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"A Foreign Policy Agenda for the Second Term"

Last month, in the first State of the Union address of his second term, President Clinton issued a challenge to the American people. "Fifty years ago," he said, "a farsighted America led in creating the institutions that secured victory in the Cold War and built a growing world economy... Now, we stand at another moment of change and choice -- another time to be farsighted and to bring America another fifty years of security and prosperity."

To meet that challenge, we must first understand the nature of the change that surrounds us. It's been eleven years since glasnost, eight years since the Berlin Wall fell, six since Germany's reunification and five years since the Soviet Union's dissolution. But because the Cold War ended with a crumble, not a conference to mark the moment... and because the transition to democracy among Europe's newly freed countries, while revolutionary in its consequences, is evolutionary in its timetable... the dialogue of foreign policy has, for too long, been frozen in the rhetoric of "the Post-Cold War Era."

I have come here today not only to praise the "Post Cold War Era" but to bury it. That phrase describes what has ended, not what is beginning... what has been dismantled, not what we are building. Today, closer to the start of the 21st century than to the end of the Cold War, we are embarked on a period of
construction, based on new realities but enduring values and interests. The blocs and barriers that divided the world for fifty years largely are gone. Now, our challenge is to build up new institutions and understandings, and adapt old ones, that strengthen our security and prosperity for the next fifty years and beyond.

For the past fifty years, with containment as the guiding principle of our foreign policy, we saw a world map with advancing and receding lines dividing red from blue... separating those living under the brutal hand of communism from those who weren't -- the latter running the range from democracies to more or less authoritarian regimes bound together by their anti-communism.

Because we stood firm for half a century, that guiding principle is now obsolete. Instead, this new time increasingly is shaped by the forces of integration. They create unprecedented opportunities for progress. But we should have no illusions: they do not eliminate all the dangers and despots of this world. And they can help fuel new threats to the security, peace and prosperity we seek to build.

If we could look down at the earth from a distant planet, one of the most powerful phenomena we would observe are the effects of economic integration -- reinforced by a communications and technological revolution that telescopes time and distance. With a tap on a computer keyboard and a $50 modem, ideas and information span the planet in a nano-second. Traders, buyers and investors move a trillion dollars around the world every hour.

I will never forget arriving late one night in my hotel room in Islamabad, half a world away, turning on CNN and seeing George Stephanopoulos and Bob Reich debating who wrote "Primary Colors." Men and women of good faith can debate whether that's progress. But the fact of it is transforming the way we work, live and interact. Or consider the famous images of the ancient Li River portrayed in Chinese wall hangings. If you looked at a photograph today, you would see that the houses that line the river have satellite dishes in their backyards.

The forces of integration also spread values -- and the ideas increasingly if not universally being embraced today are the central ideas that define America: democracy, liberty, free enterprise. For the first time in history, more than half the world's people live under governments of their own choosing. In
this hemisphere, where just three decades ago almost one-third of the countries were under authoritarian rule, every country but one today is a democracy. From the Philippines to Chile, South Africa to Estonia, Korea to Guatemala, people who little more than a decade ago lived under repression are building their democracies. We can see with more clarity today than ever before that freedom is not only an American birthright or a Western ideal -- but the aspiration of human beings everywhere.

These forces of integration -- economic... technological... political -- find practical if imperfect expression in international rules of the road that are becoming the true Berlin Wall between countries: those that opt into the community of nations -- and those that remain outliers. These norms -- alliances of like-minded countries... adherence to the rule of law... open and competitive trade rules... major regimes to control dangerous weapons -- are important in and of themselves. But they're also important because, brick by brick, they form a structure for security and prosperity for all those who choose to live within them, and they define the terms of isolation of those that stay outside. As the world grows closer, the cost of exclusion from the community of nations will grow higher.

But we must also understand that the powerful movement toward integration is not without downsides and dangers. As borders become as easy to breach as lines in the sand, nations become more vulnerable to transnational tidal waves -- witness the Peso crisis, which threatened not only Mexico's economy, but jobs in America and the stability of developing economies around the world.

The forces of integration also lubricate the counterforces of disintegration: terrorists, organized criminals, drug traffickers who form international networks of corruption and destruction. They too benefit from technological change and the free flow of goods and information. And they often are supported by rogue states like Iran, Iraq, Libya and Sudan which remain outside the community of nations -- and seek to destabilize it.

Further, integration can exacerbate disparities among and within countries. More than half the world's people are two days walk from a telephone -- literally disconnected from the present and the future. In many developing and developed countries, the gap between rich and poor has grown wider, even as overall wealth has increased dramatically.
In short, integration is not inherently good or inherently bad. But it is, I believe, inherently a fact of modern life. And it will take place with or without us. The fundamental question we must answer is this: will we use our unique position as not only the world's most powerful country, but also the world's most powerful idea, to continue to lead the struggle for a more peaceful, prosperous and secure future -- or be left behind. As President Clinton has put it, "the enemy of our time is inaction."

The challenge this President has undertaken is to encourage to the extent possible the positive forces of integration -- while preventing the forces of disintegration from dominating the future.

His vision is driven by six key strategic objectives: working for an undivided, democratic peaceful Europe for the first time in history... forging a strong, stable Asia Pacific community... embracing our role -- prudently but not fearfully -- as a decisive force for peace in the world... building the bulwarks against transnational security challenges... creating jobs and growth through a more open and competitive trading system... and maintaining a strong military and fully funded diplomacy to get these jobs done. These ambitious but achievable objectives -- not the lift of a driving cliché -- provide America's road map in the world. Let me describe each briefly.

The first strategic goal is working for an undivided, peaceful, democratic Europe. Twice in this century, war in Europe has drawn Americans into deadly conflict. Now, we have an opportunity to create a durable European peace by replacing the divisions that have plagued the continent in the past with ties of partnership to shape a common future.

With our allies, we are helping Europe's new democracies grow strong; encouraging their integration with the West; forging a productive partnership with a democratic Russia; and, critically, adapting NATO to take on new challenges.

America has taken the lead in opening NATO's doors to new members -- rather than either abandoning the anchor of our engagement in Europe or freezing the alliance within the amber of the Cold War. NATO can do for Europe's East what it did for Europe's West: strengthen the forces of peace and stability.

