arms on Ukrainian soil. President Kravchuk has pledged to press the Ukrainian parliament to ratify START I during its November session. We still have hard work ahead with Ukraine, where opposition remains to that nation becoming "non-nuclear."

The United States is prepared to help Kazakhstan, Ukraine, and Belarus to destroy or dismantle their nuclear weapons. But we have made it clear that action on these matters is a pre-requisite to longer-term economic cooperation and security partnerships.

We are also bringing transnational issues such as the environment, population growth, refugees, terrorism, and narcotics where they belong -- in the mainstream of American foreign policy. If we ignore these issues, they will return -- compounded, more costly, and sometimes threatening to our security. That is why the United States is a leader, not a laggard, on global environmental issues. As part of this commitment, we have signed the biodiversity and climate change treaties. This Administration is placing an unmistakable emphasis on these pressing global concerns.

REGIONAL CONFLICTS

Earlier I noted that the end of the Cold War, while lifting the lid that had smothered freedom for much of the world, also lifted the lid on regional conflicts -- especially along the periphery of the former Soviet Union. Troublesome conflicts,
the negotiating table. We have now re-imposed sanctions on oil and arms, and a freeze on assets of targeted individuals. These are selective sanctions, designed to compel the military leadership to fulfill its obligations, while sparing, as much as possible, the people of Haiti. We are prepared to increase the pressures on the Haitian military, if that is necessary. Once the accord is implemented, we want to make it possible for Haiti to sustain democracy.

Somalia

The United States is pursuing a noble objective in Somalia, consistent with its finest values and traditions. We have saved literally hundreds of thousands of lives. After the attack on Pakistani peacekeepers in June, significant efforts and resources were dedicated to the military and security aspects of the mission. Not enough attention was given to efforts to achieve political reconciliation, which is essential to prevent Somalia from returning to famine and anarchy. We are now set firmly on the political track and are encouraged by the progress being made. In order to give this process a chance to succeed, American forces will remain until next March and will, as President Clinton stated on October 7, work with UN forces to keep open lines of communications and keep pressure on those who would seek to cut off relief supplies.

To be sure, we could have taken the easy, and perhaps popular, way out: simply abandon the effort in Somalia after the tragic deaths of American servicemen on October 3. The President chose another path, one that seeks to protect the real gains made in Somalia while improving the prospects for further progress. This will give the Somalis a reasonable chance to sort out their differences and also permit the United Nations to prepare for our departure.

Bosnia

American policy toward the terrible conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina responds to our strategic interest in preventing the conflict from spreading to neighboring countries and our humanitarian interest in helping to relieve the suffering of the people of Bosnia.

Negotiations offer the only way to a practical solution. Although the Geneva talks have not been able to produce an acceptable agreement, they have made some progress and remain alive. The negotiators have also explored the option of a "global solution" that would embrace Croatia, Kosovo, and other areas of conflict in the region. The United States has played an active role in support of these diplomatic efforts and will continue to do so.
often spilling across borders, have persisted in Africa. In these conflicts, preventive diplomacy can be employed to great success.

Realism must guide U.S. policies toward these conflicts. Some touch our interests -- or will, if they are not checked. But we must accept that other conflicts may not.

In testifying before the Committee, Madeleine Albright addressed the importance of taking stock together with the Congress as we look at regional conflicts and the ever-increasing demands on peacekeeping. Ambassador Albright spoke eloquently of the need to preserve a bipartisan consensus as we address our role in UN peacekeeping operations. I completely agree.

Clearly, we will need to consider new mechanisms for conflict resolution and conflict avoidance. The UN structure may have to be supplemented by regional mechanisms. Organizations such as the OAU and the OAS can be more effective in conflict prevention, peacekeeping, and disaster relief. Institutions like NATO may need to assume more of a peacekeeping mission, at least in Europe. Our own role and involvement will need to be informed by a strict assessment of our interests and the interests of others. We must examine every case -- asking rigorous questions, and giving measured answers -- to find the course commensurate with our interests.

That is what we are doing today in Haiti, Somalia, and Bosnia. In each of these places, things have not always gone exactly as we had planned or hoped. These are difficult situations, and some setbacks, unfortunately, are inevitable. We should learn from them. But we should not overreact, for that may mean either losing possible opportunities for success or damaging our interests elsewhere.

**Haiti**

Haiti demonstrates that temporary setbacks must not prevent us from pursuing our interests. If democracy is not restored, repression, violence, and suffering will continue. More instability may cause large numbers of Haitians to flee, at great risk to themselves and to Haiti's neighbors -- including the United States.

Haiti's problems can be addressed only through democratic institutions and economic development. We have supported a political process, culminating in the Governor's Island accord, that provides for the restoration of democracy. But now Haiti's military leadership refuses to adhere to the accord.

We are staying on course. We remain committed to the restoration of democracy and the return of President Aristide. The sanctions imposed in June brought the Haitian military to
Unfortunately, none of these efforts provides any assurance that an agreement can be reached this winter. We will continue to press the negotiating track, but with the Bosnian people again at serious risk, we must focus attention on humanitarian relief. The United States has worked very hard to respond to humanitarian needs. We are the single largest country donor of humanitarian aid (more than 370 million dollars since 1991). With 6,000 flights over 500 days, the Sarajevo airlift has gone on longer than the Berlin airlift of 45 years ago. Air drops of humanitarian relief to the enclaves have delivered more than 10 million meals since February. American planes have made 80 percent of airdrop flights. We remain committed to the relief effort, both by air and overland, where we are working with the UN and EC on ways to resolve immediate problems of secure land access for relief convoys, now suspended because of intense fighting in central Bosnia.

We strongly support the work of the UN's War Crimes Tribunal, and continued economic sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro. We are determined to prevent the conflict from spreading, and we have deployed U.S. forces to Macedonia as part of an international effort to deter a wider conflict.

At the same time, the President has made it clear that the United States will not attempt to force a settlement on Bosnia militarily. No imposed settlement would endure. Before committing American troops anywhere in the world, we must ask a series of rigorous and searching questions. If we are satisfied with the conditions for our participation, we would be prepared to participate in a NATO implementation of a Bosnian settlement. Those conditions would include good-faith agreement to a settlement by all the parties, and evidence of good-faith implementation. Any such action by the United States would require the fullest consultation with Congress.