The process of NATO enlargement will take a leap forward in Madrid this July, when NATO invites the first potential members
to start accession talks. There are three key challenges ahead. The first is deciding which countries to admit. Naturally, we'll start with those best prepared to shoulder the burdens of membership -- but the door will not close behind them. So our second challenge is bolstering the security and confidence of countries not in the first wave -- which we will do by expanding the role of the Partnership for Peace and giving every partner a voice in coordinating joint activities.

The third challenge is the most hotly debated: How do we heal the scars of Europe's past without creating new wounds? Some fear that the process of NATO enlargement will shut Russia out from a rightful place in Europe -- and undercut Russia's nascent democracy. Others worry that Russia's cooperation will come at the expense of Central and Eastern Europe and the Alliance's ability to shape its own destiny. Navigating this Scylla and Charybdis of NATO enlargement is the most crucial test of our commitment to forge stability across the Atlantic.

Last week in Helsinki, President Clinton and President Yeltsin took an important step forward. They agreed to disagree about enlargement -- Russia objects, but it will proceed. But they also agreed that the vital relationship between the United States and Russia and the benefits to all of cooperation between NATO and Russia are too important to be jeopardized.

NATO and Russia will move forward as quickly as possible to try to complete negotiations on a charter for NATO-Russia cooperation. Russia will have a voice, not a veto. At the same time, the two Presidents made important advances in arms control and economic cooperation. Helsinki was a turning point: it demonstrated that the goals we share -- building a secure future for Europe, reducing even more the nuclear danger, increasing ties of trade and investment -- outweigh our differences.

Our second strategic objective is building a strong, stable, integrated Asia-Pacific community. Little more than a decade ago, the conventional wisdom saw Asia, North America and Europe emerging as three rival blocs competing head-to-head. President Clinton had a different vision, based on America's enduring place as a Pacific power. Soon after he became President, he convened the first-ever Asia Pacific summit meeting, where leaders from China to Indonesia to Australia agreed to a common goal: to define our futures not just in Asian or American terms, but increasingly in Asian-Pacific terms.
It's an evolutionary process. More open trade. Continuing American security engagement in the region. An appreciation that, in an environment where regional rivalries are still dangerous, we provide a balance wheel for stability that helps all of us grow.

To succeed, we must meet three immediate challenges. First, we must deepen our partnership with Japan -- the cornerstone of America's engagement in Asia -- by strengthening even more our security alliance, enhancing our diplomatic cooperation and continuing market opening initiatives that have helped create a 41% surge in our exports since 1993.

Second, we must continue to work closely with our ally South Korea to reduce tensions on the Cold War's last frontier. Vigilance against the vagaries of a North Korea in distress. Pursuing a more stable peace on the Peninsula through the four-party peace talks. Ensuring the dismantlement of North Korea's now frozen nuclear program.

Third, we must deepen our strategic dialogue with China. A China that evolves as a power that is stable, more open politically and economically and non-aggressive militarily -- in short, moving toward, not away, from a secure international order -- is profoundly in our interest. Ultimately, China will define its own destiny. But one way or the other, we will help shape its choices.

Our strategy of engagement with China is not a reward for good behavior. It is a vehicle for expanding areas where we can cooperate to advance our strategic interests -- such as on the comprehensive test ban and stability on the Korean Peninsula -- and where we can deal directly with our fundamental differences -- such as human rights, market access and some of China's weapons sales.

There is no guaranty that engagement will succeed in pulling China in the direction of the international community, away from a more nationalistic, self-absorbed course. But seeking to isolate China... or to isolate us from China... almost certainly will push China in the wrong direction and undercut the stability that America, China and the entire Asia Pacific region need for the future to be secure and prosperous.

Our third strategic goal is to neither shrink from -- nor become enthralled by -- the inescapable reality that America can often be the decisive force for peace in the world. America's
greatness flows not only from our size and strength, but also from the wealth of our diversity and the power of our ideals. We have a unique ability to stand with others around the world who seek to bridge their divides -- and build a stronger foundation for peace, security and cooperation.

When, where and how to make a stand for peace has no "one size fits all" answer, as Secretary Albright has said. While we have been freed from the compulsions of containment, we have inherited a more demanding task, particularly in a world where conflict instantly is thrust upon a global stage. We must balance interest and risk, achievability and cost, clarity of mission and support from others in what ultimately is an exercise in prudent judgment. We can't be everywhere and we shouldn't do everything. But we must be prepared to engage when important interests and values are at stake and we can make a difference.

Often, our engagement is diplomatic -- remaining an unrelenting force for peace from the Middle East to Northern Ireland to Central Africa.

Sometimes, with caution and care, our diplomacy must be backed with force. In Bosnia, our use of air power through NATO, combined with determined diplomacy, stopped a war that threatened Europe's stability. Now, our continuing presence through SFOR is giving Bosnia's fragile peace a chance to take hold. In Haiti, where a brutal dictatorship forced tens of thousands to flee for our shores, we caused the dictators to step down peacefully and gave democracy a new lease of life.

There are other places where our engagement is more important than ever. Let me cite just three. South Asia remains not only a flashpoint for conflict but an enormous opportunity for cooperation. The great resource potential and strategic location of the Caucasus and Central Asia gives us a strong stake in working with others to strengthen their stability and build up our ties to the region. And it is profoundly in our interest to help Turkey, at a strategic and cultural crossroads, remain anchored in the West, committed to democracy and working to resolve its differences peacefully with our Greek ally.

Our fourth strategic goal is to deal with the new transnational security threats I mentioned earlier -- terrorists, international criminals, drug traffickers -- and stand against the enduring danger of rogue regimes.
There are times when we must and we will act alone. To get others to follow, sometimes we must lead by example. And there is behavior so egregious that we must act even where others won't. But our fight against these forces that often cut across nations compels us to seek the advantages of collective action. Whether it is the threat of terrorism or the scourge of drugs, we must intensify our efforts to achieve a broader sense of urgency about the dangers and a willingness to launch collective defense to thwart them.

That is why we are working to build international coalitions to take on these new challenges -- arms control agreements that ban chemical weapons, greater international law enforcement cooperation against drug traffickers and criminal cartels, intelligence sharing to root out corruption, and a more concerted strategy against terror. Some see cooperation as at best an elusive goal, at worst a sign of weakness. Against threats that have contempt for borders, it is a source of strength.

America's fifth strategic goal is to build a new, open trading system for the 21st century. Our nation's economic well-being is tied to the rest of the world. Eleven million Americans depend on exports for their jobs. We should not fear the challenge of the global economy. Our workers and businesses can compete just fine so long as the contest is open, the field competitive and the rules fair and enforced.

Historians will look back at this period and see the most far-reaching changes in the global trading system since the days of Harry Truman. We completed the most sweeping round of the GATT; forged a comprehensive trade agreement with our two neighbors; tore down barriers in high-tech sectors where America leads the world; and launched a process for more open and competitive trade in our hemisphere and the Asia Pacific.

These efforts have paid off for our people. The global economy is not a zero sum game -- we are creating good jobs at home by nurturing new markets abroad. The President is determined to pursue this course, navigating the false choice between protectionism and unbridled free trade.

Protectionism simply isn't an option in today's global economic arena. If we walk away, the process of integration won't stop; it simply will continue without us. Others in Europe and Asia will benefit. Turning inward would mean turning our back on 95 percent of the world's consumers and forfeiting our stake in the markets of the future.
But while protectionism is not an option, neither is ungoverned free trade. Competition causes dislocation -- especially among those without adequate training and skills to compete in the global economy. We cannot walk away from them -- we have an obligation to enforce the agreements we make and to make change work for all with education and training... so that the benefits of progress are not enjoyed by some while its burdens are carried by others.

To sustain our strong momentum, we need the authority to conclude smart, new market-opening trade agreements. In Latin America alone, our exports in 1995 were greater than our sales to Japan and Germany combined. We need to complete the job we have begun -- to open markets in this hemisphere and globally, to share in that growth, not turn our backs on it.

Finally, we cannot harness the forces of integration without the strength and resources to get the job done -- and without sharing the burdens with other like-minded nations.

We have the finest military in the world. It is the steel that makes American leadership credible and, if necessary, our freedom secure. This President is determined to maintain our ability to dominate any battlefield of the future. That is an indispensable investment in our peace and security.

It also means fulfilling our commitment to fully fund America's diplomacy. Our foreign affairs budget for the current fiscal year is 50% lower, in real terms, than it was a decade ago. This is simply foolish. We must make the investments to advance America's interests for the next 50 years as in the last.

President Clinton's budget request reverses the dangerous downward spiral in international affairs funding. Our request -- about one cent out of every federal dollar -- brings benefits to every taxpayer: strengthening our ability to promote peace, fight drugs, track down terrorists, combat nuclear proliferation, boost exports, and meet our obligations to the community of nations.

We must also resist the false choice between going it alone or not at all. It's simply common sense to spread the costs and risks of leadership by working with others, like the World Bank and the UN. Now is the time to push for progress -- promoting tough reform, paying our bills, and putting the UN and the multilateral development banks back on sound financial footing.
Thanks very much for that introduction, Paul. As many of you may know, Paul served at the National Security Council from 1987 to 1989, was its first Legal Adviser, and also its Executive Secretary. In short, being invited by Paul to speak about the role and function of the NSC is a bit like being asked by the Pope to discuss the finer points of Catholic theology. But being a brave and trusting soul -- and having been prepped by Alan Kreczko on how to withstand cross-examination -- I was very pleased to accept Paul's gracious invitation. In fact, he made me get rid of all my lawyer jokes.

And, I am relieved to be here after President Clinton has named his new National Security Team. Now, instead of speculating on who the next Secretary of State will be, we can discuss what's really important -- like, who does her hair, and what clothes she ought to wear.

Delighted to meet today with members of ABA, Center for National Security Law at the University of Virginia, and Center on Law, Ethics and National Security at Duke University. The range of national security issues this two-day conference covers attests to vital importance of your work. I am pleased to participate today by providing -- I hope -- some insight into the role of the National Security Council in shaping foreign policy under this Administration.

When NSC was created by statute in 1947, Cold War was just beginning. Originally devised to coordinate domestic, foreign and military policies related to national security. But NSC at first largely ignored by President Truman. Only during Korean War did it begin to assume prominent role in Cold War policy-making, shaping and driving everything from doctrine of containment to first US overtures to communist China under National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger.

Now, NSC must drive foreign policy apparatus to realize unprecedented opportunities that end of Cold War holds for America: chance to build democratic, undivided Europe at peace, new partnership with democratic Russia, meeting challenge of change in Asia in way that advances freedom and prosperity, extending reach of peace and freedom in the Middle East and Africa, opening more markets in Latin America and strengthening its new democracies.

Yet promising new era is not risk-free. Old threats like aggression by rogue states have taken on new and dangerous dimensions. Host of modern threats -- from terrorism to spread of weapons of mass destruction and environmental degradation -- ignores national borders and undermines our security.
With its manifold opportunities and challenges, this new era defies simple prescriptions. People sometimes ask if there is an all-purpose "Clinton Doctrine." Answer is no, and there isn't likely to be one over next four years, either. It would be foolish to devise a "one-size-fits-all" strategy for post-Cold War world that is still taking shape. Instead, those who guide American foreign policy must navigate with a steady hand across a changing international landscape, always advancing our interests and ideals as fixed stars.

If we are to achieve that goal, must adapt our policy-making mechanisms to meet challenges of new era. President Clinton came into office determined to strengthen ability of National Security Council to fulfill its traditional responsibilities in changed environment. He recognized there was no longer a bright line between domestic and foreign policy, and that we had to define national security in terms of people's daily lives -- not just the military security of our nation, but also citizens' economic well-being.

I remember well on Inauguration Day in 1993, President signed two key NSC documents. The first established a Presidential review and decision series to direct work of NSC and participating agencies and to inform the departments and agencies of Presidential decisions. It established the Presidential Review Directive -- PRD -- and the Presidential Decision Directive -- PDD. This process replaced the previous administration's system of National Security Review and National Security Directive.

The second PDD, or PDD 2, set forth organization of NSC. PDD 2 expanded council's statutory membership of President, Vice President and Secretaries of State and Defense to include Secretary of the Treasury, the U.S. representative to the United Nations, the Assistant to the President for Economic Policy, and the Chief of Staff to the President. AG invited as appropriate and later added OMD Director and inviting Drug Czar on issues relevant. Chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff is NSC statutory military advisor, and Director of Central Intelligence is statutory intelligence advisor. Five days later, also signed executive order creating National Economic Council to coordinate domestic and foreign economic policy, with strong links envisioned between NSC and NEC.