I want to assure the Members of this Committee that our policy toward any regional conflict will undergo constant and rigorous reevaluation. We will constantly reassess our own assumptions to be sure they are truly validated by events. And any situation in which American men and women may be put in harm's way will always hold the highest priority for me and for every member of this Administration.

CONGRESSIONAL CONSULTATIONS

Mr. Chairman, this Administration is committed to frequent and comprehensive consultations with the Congress. When Congressional hearings begin on the relationship between the Legislative and the Executive Branch on foreign policy, we will be responsive.

It is in that spirit, Mr. Chairman -- a spirit of cooperation and steadfastness about enduring American interests in a fast-changing world -- that I have come here today; New I would be pleased to respond to your questions and hear your views.
FOR: TONY LAKE
    SANDY BERGER
    NANCY SODERBERG
    DON STEINBERG

FROM: RICHARD SCHIFTER

FYI.
Who What Where When and How

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Clinton Still Not Paying Attention To Foreign Policy

With "small" crises still boiling in Haiti, Somalia, and Bosnia and a big one ready to explode in Korea, key Administration officials complain that President Clinton is not yet focusing regularly on foreign policy.

"He isn't interested in the subject," said one official. "He doesn't want to delegate it," said another.

"Another said that in the wake of embarassing disasters in Somalia and Haiti, Clinton intends to spend more time with his foreign policy advisers, but no regular schedule has been worked out.

In his absence, Clinton's advisers are considering major new policy departures, including diplomatic approaches to get China to stop North Korea from building a nuclear bomb, an alternative negotiating process for Bosnia that would skirt the need for US forces, and efforts to get Haiti back on track toward democracy without necessarily installing ousted President Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

Even though officials say Clinton was "extremely frustrated" when his Somalia policy went awry, the only high-level personnel change under consideration is replacing his national security adviser, Admiral William Crowe. However, they said that White House counselor David Gergen was holding meetings with various foreign policy officials to work out new procedures.

Except when a crisis is erupting, officials complain, Clinton rarely attends so-called "principals" meetings, with his top foreign policy advisers, and he has yet to return to a pattern of daily morning briefings from the CIA and his national security adviser.

Tony Lake, that he observed at the start of his Administration but interrupted when his focus turned to selling his economic package.

When the President attends a "principals meeting," it officially becomes a National Security Council meeting, but officials say these have been held recently only when a problem hits the TV news or is likely to — prior to the decision to bomb Iraq's intelligence headquarters June 26, following the death of 18 US soldiers in Somalia Oct. 4, and after the collapse of US efforts to send 600 troops into Haiti Oct. 11.

With Clinton clearly more interested in domestic affairs, the "principals" — Lake, Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Secretary of Defense Les Aspin, CIA Director James Woolsey, and United Nations Ambassador Madeleine Albright, joined periodically by Vice President Al Gore — have been left to devise policy on their own.

"It's not that the President doesn't know what's going on," one official said. "Toney Lake tells him faithfully what the others are thinking and faithfully reports what he thinks, but it's not the same as his being there. He misses the flavor of the discussion. He can't get immersed in things, and so important steps get taken without full vetting."

Officials say there was no NSC meeting, for example, prior to the United States's concurrence in United Nations plans to arrest Somali warlord Mohammed Farah Aidid, which led to the use of US forces and the deaths of 18.

Even though Clinton and his advisers pride themselves on doing well on "big" foreign policy issues such as Russia and the Middle East, some of them grant that failures on "small" issues like Somalia and Haiti could damage Clinton's credibility as a foreign policy leader and undermine his domestic political standing.

Currently, sources say the principals are considering these new initiatives:

- Sending an envoy to China to gain its cooperation in stopping North Korea from building a nuclear weapon and destabilizing the entire East Asia region — which all officials agree would be a "big" problem.
- The Administration's ability to keep China from joining in threatening sanctions against North Korea is hampered by poor relations caused by Administration criticism of China's human rights record.
- According to the International Atomic Energy Agency, North Korea has processed several kilograms of plutonium and has conducted high explosive tests, indicating it can already produce a nuclear weapon.
- If it does, Administration officials say it would be practically impossible to keep South Korea and Japan from producing weapons of their own, setting in motion an Asian arms race.

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Clinton strategy on Korea — which in

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Kondracke: President Still Aloof From Foreign Policy

Includes the cancellation of this year’s “Team Spirit” joint US military exercises with South Korea — was attacked last week by two Bush Administration officials, former National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft and former CIA director Robert Gates, as “bribery” toward North Korea, which they said was successfully stalling for time while it completed work on its nuclear weapon.

Gates and Scowcroft said that the United States ought to make a flat statement that development of a North Korean bomb is “unacceptable,” should seek international economic sanctions against Pyongyang, and should send a secret envoy to China to get its cooperation.

Asked about the possibility of a crisis over Korea, one Administration official treated it more as a domestic political problem raised by Republicans than an impending foreign policy problem, but confirmed that Clinton’s key domestic and communications advisers had yet to focus on Korea in either context.

Proposing an alternative to the unsuccessful Bosnia peace process presided over by Britain’s David Owen and Norway’s Thorvald Stoltenberg.

The Administration is primarily concerned that beleaguered Bosnia might accept the terms Owen and Stoltenberg have negotiated, possibly forcing the US to fulfill its promise to provide 25,000 troops to police the agreement. Administration officials are afraid that US troops might become targets of forces on all sides of the dispute.

Proposing an alternative to the return of Aristide as the means to bring democracy to Haiti. Officials declined to discuss what kind of alternatives were under consideration.

Clinton says again and again that there is no real distinction any more between foreign and domestic policy — that they are intertwined. If that’s so, he ought to heed his metaphorical “small” foreign policy screw-up can severely damage his approval ratings and his ability to get domestic programs through Congress. A “big” mistake could destroy his presidency.
Over-All Clinton Foreign Policy Record

-- Even as we focus on the more immediate and dramatic foreign policy issues of the past month, we cannot lose sight of the progress that we're making on the issues that will have the most important and long-lasting impact on our security and prosperity.

-- We've raised the issue of stimulation world growth to the top of the global agenda, helping to create American jobs and exports.

  We've pursued this through our work on NAFTA and the Uruguay Round, opening Japanese markets through our framework talks, coordinating economic policies with our G-7 allies, and meeting later this month with the 15 leaders of the Asian Pacific Economic Council -- whose economies make up half the world's GNP.