Much like its predecessors, today's NSC is President's principal forum for considering national security and foreign policy matters with his national security advisors and cabinet officials. It advises and assists the President in devising national security and foreign policies. Serves as principle arm for coordinating policies among various government agencies. Put in layman's terms, NSC is part presidential brain trust, part inter-agency referee, and part bureaucratic traffic cop.

NSC has four different levels of decision-making set out in PDD 2: NSC itself, NSC Principals Committee, Deputies Committee, and Interagency Working Groups. But full-dress NSC has met only once -- on March 2, 1993, for review of global conditions. Like many predecessors, President Clinton relies on regular meetings of smaller groups of his advisers and Cabinet officials.
• Of these advisers, National Security Adviser plays crucial role that has been subject of debate since the position's creation in 1953 by President Eisenhower. Henry Kissinger once reeled off all the do's and don'ts of a successful National Security Advisor, then noted that “when I was the security advisor, I violated every one of these rules.”

• Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs advises President in the formulation and management of national security and foreign policy matters, develops major national security and foreign policy concepts for the President, coordinates national security and foreign policy matters throughout the Executive Branch to guarantee consistency in the President’s overall foreign policy goals and objectives.

• He is also designated chairman of Principals Committee. Usually meets two-three times a month, but has done so as often as twice a week. Forum for Cabinet-level officials to resolve issues not requiring President’s participation and those issues where Presidential decision needs to be made.

• PC is where broad foreign policy is hashed out, such as China and Russia policies, as well as key decisions, such as whether to tighten sanctions against Serbia. Sometimes issues are resolved; sometimes they are not and must go to President with a split recommendation. And sometimes, even with agreement, issues go to President because of their importance, such as the recent decision to participate in the multinational force for Eastern Zaire.

• Deputies Committee chaired by the Deputy National Security Advisor is key work horse of national security policy. Responsible for reviewing interagency policy process and ensuring President’s policies implemented in timely and effective manner. Work with Leon Fuerth, Assistant to the Vice President for National Security Affairs, and at Deputy and Under Secretary level with other agencies such as State, Defense, Joint Chiefs, Central Intelligence. Meets once or twice a week to work through issues such as Bosnia sanctions enforcement, airdrops, or implementation of Dayton Accord. Rides roughshod over bureaucracy to ensure decisions are carried out.

• Deputies Committee has two formal functions assigned to it by PDD: first, crisis management and oversight for IWGs. Deputies have met to address crises such as North Korea nuclear issue, Iraq, Bosnia and Haiti. Second responsibility of Deputies Committee under PDD is creation and supervision of Interagency Working Groups -- PDD's fourth level of interagency coordination and decision-making. Deputies decide who will chair -- NSC, NEC, or other agency or department, usually at the Assistant Secretary level. In last few years, there have been roughly two dozen IWG's existing at any given time, covering everything from regions and individual countries to issues such as peacekeeping and specific conflicts or crises.

• To assist President and National Security Adviser, NSC has staff headed by Executive Secretary. Exec Sec manages the paper flow, oversees the budget and Administration of the NSC and assists in preparing for Presidential meetings with foreign dignitaries and foreign trips. NSC staff divided among 19 directorates, and several administrative offices.
represents bureaucratic melting pot, with members drawn from other government agencies, political appointees, and academic specialists. Some directories are regional -- Asia, Europe, etc. -- and some are functional -- arms control, environment, etc. Assist and advise President and National Security Adviser, also serve as initial point of contact for other government departments and agencies.

- Under Alan Kreczko’s direction, Legal Affairs directorate is key to operations of almost every NSC activity. A good lawyer often knows how to get people out of trouble. Alan is particularly skilled at preventing us from getting into trouble. Keeps President and NSA aware of domestic and international legal considerations affecting policy deliberations, and protect President’s Commander-in-Chief authorities.

- While NSC not under Congressional purview and does not testify on Hill, Legislative Affairs works with Congress to keep members informed about President’s policies and consult with them on their views -- process in which NSA deeply involved, through regular phone contacts or meetings with Representatives and Senators. NSC also active in public outreach, to explain President’s policies through media and public meetings such as this one and maintain strong contacts with opinion leaders.

- Finally, members of International Economic Affairs directorate are what Tony Lake calls “well-balanced schizophrenics” : cover same issues for both NSC and NEC, and report both to NSA Lake and head of NEC Laura Tyson. The key links between two policy-making bodies. Helping to end out-dated distinction between foreign and domestic policy by ensuring that “economic security” is part of “national security.” NSC/NEC have worked together on everything from debt forgiveness, assistance programs, to sanctions. Played crucial role in shaping China MFN policy and decision. While not perfect, has promoted unprecedented integration of economic issues into foreign policy.

Challenges Facing America in 21st Century

- So, how does this system work in practice? And what do we want to accomplish over next four years? The new national security team the President has chosen reflects the President’s commitment to continuing America’s strong leadership and to building a consensus in this country for our policies. Ambassador Albright, Senator Cohen, Anthony Lake and Sandy Berger all share that commitment. We know that unless America leads, our interests suffer. Unless we prevent partisan politics from creeping into our nation’s decisions -- as happened with the Chemical Weapons Convention this fall -- our interests suffer. And unless we have the resources to enable our diplomats to do their jobs -- our interests will suffer.

- With a strong U.S. foreign policy that has the support of the American people and the resources we need to succeed, we have a remarkable opportunity to advance America’s interests over the coming four years. Let me focus on three key priorities: first, promoting stability through peace and democracy; second, meeting today’s transnational threats; and third, building the international economic system for this new era.
First, promoting peace and democracy. Some view as "soft" issue that delivers few concrete returns. Fact is, promoting peace and democracy is one of the best long-term investments we can make. Our influence has helped resolve conflicts that would otherwise have eaten away at our resources or ultimately required costly military solutions. And by standing up for democracy, we have enlarged the family of nations committed to work together on behalf of freedom, prosperity and security.

Conflicts in places like Bosnia, the Middle East and Northern Ireland defy easy solutions. Only the parties themselves can forge a peace that will endure, but United States has unique role to play -- in supporting those who take risks for peace... creating a climate for peace to take hold... and helping bring the benefits of peace to those whose lives will be affected.

We also must continue to lead in building an undivided, democratic Europe -- by helping its newly free nations build strong democratic institutions... encouraging cooperation through the Partnership for Peace... and adapting NATO to take on new missions and take in new members. Even as we meet, NATO foreign ministers are gathered in Brussels to prepare for next step on the journey President Clinton launched three years ago -- which will take place at a summit next summer that will invite specific countries to begin accession talks and strengthen NATO's growing relationship of cooperation with Russia.

And we must continue to press for reform and democracy in Russia and build on freedom's gains in Asia, Latin America and Africa. Our legal shop is integrally involved in each of these initiatives, helping us to devise ways to use our resources and influence to support reformers and to sanction those who seek to stem freedom's tide.

Second, we must reduce the threats we face from weapons of mass destruction and terrorism. This fall, at the United Nations, President Clinton was the first world leader to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, the longest-sought, hardest-fought achievement in arms control history. As a result, the likelihood of future arms races has been dramatically reduced -- and the chance that other nations will acquire nuclear weapons has been reduced. The same kind of American effort led to the unconditional and indefinite extension of the Nonproliferation Treaty -- the cornerstone of our arms control efforts. Together with the gains we made through these initiatives, the START treaties, and the President's agreement with President Yeltsin to detarget missiles, these accomplishments have helped lift the cloud of nuclear danger that hung over our nation for nearly half a century. And they would not have been possible without strong bipartisan support -- or the hard work of our lawyers.

President Clinton is convinced we can build on this record. He is determined to win ratification of the Chemical Weapons Convention, which can provide essential tools to prevent chemical weapons from ever being used against our citizens and soldiers. He will seek a cutoff of production of fissile material to further reduce the ability of rogue states and terrorists to acquire the materials they want to build nuclear weapons. He will work to strengthen the Biological Weapons Convention, adding provisions requiring declarations of weapons stocks and on-site inspections. And he has resolved to negotiate as soon as possible
a global ban on the use, stockpiling, production and transfer of landmines -- so, as he said, "the children of the world can walk without fear on the earth beneath them."

- In addition, as global barriers come down, the threat of terrorism is increasing, demanding that we make the fight against terrorism one of our highest priorities. We know that terrorists benefit from the same openness in communications and transportation that has contributed so much to our prosperity. And as the world's only superpower, America remains a target at risk. That is why the President sought and received an additional $1 billion from Congress to give our own law enforcement the most powerful counter-terrorism tools available and to increase security in our airports and on our aircraft. We must also work harder to enlist the support of our allies for our anti-terror efforts. To that end, the President has called for a world coalition with zero tolerance for terrorism. The world community must turn up the pressure on states and parties that support terror. That's why the President signed into law a bill mandating sanctions against those entities who seek to invest large sums in Iran or Libya. Our friends and allies must not do business by day with those who seek to kill our citizens by night. These initiatives have added more than a few gray hairs to our lawyers' heads -- they involve tough issues and hard decisions.

- Lastly, just as we must make meeting new threats a priority, we must also make creating the opportunities that are essential for our nation's well-being a priority. Today, the revolutionary advances in information technology -- which have eliminated so many of the barriers of time and space -- have made it even more imperative that we seize the chance before us to clear the way to the prosperity of the future.

- With the most far-reaching trade agenda ever, the Administration, working with our Congress, has made great strides toward the creation of a new global trading system. In fact, we have turned an historic corner: the question is no longer whether to promote free and fair trade but how quickly we can do so. The more than 200 trade agreements that we have concluded over the last four years -- including NAFTA and the Uruguay Round of GATT -- have opened more markets than ever before to our products, created almost one-and-a-half million export-related jobs, and made our country the world's number one exporter again.

- We must now work to achieve the ambitious goals of free trade areas in Latin America by 2005 and in Asia by the year 2020 -- the latter of which was given further momentum by the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum held last month in the Philippines. President successfully urged APEC leaders to endorse early completion of an Information Technology Agreement that would cut tariffs to zero on computers, semiconductors and telecommunications technology by the year 2000. Now at WTO Ministerial in Singapore, working hard with allies and partners to bring this agreement to fruition.

- Time and again, we find that by working to promote economic prosperity, we hasten progress on peace and democracy, nonproliferation and terrorism. From South America to Southeast Asia, our promotion of open markets and economic development also supports commitment to democracy and human rights. Because as societies open up economically, they inevitably become more open politically and develop a growing stake in peace and stability.
President Clinton determined to meet these challenges and fulfill possibilities of this moment in history. Clear that American leadership and a bipartisan consensus will be vital in efforts to advance peace and democracy, stop the spread of weapons of mass destruction, turn the tide on terrorists and shape the economic architecture of the 21st century. Your own work in national security law will play an important role in making sure it's done right. Challenge we face will be to meet these threats and opportunities forcefully with the right priorities and with the support of the American people. If we do, we can all be assured that the next century will be another American century as well.
Acknowledgments: Les Gelb, Former NSAs Walt Rostow, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Robert McFarlane, General Colin Powell, past and present members of the NSC staff, distinguished colleagues and guests:

As you turn the pages of the last fifty years of American foreign policy, from the Korean War to the Cuban Missile Crisis... the opening to China to Camp David... the Helsinki Final Act to WHAT... Desert Storm to the Dayton Accords [right examples?]... the National Security Council has been at the heart of debate, decision and action. I'm delighted to welcome this impressive gathering and to thank you for helping us celebrate our 50th anniversary.

We've tried to be creative in marking the occasion. We designed an NSC seal. We minted a medallion. And with Hollywood’s help, National Security Advisors have penetrated popular culture – from the conniving self-promoter in the movie “Contact”... to the arrogant egghead who meets his maker at the outset of “Air Force One”... to the twisted zealot in “Murder at 1600” who tries to force the President to resign... to the self-important drone who is rendered irrelevant by his daredevil staffer in “The Peacemaker.” Walt, Zbig, Bob, Colin. After 50 years, we’ve finally earned our 15 minutes of fame.

Of course, much has changed over the past 50 years – in the world in which we live and the way we do our job. Today, I want to talk about President Clinton’s strategy for advancing America’s security and assuring America’s leadership as we enter the 21st century.
Over the last five decades, determined American engagement – led in part by many of the people in this room – built the institutions and sustained the investments that strengthened our security, advanced democracy and ultimately won the Cold War. Today, because of the bipartisan leadership that broke through the East-West barrier, a world of opportunity has opened before us – a world where democracy, free markets and peace are ascendant as never before.

This new state of affairs has also brought new challenges for foreign policy practitioners. In the absence of a unifying enemy abroad, it is understandable that many Americans want to focus on problems at home. Decisions that once were measured in relation to the Soviet threat – from where and when we intervene… to the creation of security alliances… to whether and to whom we give foreign assistance… must be weighed in a more complex calculation. And the public debate over setting priorities is more difficult in an age of real-time communications, when tragedies unfolding halfway around the world are beamed instantly into our living rooms.