-- Our steadfast support for democratic and market reform in Russia has helped President Yeltsin overcome numerous threats from reactionary forces.

  A successful transition in Russia will allow us to continue to cut defense spending, open markets of hundreds of millions of consumers and eliminate for good the destructive Cold War competition.

-- Secretary Christopher's work to reinvigorate the Middle East peace talks created an environment that allowed the momentous achievements over the past months, including the Israeli-PLO peace signing at the White House.

-- On defense issues, Secretary Aspin's "bottom up" review has given us a road-map for restructuring the military to face the challenges of the post Cold War world, ensuring continued security while allowing us to make even greater defense cuts.

  We've also unveiled a proposal -- embraced by our allies, Russia and others -- to offer former Soviet republics and East European nations closer ties with NATO, helping to adapt NATO to the post-Cold War world and promote transatlantic security.

-- We've provided new global impetus to efforts to protect the global environment and to prevent proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.
We've also announced new policies to stem the flow of illegal immigration and combat international drug trafficking.

On the issues that confronted us when we came to office, there have been some difficult times over the past six weeks, but we are making progress.

In Somalia, we are already seeing results from the policy I announced on October 7. African leaders are promoting political reconciliation; attacks on U.S. and U.N. forces have ceased; the Rangers have been brought home; and a commission of inquiry is being set up to hold those responsible for the attack of U.N. peacekeepers accountable for their actions.

We cannot rebuild Somalia -- the Somali people must do that for themselves -- but our commitment to complete our mission there in a disciplined manner is giving them a chance to avoid a return to anarchy and starvation that resulted in the loss of 350,000 lives before our engagement began last December.

In Haiti, we have tough international sanctions in place and diplomatic discussions underway in an effort to restore democracy and President Aristide to that country in line with the Governor’s Island process. The anti-democratic forces must understand they cannot indefinitely thwart the will and commitment of the Haitian people and the international community.

We have strong national interests in helping foster democracy and human rights on our doorsteps in the Caribbean, protecting 1000 Americans in Haiti and preventing a recurrence of mass exodus of Haitians at great risk to themselves and great disruption to us.

Lessons of the Past Month

We've faced some tough problems over the past month that have captured Americans' attention. The situations in Somalia, Haiti and Bosnia are not unique: in the uncharted ground after the end of the Cold War, we're likely to face more and more instances in which societies are tearing themselves apart.

We cannot turn our backs on all such conflicts -- some, such as Haiti, have broad implications for us. But our main focus must and will remain on the challenges of primary and lasting importance: Russia, trade, Asia, NATO, Japan, NAFTA, military readiness, combating narcotics, non-proliferation.
We intend to work more closely with Congress and the American people to communicate our priorities and to build consensus regarding when and how we get involved in humanitarian and peacekeeping operations that warrant our participation.

- At the United Nations, the President laid out conditions and questions we must consider before we become involved in these situations: what are our national interests; what are our specific goals; can our involvement really make a difference; what is the exit strategy.

- We welcome the emergence of a new bipartisan spirit of consultation and cooperation on these issues as well as Congressional reaffirmation of the President's authority to conduct foreign policy.
Haiti

Background

Dante Caputo was forced to cancel the today's "conclave" to discuss means to revitalize the process of restoring democracy to Haiti when the military officials did not show up. Meanwhile, anti-Aristide forces continue to consider the possibility of forming a new government and sponsoring new elections, citing the passing of October 30 date for Aristide's return. There are no signs from Cedras or Francois that they intend to resign soon.

Recent news reports state that key protagonists in the current stand-off -- presumably Cedras and/or Francois -- were on the CIA payroll in the mid-80s. Another report states that the CIA was gearing up to provide funds to Aristide's critics during the 1987 elections before Congress disapproved the operation.

Other reports indicate the Administration is looking at a worldwide assets freeze and ban on visas to apply to Cedras, Francois and their 40 top supporters, preferring this option to a total embargo of the island. It said that the U.S. has contacted a number of countries about this proposal.

Points

-- We are committed to the restoration of democracy and the return of President Aristide to Haiti. We have important national interests there. We must ensure the safety of Americans in Haiti; promote democracy, human rights and stability on our doorstep in the Caribbean; and limit the potential for a new flow of illegal migration, which runs the risk of a disastrous humanitarian situation from the loss of life at sea.

-- We regret the refusal of the military leaders in Haiti to participate in today's "conclave" to provide new impetus to the next steps in the Governors Island process. Anti-democratic forces in Haiti must understand that the international community is firmly united in this effort, and that tough sanctions will remain in place until they fulfill commitments under the Governors Island process. The impact of these and possible new sanctions will be severe.

-- We call for progress on the next step continue. Such steps include creation of a new police force, the appointment of new army and police commanders, an amnesty law, and President Aristide's return to Haiti. We reject efforts by some in Haiti to thwart the democratic process by installing a separate undemocratic government.

-- We continue to support effective sanctions targeted at the anti-democratic forces in Haiti. We are reviewing President Aristide's call for a total embargo of Haiti. Our decisions
on future actions will be based on an assessment of what will best push ahead the process of restoring democracy and returning President Aristide to Haiti, along the lines of the Governors Island process.

-- We've been in contact with various governments about adoption on a world-wide basis of measures such as a freezing of assets and a ban on visas to those resisting the Governors Island process.

If asked about reports on CIA activities:

-- We will not comment on intelligence activities.

If asked about possible U.S. military involvement:

-- We have adopted measures at this time which we believe are appropriate to the situation. I'm not going to rule in or rule out next steps.

If pressed on Aristide's competency:

-- It is not for us to choose the leaders of Haiti; that is something only the Haitian people can decide. They elected President Aristide with more than two-thirds of the vote.

-- In our dealings with President Aristide, he has been rational and responsible. He has had the best interest of his people at heart and he has lived up to the commitments he has made, including difficult measures like providing amnesty to the leaders of the coup that overthrew his democratic government.

-- During his time in office, the human rights situation in Haiti improved markedly.
Haitian Immigration Issues

Background

There have been only a few cases of interdictions of Haitian boat people since the latest disturbances in Haiti. In each case, the Haitians have been repatriated without incident. In some cases, the Haitians were held by the police following their repatriation and then released.

Points

-- The only way to relieve the pressures which lead to such migration is to address Haiti’s pressing social and economic problems. This is why the President has given such a high priority to restoring democracy to Haiti and returning President Aristide to office.

-- We have great sympathy for individuals involved in these cases. In March, after careful review, we decided to maintain the practice of direct return of Haitian migrants interdicted on the high seas. We took this action because we thought and continue to think it was necessary to avert the humanitarian tragedy that would result from a potential large-scale boat exodus.

-- The Supreme Court upheld in June our legal authority to carry out the practice of direct return.

-- At the same time, we have taken a number of steps to address concerns about possibly turning away individuals who may have a legitimate claim to refugee status. We have procedures to identify possible legitimate claimants on-board Coast Guard cutters before they are returned so they can be placed into refugee processing.

-- In addition, we have acted to enhance our ability to process requests from potential refugees in Haiti. These include increased numbers of personnel working on these issues, streamlining the procedures for high priority cases, and expanded links with human rights groups to maximize access to vulnerable individuals.
Somalia

Background

The situation on the ground in Somalia has calmed but remains tense after recent inter-clan fighting, in which UNOSOM remained on the sidelines in the latest fighting.

Bob Oakley met with the President last week and returned to East Africa to continue his work in revitalization of the political track. He is now in Mogadishu, meeting with U.S. and U.N. officials and with representatives of various Somali groups. Aideed has said that Oakley should meet directly with him -- Oakley does not intend to do so, although he will meet with Aideed's sub-clan.

With the proliferation of road blocks set up by clan leaders and other disruptions to the flow of humanitarian relief, we have adopted a more determined posture at ensuring the relief efforts continue. We will bring together the clan leaders to put pressure on them to end the disruptions and will take additional actions if necessary.

A Washington Post story on Sunday challenged Secretary Aspin's comments that he was never informed that the additional equipment requested by General Montgomery was couched in terms of protecting American troops. It says Aspin never spoke to the JCS about the request, although he reportedly told the President the JCS was "mixed" on the question of additional equipment -- the President then said publicly that Aspin had told him the JCS was mixed on the issue.

Points

-- Over the past three weeks, since we announced the strengthening of our forces in Somalia and revitalizing diplomatic efforts for a political reconciliation, we have seen hopeful actions in Somalia, including the cessation of attacks on the U.S. and U.N. peacekeepers and the release of Durant.

-- At the same time, we are disturbed by recent inter-clan fighting and call on all parties to maintain their commitment to the cease fire in effect. While it is not our job to rebuild Somalia's society or its political structure -- the Somalis have to do that for themselves -- we have to give them enough time to have a chance of succeeding and to prevent a return to the chaos and anarchy that cost 350,000 lives before the U.S. and U.N. intervened.

-- We have been pleased with reports coming out of the region on the political reconciliation process, especially the work of President Meles of Ethiopia and leaders of the OAU. It would be up to the African leaders to determine who could
participate in this process. Ambassador Oakley has returned to the region now to continue his mission. He is meeting with U.S. and U.N. officials and representatives of various Somali groups.

-- We will complete our withdrawal soon, but we must leave on our terms. Our enhanced troop deployment is designed to protect our troops and our bases; to keep open and secure the roads, ports, and lines of communications essential to keep the flow of food, supplies and people moving; to keep the pressure on those who cut off relief supplies and attacked our people; and to enable the Somali people to reach agreements among themselves, supported by the U.N. and African nations.

-- For now, we are no longer actively searching for Aideed. At the same time, he cannot act with impunity. We believe also that is important that we fully investigate the attack on the U.N. peacekeepers, and that those responsible be held accountable for their actions. We are working with the African leaders and the U.N. on how best to establish an investigatory body.

If asked about a change in policy toward patrolling in Mogadishu again:

-- As we’ve often said, a key purpose of our mission in Somalia is to keep open roads, ports and lines of communications essential to keep food, supplies and people flowing.

-- We are going to do so now, however, through a process that involves peaceful discussion. The UN has now reconstituted the Security Committee, where it sits down with the Somali factions and discussed the removal of roadblocks and other similar issues.

-- As the Security Committee evolves, we expect the lines of communication to reopen peacefully.

If pressed on the possible use of force:

-- We will keep the lines of communications open and secure, so that supplies can flow in the city and out to the towns in the countryside. We believe that we have the size and type of forces necessary to do that job.

If asked about Aideed’s call for direct talks with Oakley

-- We consider Aideed’s new interest in the political track to be a positive step. However, there are no plans now for Ambassador Oakley to meet directly with Aideed. Oakley does intend to meet with representatives of Aideed’s political faction and sub-clan.
If asked about the Washington Post allegations:

-- I’m not going to discuss classified documents or conversations relating to troop movements or equipment deployments.

-- I will point out that Secretary Aspin said that the request for additional equipment to him was made in the context of normal protection for logistical supply lines and not in terms of coming to the rescue of troops engaged in a situation like that which occurred on October 3.
Nuclear Issues with North Korea

Background

Press reports say that the U.S. is engaged in talks with North Korea in which we are considering a number of carrots, including diplomatic recognition of North Korea, in exchange for Pyongyang's agreeing to full IAEA inspections. Some of the stories provided considerable detail on a reported North Korean proposal for a package deal for settling the nuclear issue.

IAEA's Blix has issued a statement critical of North Korea for its nuclear actions, but stating that the surveillance of North Korea's nuclear facilities "has not been broken." Meanwhile, some columnists are starting to criticize the Administration for what they believe is either inattention to this issue or an overly conciliatory tone in our discussion with North Korea.

Secretary of Defense Aspin returns today from South Korea -- in his departure statements, he has warned North Korea that American patience is wearing thin with their failure to make progress on these issues.

Points

-- We have acted consistently and resolutely to prevent nuclear proliferation by North Korea. As the President noted in his July 10 speech in South Korea: "We seek a non-nuclear Korean peninsula and robust global rules against proliferation."

-- In Korea, the President reaffirmed our commitment to the security of South Korea and made clear that there would be very serious consequences should North Korea threaten its neighbors with nuclear arms.

-- Since then, we have worked intensely with Japan and South Korea, our other allies, China, and other countries to make clear to North Korea that the entire international community demands that it abide by its nonproliferation obligations. Just this week, 140 nations joined in a UN resolution calling on the North Korea to comply with its IAEA safeguards commitments.

-- We have engaged in direct diplomatic discussions with North Korea with the aim of persuading them to accept full IAEA inspections of their nuclear facilities and implementation of the denuclearization agreement they signed with South Korea.