I’ve heard the complaint that our foreign policy lacks a simple, overarching principle – that it can’t be summed up in a sound-bite or reduced to a single slogan. I do not apologize for that. During the Cold War, there was a tendency to screen every action and decision through the lens of containment. Containment worked superbly in its core application. The Soviet Union collapsed. We won the Cold War. And the world is a much better place. But containment distorted our judgment and vision in places like Vietnam, Angola and Nicaragua. When too rigidly held or reflexively applied, doctrine can lead to foreign policy by metaphor instead of foreign policy by analysis.
And to the extent that the bipolar world was perceived as black-and-white, today our interests and our challenges are more diverse. Our policy must respond to that complexity. Our obligation is to clearly understand what has changed and what has not; and to chart the right course, within that new world – always steering by the lodestar of our interests and ideals – to advance our goals, protect our people and promote our values for the future. Half a century ago, Dean Acheson’s generation was “present at the creation” of the international order. Today, we must pioneer its transformation -- making sure that America remains the world’s strongest force for peace, prosperity and freedom.

The touchstones of our policy have not and will not change: ensuring that America’s diplomacy and military are the best in the world, bar none… maintaining our ability to dominate any battlefield of the future… and being ready to respond to any threat, with any means that are necessary. The passage of time has not repealed the laws of aggression, power politics or human nature. America will always be prepared to defend its interests – with others when we can and alone when we must. America must always be willing to lead the community of free nations.

But these enduring truths must be adapted to new times. And today, our times are increasingly defined by the process of global integration – which is not in itself a new phenomenon, yet today is moving faster than ever.

The very creation of the NSC was part of America’s growing realization that foreign engagement mattered. In the wake of the most devastating war of all time, we knew our security could no
longer be assured by a policy of isolation. We knew that America had a unique ability, and responsibility, to lead.

Today, once again, we look out at the world from a point of unrivaled power -- yet the landscape has changed profoundly. Of all the new realities of our time, three in particular stand out:

- One, the fact that no great power is our foe, but the future of key actors is uncertain, and there are far more players on the stage;
- Two, the rise of the global economy, which is bringing us new opportunities for growth, but also makes us more dependent on the prosperity and security of others; and
- Three, revolutions in technology and communications that are shrinking the distance between nations and extending the reach of the values that America holds most dear -- but which also benefit destructive forces like terrorists, drug traffickers and organized criminals that disregard national borders.

With opportunities we can’t fully seize on our own and threats we can’t meet single-handedly, more than ever, America’s well-being is tied to the rest of the world. To put a new spin on an ancient saying – What is the sound of one superpower clapping? We can neither retreat from this brave new world nor thrive in it alone.

What must we do to protect our security within this new environment?

First, we must make a conceptual shift in the way we view the balance of power. While during
the Cold War, our interests lay in weakening a single enemy, today they lie in helping a host of new actors to bolster their stability and strength. The march of freedom in recent years is striking – but not secure. We must seize this moment of relative peace to lock in its gains for good.

That is why President Clinton has led in building a network of institutions and arrangements to consolidate democracy’s progress and to fight against its threats. Our strategy hearkens back to that of Marshall and Monnet – not just balancing power among nations but bringing them closer together, so that each will have a vested interest in helping the other succeed.

In Europe, we are helping the newly free nations develop their market democracies; forging a constructive partnership with a democratic Russia; and adapting NATO to take on new challenges with new members, new partners and new relationships with Russia and Ukraine.

In the Asia Pacific, we are enhancing our alliance with Japan for the 21st century; opening markets and promoting prosperity through the move toward a free trade area; charting a positive, productive course for relations between America and China; and working for peace on the Korean peninsula – the Cold War’s last armed frontier.

In our own hemisphere, the President launched the Summit of the Americas process, which is helping guide the unprecedented convergence around common values and goals.

And we are reaching out to post-colonial, democratic, market-oriented Africa – to help those
nations become full partners in the 21st century world.

The more countries that share our nation’s values and goals, the stronger our ability to advance them – and to foil those who seek to destroy the future we’re working to build. That’s why we are helping the Russian people to deepen their democracy and prosperity. That’s why we’re encouraging China’s integration into the community of nations. [Could do Brazil example too...] Vigilance; strength and discretion will always underpin our efforts – but the world of the 21st century need not be zero-sum. Today, America sees a far greater threat from Russia’s weakness or China’s isolation than from either one’s stability and success.

Our second task is to harness the force of the galloping global economy – maximizing its benefits while mitigating its burdens.

In 1947, trade accounted for one in ten of our GDP dollars; today, it is one in four. Then, [HOW MANY] American jobs were export-related; today, more than 11 million [TK]. Then, we could effectively shelter ourselves from a currency crisis abroad. Today, when traders, buyers and investors move a trillion dollars around the globe each hour, trouble in someone else’s house can fast become a plague upon our own [TK – is this true?].

And while the global economy boosts prosperity, it can also create dislocation -- increasing the gap between the haves and have-nots, even as wealth rises overall. People who feel only the burdens of change will be quick to blame globalization – rejecting the values of openness it promotes or retreating behind walls of protectionism.
That’s why we’re pursuing an integrated strategy of opening markets and promoting common action – while preserving the social contract on which public support depends.

It would be impossible and frankly unwise for America to try to flee the global economy. With just 4 percent of the world’s population, we generate 20 percent of its wealth. If we want to maintain our standard of living and continue creating good new jobs, we must keep reaching out to the 96 percent of the world that lives beyond our borders. Since 1993, America has forged 220 market opening agreements. With the fast track authority the President is seeking, we’ll be able to do even more.

Economic integration and mutually reinforcing growth are good not only for our prosperity, but also for peace and stability. It’s no accident that economic growth and democracy have emerged in this hemisphere in tandem.

But if people don’t have faith in their futures, this progress will be cast into doubt. That’s why we’re pursuing a concerted effort to give everyone the tools to succeed – domestically, for example, through greater investments in education, worker training and access to the Internet... and internationally, by lowering tariffs on technology, emphasizing jobs and training in the G-7, focusing on education at the Santiago Summit of the Americas, and helping Russia’s people withstand the hardships of market reform [TK]. Even as governments break down barriers to trade, they must give people the tools to lift themselves up in the 21st century economy. The more that leaders can show that democracy delivers, the more likely that democracy will endure.
This week's events also bring into relief another modern challenge. Just as the global marketplace can generate growth, so it can wreak havoc on emerging economies – threatening not only their political and economic reforms but the stability of their neighbors... the strength of world financial markets... and jobs right here at home.