-- In these talks we have consistently said that the better economic and political relations which North Korea seeks can come about only through resolution of the nuclear issue.

-- As the President said in July, "our goal is not endless
discussion, but certifiable compliance." We are prepared to continue talking to North Korea, but only so long as the North demonstrates it is acting in good-faith to resolve the nuclear issue.

-- In our view, North Korea's nuclear ambitions represent one of the most dangerous challenges to world peace and our own vital security interests. We have been, and will remain, actively engaged in meeting this challenge.

If ask about Secretary Aspin's trip:

-- Secretary Aspin went to South Korea as part of a regularly scheduled consultative committee meeting. Obviously, issues related to North Korea are arising in his meetings. He has said, rightfully, that American patience is wearing thin with the North Koreans for lack of progress on these issues.

If ask about canceling Team Spirit:

-- As has always been the case, we will make our exercise decisions in Korea in consultation with the South Koreans and in light of our own defense requirements. Secretary Aspin is talking to the South Koreans about this. No firm decision has yet been made.
Bosnia

Background

Renewed fighting has occurred throughout the country, including in the Sarajevo region, where increasingly heavy shelling of the city by the Bosnia Serbs has resumed. There are reports of a massacre of civilians in the village of Stupni Do, reportedly at the hands of Croatians, who claim the acts were carried out by "extremists".

NATO aircraft have flown low sorties over Serb emplacements around Sarajevo as a warning. Meanwhile, there are few prospects for a resumption of talks: the Bosnians are calling for an international conference but the UN mediators and the EC are telling them the road to peace is through the existing talks in Geneva. And winter is approaching. We are developing plans for providing additional humanitarian assistance to Bosnia.

There have been recent press reports, rejected by the United Nations, that UNPROFOR troops in Bosnia have frequented a brothel run by Bosnian Serbs and using Bosnian women prisoners.

The general assumption among press pundits is that the situations in Somalia and Haiti has created a backlash in Congress and among the general public against peacekeeping operations, such that it will be virtually impossible for the Administration to proceed with support for a major peacekeeping mission in Bosnia absent a strong push by the President.

Points

-- We continue to believe that this tragic conflict can be resolved only at the negotiating table and not on the battlefield. We urge the parties to show maximum flexibility in the discussions. We call on them to respect previous agreements for immediate cease-fires, unimpeded delivery of humanitarian aid and release of all detainees.

-- NATO will maintain its commitment to air strikes to ensure that humanitarian assistance flows unimpeded and to prevent the strangulation of Sarajevo and other population centers. We are watching closely the current events in Sarajevo.

-- We will be reviewing within the Administration and with our key allies what next steps may be possible to facilitate a negotiated solution to this situation.

-- In terms of conditions for a possible U.S. involvement in the implementation of an agreement, the President must be certain that any agreement is entered into in good faith by all the parties, can be enforced and is as fair as possible. He believes that enforcement of any agreement should take place through NATO, which has command and control structures
capable of launching a significant mission of this kind. He also believes that Congress should be consulted fully with respect to U.S. involvement in an implementation mission.

We are very concerned about the humanitarian situation in Bosnia as winter approaches: there are reports that there will be about 2.7 million needy people in Bosnia this winter, including tens of thousands of people without adequate winter shelter and little access to food and water. Along with our allies and the UNHCR, we are taking steps to address this situation.

Difficulties in delivering relief supplies include interference by local militias, road deterioration and mining of highways, and demands by local authorities for travel authorizations. Since land convoys are the most effective means of getting aid to those who need it, we call on all parties in Bosnia to allow this flow to proceed unimpeded.

In the absence of land convoys, humanitarian airdrops have been successful in getting food and medicine into isolated areas. Nearly 30,000 tons of aid have been airlifted into Bosnia and airdrops have delivered another 10,000 tons of food and 180 tons of medicine. We are considering increasing these airdrops this winter.

If asked about allegations regarding UNPROFOR:

This is a matter for the United Nations to address. I understand they do not believe these reports have any truth, but they are looking into such allegations.
U.S. Policy towards China

Background

Recent news reports discuss a change in U.S. policy towards China. The thrust of these stories is that the Administration is trying to eliminate the "frictions" in our relationship with China in recognition of its important role in the Asia-Pacific region in the future, but also trying to achieve progress on issues related to human rights, non-proliferation and trade.

Evidence for Administration efforts to improve the relationship is seen in the upcoming visit to Beijing of Assistant Secretary of Defense Freeman, a "prelude" to the November 19 meeting between Presidents Clinton and Jiang in Seattle. Also cited are the recent visits to Beijing of Secretary Espy and Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights Shattuck.

Points

-- Our Administration has never adopted a policy of isolating China. On the contrary, we have consistently sought to engage China in discussions of issues of deep concern to us.

-- In these discussions, we have stressed our strong commitment to making progress in stemming the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, enhancing respect for human rights, and opening markets. We have noted that our relations with China will be strongly influenced by their actions on these issues.

-- We have not hesitated to act decisively in these areas, as shown by our actions related to the M-11 case or our conditions on the renewal of MFN.

-- Assistant Secretary Freeman to Beijing does not indicate a renewal of military-to-military ties and cooperation, such as a lifting of sanctions on arms or military-related sales to China. Rather, it reflects the need to discuss with the Chinese issues of regional security and engage them issues of common global concerns, including non-proliferation.
Change in Russian "No-First-Use" Policy

Background

Press reports indicate that Russia's new military doctrine, announced earlier this week, allows the use of nuclear weapons "against states, nuclear or non-nuclear, which have undertaken aggression against Russia or supported such aggression." This would be a reversal of the Soviet Union's policy of no-first-use.

Points

-- The Russian Federation has abandoned the declared Soviet doctrine of "no-first-use". However, the United States and its allies never took the former Soviet declared doctrine as a serious indication of what the USSR might employ their nuclear weapons in case of war.

-- In the new doctrine, Russia has said essentially that it will not use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapons nations party to the Non-Proliferation Treaty. The doctrine also indicates that nuclear weapons are to be regarded as a political means of deterring aggression, rather than as a means of conducting military operations.

-- This new Russian doctrine is not very different from our own.
Former Soviet Union Denuclearization

Background

Secretary Christopher has returned from his visit to the former Soviet states. In Kiev, President Kravchuk reassured him that Ukraine intends to give up all its nuclear weapons -- including their 46 SS-24s, their newest and most potent and hence the biggest bargaining chip. Kravchuk and the Parliamentary leaders have given us a clear commitment that they want a non-nuclear future for Ukraine. Nonetheless, the question of timing is still uncertain, given domestic concerns in the Ukraine and a reported belief among some Ukrainians that nuclear weapons are needed in light of potential political instability in Russia.

After much effort, we have finally concluded agreement with Ukraine on a legal framework that allows us to transfer up to $175 million in Nunn-Lugar funds to assist in the dismantlement of nuclear missiles on Ukrainian territory. Ukraine's estimates of dismantlement costs are substantially higher than ours. Our pledge of $175 million covers a significant portion of the costs, but we are ready to consider specific requests above that amount.

Points

-- We firmly believe that the interests of the parties to the Lisbon Protocol -- US, Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Belarus -- are best served by bringing the START Treaty into effect and by acceding to NPT as soon as possible, as the Protocol obligates all signatories to do.

-- We are encouraged by the results of Secretary Christopher's visit to the former Soviet states. Belarus has ratified START I, acceded to NPT and started to dismantle its missiles. We are facilitating this process through the allocation of about $70 million in Nunn-Lugar funds. They reiterated to the Secretary that withdrawal of all strategic missiles from their soil would be completed by 1996.

-- During the Christopher visit, we agreed in principle with Kazakhstan on an umbrella accord for nuclear dismantlement. President Nazarbayev wanted to have this document signed at the Presidential level. We are looking at when it would be possible to do so. Kazakhstan has ratified START-I. Nazarbayev said during Christopher's trip that Kazakhstan is ready to accede to the NPT as a non-nuclear state.

-- In the Ukraine, leaders again indicated their desire to see a non-nuclear future for their country. President Kravchuk said that START I would be submitted to Parliament by the end of October. Parliamentary leaders confirmed this and said NPT would also be on the calendar. Ukraine undertook under the Lisbon protocol to ratify START-I and accede to NPT as a non-nuclear state. We hold them to that intention.
There is less agreement on a timetable for fulfilling these commitments, which include a guarantee to eliminate all nuclear weapons and strategic offensive arms on Ukrainian soil within seven years after the START Treaty and Lisbon Protocol enter into force.
Iraqi Assassination Attempt Against Bush

Background

The New Yorker has published an article by Seymour Hersh saying that there is no evidence directly linking Saddam Hussein or his intelligence services in the assassination attempt against President Bush. Hersh cites a number of "munitions experts" who deny that the explosive devices involved in the attack had characteristics linking them to Iraq.

Points

-- On April 14, while former President Bush was in Kuwait City, Kuwaiti authorities thwarted a terrorist plot, seizing a powerful car bomb and other explosive devices and arresting 16 suspects who were led by two Iraqi nationals. The car bomb had a devastating power: forensic experts have concluded that it had the power to kill people within a radius of 400 yards.

-- In the succeeding two months, U.S. investigative teams from the FBI and the intelligence community conducted an extremely thorough investigation of this operation. Based on that review, the Justice Department and the CIA concluded that Iraq planned, equipped and ran the terrorist operation. This was based on:

  o A wide body of forensics evidence, including the fact that every government expert who looked at the explosive devices established with certainty that they contained certain features found only in devices linked to Iraq.

  o Human evidence, including FBI interviews with the two main suspects, who told the FBI that they had been recruited and received orders in Basra, Iraq, from individuals they believed to be associated with the Iraqi Intelligence Service.

  o Reports on Iraqi statements before the attack indicating their intention to seek vengeance against President Bush for his role in the Gulf War.

-- We stand firmly behind these conclusions, and took an appropriate response with our attack on the Iraqi Intelligence Service headquarters on June 26. We have seen nothing in any reports since then that challenge our firm belief that this was an Iraqi planned attempt to assassinate former President Bush.
Accomplishments in U.S. Foreign Policy

-- In the first nine months of this Administration, we have taken on the most important and toughest foreign policy challenges of crucial importance to Americans, and made vital progress. We have addressed the new issues in this uncharted post Cold War period with energy and imagination.

-- On the most important issue of this era -- encouraging political and market reform in Russia -- we provided international leadership to provide vital support at a crucial moment, including at the Vancouver Summit and in Tokyo. Our assistance to Yeltsin and the reform process has helped stabilize the situation there, paving the way for further reduction in our defense spending, increased commercial ties and democratic and market reform.

-- Our work to reinvigorate the Middle East peace talks helped create an environment in which the momentous achievements over the past months could be obtained. The Israeli-PLO peace signing, our convening of a donors conference to ensure its success, and progress in other negotiating tracks can fundamentally alter relations in this volatile part of the world.

-- We have focused unprecedented U.S. attention to Asia, one of the most dynamic and critical regions of the world.

--- We have negotiated a new economic framework for working with a change-oriented government in Japan, achieving a commitment for market opening that will yield new jobs and new exports for American workers and businesses.

--- We adopted, for the first time since Tiananmen Square, a China policy that Congress and the Executive agree on, stressing the need for progress on human rights, non-proliferation and market opening.

--- We proposed building up regional institutions, an idea we will highlight at the APEC meeting of leaders in Seattle in November.

-- Our "bottom up" review of our defense force has laid the groundwork for a restructuring of the military to face the challenges of the post Cold War world, ensuring continued American security while freeing resources to address pressing domestic needs.

-- On other key issues, we have provided new global impetus to concerns about the environment, democratization and human rights, and preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.
On issues that were outstanding when this Administration came to office, we have:

--- Reduced our military forces in Somalia by more than half and adopted a policy, which has already yielded results, to disengage American troops by March 31 at the latest on terms that seek to prevent a return of anarchy and the loss of 350,000 lives before U.S. engagement last December.

--- Recognizing the importance of restoring democracy on our doorstep in Haiti and preventing a flood of new boat immigrants, we have worked with the OAS, UN and others in the international community to resolve that situation.