We've been working hard with our G-7 partners to develop the tools to identify problems before they explode into crises... and to strengthen our ability to resolve such crises when they do occur. Our challenge now is to help emerging markets develop the right infrastructure – so they can ride the waves of the global economy without getting tossed by the winds of speculation or wrecked on the shoals of recession.

Our third task is to support the powerful trends that are bringing nations together, while forging coalitions to fight the threats that loom larger in a world grown closer.

In 1947, the first TVs were introduced into American homes. Today, you can tune-in to CNN in more than 200 countries around the world. Then, direct dialing across the Atlantic was still 20 years away. Today, with satellites, modems and faxes, millions of voices, images and texts flash around the world every day [TK]. Then, a hand-held calculator was the stuff of science fiction. Today, your average college student has access to a lap-top computer – and children are learning how to surf the Web before they can cross the street.

But the same technology and openness we welcome can also be exploited – by criminals seeking
to cover their tracks, drug traffickers aiming to launder their gains, or terrorists trying to build lethal weapons with blueprints retrieved off the Internet. Increasingly, these forces are working together in global criminal cartels – and now they possess the resources once reserved for nation-states. And in a world where barriers are coming down and control systems are imperfect, the chances go up that nuclear materials could wind up in dangerous hands.

To combat these threats, we’ve strengthened law enforcement cooperation and intelligence sharing with our partners… and opened FBI offices in Moscow and beyond [TK]. We’ve maintained or strengthened sanctions against states that sponsor terrorism… launched intensive international efforts to deny safe haven to terrorists… and worked with other nations to shut down the gray markets that sell weapons and false documents.

We’re also strengthening collective action against the spread of dangerous weapons – through arms control regimes like the Chemical Weapons Convention, the Nonproliferation Treaty and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty; toughening the mechanisms to control the spread of technologies, equipment and material; and designing regional approaches to reduce incentives for proliferation.

And, overall, we’re trying to make investments today that will guard against danger tomorrow – whether helping develop new energy supplies in the Caspian… protecting our critical infrastructure against the threat of cyber-terrorism… or taking out an insurance policy on the future with a sensible, sound response to climate change. In 1947, concentrations of carbon dioxide – the most important greenhouse gas – fell within the ranges of those experienced on
Earth over the last 200,000 years. Today, concentrations of carbon dioxide exceed those ranges dramatically. We’re working to secure a robust global agreement on greenhouse gas emissions at Kyoto – one that sets binding targets for lower emissions, embraces flexible mechanisms for meeting those limits, and ensures that industrialized and developing countries both take part in meeting this challenge.

The three sets of objectives I’ve laid out here may lack the lift of a driving cliché. But every element within them, on its own, advances American interests. And taken together, the institutions, agreements and arrangements we are building are forming a bulwark of freedom, security and prosperity for the 21st century. Those nations that help to build its walls will reap the benefits of partnership… and those who defy its rules and goals will pay an ever higher price of isolation.

Our enterprise is achievable – but it won’t be automatic. No less today than half a century ago, we must meet the obligations of leadership. That means ensuring we have the resources we need to get the job done right. It means ensuring this moment of opportunity isn’t squandered by partisan bickering. It means ensuring that even as Congress plays a greater foreign policy role, we resist the trend toward narrow-interest legislation that threatens to isolate America from its allies instead of securing our place at the core of a new international consensus. I’m hopeful that if we work together, we can restore the bipartisan consensus on foreign policy that has kept America strong for the last five decades.

As anyone who has turned 50 knows, the half-century mark is a potent, poignant time – a time
for looking back, for taking stock and for setting your sights ahead. As individuals, as President Clinton has said, you realize – perhaps, for the very first time – that you have more yesterdays than tomorrows. And as parents, patriots and public servants, you feel more than ever the sacred charge to leave for future generations an even better world than you enjoyed.

In the preface of his memoirs, Dean Acheson noted the following quotation: "History is lived forwards but it is written in retrospect. We know the end before we consider the beginning and we can never wholly recapture what it was like to know the beginning only." Today, thanks in part to many in this room, we stand at the beginning of an era more hopeful than any we have ever known before. None of us claims to have all the answers… but we’re trying to ask the right questions. I strongly hope, and I truly believe, that when scholars and historians look back on this time, they’ll say we laid the basis for a 21st century world that is more democratic, secure, prosperous and healthy than ever – in which America and Americans thrive.

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WASHINGTON -- At the request of President Clinton and the State Department, the First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton will travel in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Russia, and Ukraine from November 10 - 18, 1997. The First Lady is traveling to this region to demonstrate the United States' support for these countries and their reform efforts, as she did on her recent travels to Sub-Saharan Africa, Eastern Europe, and Latin America. Mrs. Clinton will stress the critical requirements for a civil society, which include: addressing the health needs of women and children, ensuring a strong education for all, protecting human rights, and expanding economic opportunity. Throughout the trip, the First Lady will visit U.S. Agency for International Development programs that highlight USAID's role in supporting democracy initiatives, health and education programs, and economic reform and private sector development.

Below are some highlights of the First Lady's upcoming trip:

Almaty, Kazakhstan (November 10 - 12)
- Ribbon cutting at the new Almaty Women's Wellness Center
- Meet with Kazakhstan youth leaders
- Deliver the keynote address at the Central Asian Conference on Women in Politics. In her remarks, Mrs. Clinton will focus on the important role women play in fostering democracy and a civil society in the Newly Independent States

Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan (November 12)
- Discussion with women who have begun their own businesses after receiving loans from USAID
- Ribbon-cutting at the newly reopened Kyrgyz-American University. Mrs. Clinton will receive an honorary degree from the university.

Taskent, Bukhara, and Samarkand, Uzbekistan (November 13 - 15)
- Attend opening of the Women's Wellness Center at Tashkent Medical Institute. The center, which is part of one of the largest medical facilities in Central Asia, is a recipient of equipment from Operation Provide Hope.
- Visits to Bukhara and Samarkand, two cities that are important religious
centers along the famous Silk Road trading route. Both cities recently celebrated their 2500th anniversary and are contain beautifully preserved historical sites.