--- Stressed our support for a negotiated solution to the crisis in Bosnia, enhance humanitarian assistance, made the sanctions on Serbia effective, enforce the No Fly Zone and with NATO held out the threat of airstrikes if humanitarian assistance is interfered with or the strangulation of major population centers takes place.
Over-All Foreign Policy

BACKGROUND

There have been a number of columns and editorials, in part from former Reagan/Bush administration officials, questioning the basis of U.S. foreign policy. Focussing on Somalia and Bosnia, they claim that the Administration’s foreign policy is adrift and unfocussed. Other observers claim that the U.S. has surrendered its initiative in foreign policy to the U.N. or NATO by its willingness to act in conjunction with our allies. They cite in particular our unwillingness to take unilateral action in Bosnia, concern that our support of the UNOSOM is leading us into a quagmire, and our commitment to international peacekeeping efforts which may involve U.S. troops serving under foreign commanders.

TALKING POINTS ON SUCCESSES IN FOREIGN POLICY

-- I’m proud of the record we are building on foreign affairs in its first seven months. We’ve taken on the toughest foreign policy questions, and made important progress. The success of this effort is reflected in some events taking place here in Washington this week.

-- The U.S. took the lead in support of historic political and market reform in Russia at a crucial moment when it was under challenge. Our assistance to Yeltsin and the reform process has helped stabilize the situation there, paving the way for further reduction in our defense spending and increased commercial ties. The visit of Russian Prime Minister Chernomyrdin this week to undertake new areas of commercial cooperation between our two countries symbolizes the benefits of our efforts for American workers and businesses in oil and gas, space, and other sectors.

-- Also this week, we’re hosting what promises to be momentous negotiations in the Middle East peace talks which could yield an historic accord between Israel and the Palestinians. The parties themselves are showing the courage to resolve what has long been one of the world’s most intractable problems. We are pleased to play our role as full partner in creating a facilitating environment for the negotiations.

-- On Monday, we witnessed the swearing-in of the new Prime Minister of Haiti at the Haitian Embassy here, another step forward on the road to the restoration of democracy to that country. In my meeting with the leaders of five Caribbean countries on Monday, they applauded our efforts in concert with the UN and OAS to take on the difficult challenge of bringing democracy and peace to Haiti.

-- We have focused unprecedented U.S. attention to Asia, one of the most dynamic and critical regions of the world. We have negotiated a new economic framework for working with a change-oriented government in Japan; adopted, for the first time since Tianamen Square, a China policy that Congress and
the Executive agree on; and proposed building up regional institutions, an idea I will highlight when I host the APEC meeting of leaders in Seattle in November.

On other key issues of the post Cold War world, we have provided new global impetus to concerns about the environment, population programs, democratization, human rights, preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and security arrangements in East Asia.

TALKING POINTS ON "MULTILATERAL CONTROL" OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

The United States will act first, foremost, and always in our own national interest as we define it. As Commander-in-Chief, I will maintain final and absolute authority over where American military personnel go and under what conditions. We have not and will not hesitate to act alone when we perceive our direct interests are at stake, as in our airstrikes in Baghdad to respond to the assassination plot against former President Bush.

There are, however, obvious advantages to working through institutions like NATO and the United Nations to pursue our national interests when it is useful and possible. We will seek to build and lead coalitions of like-minded nations to help share the burden of operations and build international support. The UNOSOM operation in Somalia is a good example, where what was first essentially a U.S. operation is now a UN operation, involving some two dozen countries and where fewer than one-in-seven of the peacekeepers is now American.

Building these coalitions can be time-consuming and frustrating, especially in cases where other nations have obvious national interests as well. Bosnia is clearly one such case. But for those who propose that we act unilaterally there, I would ask whether they are prepared to see the U.S. bear the full burden of implementing a peace agreement there without NATO or UN support?
Somalia

BACKGROUND

The death of American peacekeepers several weeks ago, the assignment of 400 Rangers to Somalia, and the misdirected raid last weekend have led to new calls for us to review our mission in Somalia. Senators Nunn and Dole both called for this review, although neither called explicitly for the U.S. to abandon the efforts. There are increasingly concerns that our mission has changed from its essentially humanitarian purpose towards a more aggressive military role, increasingly focussed on capturing Mohamed Aideed.

TALKING POINTS

-- The focus of the U.S. mission in Somalia has not changed. We are there as part of an international effort involving two dozen countries responding to the humanitarian disaster which killed up to 350,000 people through famine and violence.

-- Our efforts in Somalia have helped revive that country. Crops are being planted and harvested; markets, hospitals and schools are reopening; and civil society and government are being created throughout the country, including 30 district councils recently established. But this substantial yet fragile progress could be undermined by the efforts of warlords who would profit from the suffering of others and who have killed American and Pakistani peacekeepers.

-- The famine was caused in large measure by warlords who disrupted relief efforts and contributed to mass starvation. That famine now has largely been alleviated, but stabilizing the security situation is essential if we are to avoid ending up in another humanitarian disaster six months down the road.

-- I am committed to ensuring that American troops do not remain in Somalia any longer than is absolutely necessary. We have already reduced our troop level from more than 20,000 at its peak to about 4400 now.
Bosnia

BACKGROUND

Prospects for Bosnian peace talks in Geneva change daily, but there are signs that the three parties may come together to support a workable and enforceable plan to bring peace to that beleaguered country. The agreement calls for a tripartite Bosnia divided along ethnic lines. While most power would go to three constituent republics, Bosnia would retain its international identity. The Serbs would give up much of the territory they now control, retaining about half of Bosnia. The Muslims would have about one-third of the territory, up from the roughly 10 percent they now hold. Sarajevo would be under UN administration for up to two years while its final status is resolved. We have been quietly supporting with the Croats the request by Izetbegovic for additional concessions regarding access to the Adriatic Sea and linking of the Eastern Muslim enclaves.

TALKING POINTS

-- I'm hopeful that progress in Geneva will lead to a workable solution to bring an end to the tragedy that has plagued that country for nearly two years. There has been renewed seriousness of the parties since the NATO commitment to act against any party that threatened major population centers and disrupted humanitarian relief efforts.

-- In terms of a U.S. role in implementing any agreement, we would review any agreement to be sure it was entered into seriously by all parties and to ensure it can be enforced. It is in our national interest to work with NATO to foster stability and end the violence in Bosnia. In addition to our obvious humanitarian concerns, history has shown that a war raging uncontrolled in the heart of Europe can have dangerous and unforeseen consequences. Violence threatens to spill over and destabilize the entire region.

-- Any U.S. commitment through NATO will not be open-ended. NATO would have clear goals for its mission, including separation of forces, control of heavy weapons and demilitarization of Sarajevo. Once the political and security situation has been stabilized, forces can be progressively reduced and eventually removed.

-- Our goal must be to end the killing in Bosnia, not to rewrite the sad history of the Balkans. Reversing aggression there would require NATO to introduce thousands of troops fighting to dislodge entrenched positions. Further, the costs of supporting the aggression are clear, with the Serbian economy having been virtually destroyed by sanctions.

-- To suggest that we are legitimizing ethnic cleansing is to shift perversely responsibility for this heinous practice from where it belongs: with the Bosnian Serbs and others.
Middle East Peace Talks

BACKGROUND

Important progress has been achieved in the Middle East peace talks, with agreement in principle between the Israelis and PLO on Palestinian rule in Gaza and Jericho, mutual recognition and PLO abandonment of terrorism. This progress, the result of many rounds of secret negotiations between Israel and the PLO, was greatly facilitated by our efforts to broker a peace in Southern Lebanon, to keep the momentum of the peace talks going and to get the so-called Syrian negotiating track back on track. It is expected that the participants in talks in Washington will sign onto a new agreement soon, although implementation will be difficult.

The United States does not have a direct dialogue with the PLO. Our conditions for establishing such a dialogue include the PLO renunciation of terrorism, its acceptance of UNSC resolution 242 and its recognition of Israel's right to exist. In recent days, Secretary Christopher has opened the door a bit to possible movement by stating, as proposed below, that "this is a rapidly changing situation and we are following developments closely."

TALKING POINTS

-- I'm obviously very encouraged by progress in the Middle East peace process on a possible accord between Israel and the Palestinians as the result of direct negotiations between the parties. We will continue to do everything possible to ensure that the talks continue and make additional progress, both in implementing the Israel/Palestinian agreement and on other tracks.

-- I'm pleased at the role we have played, especially through the efforts of Secretary Christopher, in assisting this process since our decision to enter the negotiations as a full partner. Secretary Christopher's efforts to end the hostilities in Southern Lebanon and to renew dialogue among the parties was essential to creating the environment for this progress.

-- Regarding direct U.S. dialogue with the PLO, our policy is unchanged: we do not have, nor do we seek, such a dialogue. However, this is a rapidly changing situation, and we are following developments closely.
Nomination of General Shalikashvili

BACKGROUND

The reports that General John Shalikashvili’s father may have served in the German SS during World War II have largely died down. No one is stating that these reports should affect General Shali’s consideration as Chairman of the JCS, but some critics are charging that the White House misled reporters by "artful sidestepping" of this question at his nomination ceremony in the Rose Garden on August 11. In particular, there is the charge that your account of Shali’s family history omitted the fact that his father served in the WWII German army, a fact we did not know at the time.

TALKING POINTS

-- General Shali’s has compiled an extraordinary record of achievement in the U.S. Army over the last 34 years that fully warrants his nomination and confirmation as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. I remain fully behind my choice. Nothing that has been reported about his family history has any bearing on his nomination.

-- (if pressed) In all our statements about General Shali’s background, we have been open and factual. I think General Shali himself was surprised at some of the reports that have come out recently. But again, I believe that they have no bearing whatsoever on his nomination.
BACKGROUND

In 1985, New Zealand declared that no nuclear-powered or nuclear-armed U.S. vessels would be allowed to use its ports. The U.S. responded by suspending our security obligations under the ANZUS Treaty. President Bush ordered nuclear arms removed from surface vessels last year, removing that obstacle. The problem of nuclear-powered vessels remains. Neither major party in New Zealand seems ready to risk the public's ire by reversing the policy on this issue in anticipation of an election in November, for although public sentiment remains pro-American, it is also strongly anti-nuclear. The issue was given renewed attention when Prime Minister Bolger expressed interest in re-establishing high-level contacts.

Our former Charge d'Affaires in Wellington, David Walker, was quoted as saying as he left his post in mid-August that the U.S. wants to resume top-level contacts with New Zealand, including a meeting between President Clinton and Prime Minister Bolger. Mr. Walker's comments were expressed as his own personal views, but the remarks were used out of context.

You were asked a question regarding this issue at the June 17 press conference.

TALKING POINTS

-- U.S.-New Zealand relations in areas such as trade and investment are very good. We work very closely together to promote free trade in the GATT and other international fora. Secretary Christopher met with Foreign Minister McKinnon in March to discuss UN Security Council issues. New Zealand had the UNSC Presidency at the time.

-- The issue of our over-all policy toward New Zealand, including the implications of New Zealand's nuclear policy, is being discussed informally. This process is ongoing, and there is no set date for its completion.

-- However, I have made no decision to change policy toward New Zealand, nor are there plans to resume high-level contacts.

[If asked about the remarks by our former Charge:]

-- Our Charge in Wellington at the time was reflecting only his personal views. No decision has been taken to change U.S. policy toward New Zealand, nor are there plans to resume top-level contacts.
Nigeria

BACKGROUND

General Babangida led a military regime which governed Nigeria for the past eight years. Under considerable domestic and international pressure, he agreed to a process which would lead to the assumption of civilian rule by August 27, including elections on June 12. His government annulled the elections results, however, despite independent monitoring which indicated the vote was orderly, fair and free from serious irregularities. The U.S. responded by reducing diplomatic contact, suspending security programs and cutting some non-security assistance. We also indicated that additional measures would be considered should unhindered civilian government not be in place in Nigeria by August 28.

Last week, Babangida retired from the military and installed an interim government led by his supporter Ernest Shonekan. It remains unclear how much control Babangida will retain over the government, and we have yet to determine whether additional measures are appropriate.

Chief Abiola, who apparently won the June election (the vote was never released), is visiting the United States. He has declared his opposition to the new government. Assistant Secretary of State for Africa George Moose met Monday with Chief Abiola to exchange views on Nigeria’s political situation.

TALKING POINTS

-- We welcome the decision by General Babangida to step down as Nigeria’s head of state, but we still do not know the answers to many questions which are necessary to determine whether Nigeria now has an unhindered civilian government.

-- We will be watching developments in Nigeria closely for answers to these questions and will shape our policy toward Nigeria’s interim government accordingly.

-- We continue to regret deeply that the June 12 election was annulled. Nigeria’s military regime did not permit the process that led to the June 12 presidential election to be completed, and the vote count was never released.

-- We currently have no plans to lift the measures that we put in place to express our dissatisfaction.