Yekaterinburg, Russia (November 15 - 16)
- Town hall meeting sponsored by the Urals Women’s Association
- Tour a center for children with congenital defects that has a partnership with the American Association of Facial Plastic and Reconstructive Surgeons.

Novosibirsk, Russia (November 16)
- Speech at the Akademgorodok that will focus on the importance of education in building democracy

Lviv, Ukraine (November 16 - 18)
- Speech on Cultural Heritage/Democracy
- Speech summarizing the major themes of the trip.

EDITOR’S NOTES: The First Lady’s schedule is subject to change. The First Lady’s press office will release details of Mrs. Clinton’s trip as they become available.

###
DECLARATION OF POLICY

SEC. 2. In enacting this legislation, it is the intent of Congress to provide a comprehensive program for the future security of the United States; to provide for the establishment of integrated policies and procedures for the departments, agencies, and functions of the Government relating to the national security; to provide three military departments for the operation and administration of the Army, the Navy (including naval aviation and the United States Marine Corps), and the Air Force, with their assigned combat and service components; to provide for their authoritative coordination and unified direction under civilian control but not to merge them; to provide for the effective strategic direction of the armed forces and for their operation under unified control and for their integration into an efficient team of land, naval, and air forces.

TITLE I—COORDINATION FOR NATIONAL SECURITY

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

SEC. 101. (a) There is hereby established a council to be known as the National Security Council (hereinafter in this section referred to as the "Council"). The President of the United States shall preside over meetings of the Council: Provided, That in his absence he may designate a member of the Council to preside in his place.

The function of the Council shall be to advise the President with respect to the integration of domestic, foreign, and military policies relating to the national security so as to enable the military services and the other departments and agencies of the Government to cooperate more effectively in matters involving the national security.

The Council shall be composed of the President; the Secretary of State; the Secretary of Defense, appointed under section 202; the Secretary of the Army, referred to in section 205; the Secretary of the Navy; the Secretary of the Air Force, appointed under section 207; the Chairman of the National Security Resources Board, appointed under section 109; and such of the following named officers as the President may designate from time to time: The Secretaries of the executive departments, the Chairman of the Munitions Board appointed under section 213, and the Chairman of the Research and Development Board appointed under section 214; but no such additional member shall be designated until the advice and consent of the Senate has been given to his appointment to the office the holding of which authorizes his designation as a member of the Council.
(b) In addition to performing such other functions as the President may direct, for the purpose of more effectively coordinating the policies and functions of the departments and agencies of the Government relating to the national security, it shall, subject to the direction of the President, be the duty of the Council—

(1) to assess and appraise the objectives, commitments, and risks of the United States in relation to our actual and potential military power, in the interest of national security, for the purpose of making recommendations to the President in connection therewith; and

(2) to consider policies on matters of common interest to the departments and agencies of the Government concerned with the national security, and to make recommendations to the President in connection therewith.

c) The Council shall have a staff to be headed by a civilian executive secretary who shall be appointed by the President, and who shall receive compensation at the rate of $10,000 a year. The executive secretary, subject to the direction of the Council, is hereby authorized, subject to the civil-service laws and the Classification Act of 1923, as amended, to appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel as may be necessary to perform such duties as may be prescribed by the Council in connection with the performance of its functions.

d) The Council shall, from time to time, make such recommendations, and such other reports to the President as it deems appropriate or as the President may require.

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

Sec. 102. (a) There is hereby established under the National Security Council a Central Intelligence Agency with a Director of Central Intelligence, who shall be the head thereof. The Director shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, from among the commissioned officers of the armed services or from among individuals in civilian life. The Director shall receive compensation at the rate of $14,000 a year.

(b) (1) If a commissioned officer of the armed services is appointed as Director then—

(A) in the performance of his duties as Director, he shall be subject to no supervision, control, restriction, or prohibition (military or otherwise) other than would be operative with respect to him if he were a civilian in no way connected with the Department of the Army, the Department of the Navy, the Department of the Air Force, or the armed services or any component thereof; and

(B) he shall not possess or exercise any supervision, control, powers, or functions (other than such as he possesses, or is authorized or directed to exercise, as Director) with respect to the armed services or any component thereof, the Department of the Army, the Department of the Navy, the Department of the Air Force, or any branch, bureau, unit or division thereof, or with respect to any of the personnel (military or civilian) of any of the foregoing.

(2) Except as provided in paragraph (1), the appointment to the office of Director of a commissioned officer of the armed services, and his acceptance of and service in such office, shall in no way affect any status, office, rank, or grade he may occupy or hold in the armed services, or any emolument, perquisite, right, privilege, or benefit incident to or arising out of any such status, office, rank, or grade. Any such commissioned officer shall, while serving in the office of Director, receive the military pay and allowances (active or retired, as the case
MEMORANDUM FOR NSC STAFF

FROM: DONALD L. KERRICK

SUBJECT: The Berger 10

For your consideration: The Berger 10 rules as presented at last week's NSC large staff meeting.

1. Never forget where you work -- The White House -- and for whom -- the President. If you lose your sense of awe about that, it's time to think about moving on.

2. Don't let it fester -- Get it off your chest and, then move on.

3. Think big and write short.

4. Wear your beeper.

5. Take responsibility, give credit.

6. Be honest -- with yourself, your colleagues and with me -- although you don't have to be so brutal about it.

7. Set your goals high .. and then go home at night and think about the three things you've accomplished, not the seven you didn't.

8. If you don't want to read about it in the Washington Post, don't do it, because you probably will.

9. This can be a tough place to work; watch out for one another.

10. Be proud of what you are doing for your country.
**NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL**

**NOMINATION FOR INCENTIVE CASH AWARD FOR OUTSTANDING SERVICE**

**PART I - NOMINATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME OF NOMINEE (Last, First, Middle Initial):</th>
<th>SOCIAL SECURITY NO.:</th>
<th>OFFICE:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GRAY, Wendy E</td>
<td></td>
<td>NSC Strategic Planning</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**POSITION TITLE AND GRADE:**

**RECOMMENDED AMOUNT:**

**BASIS FOR AWARD:**

- [ ] Outstanding Service to the NSC over a sustained period
- [X] Outstanding Service to Employee's Office
- [ ] Outstanding Service on an unusual and/or non-recurring task

**OFFICIAL USE ONLY**

**APPROVED AMOUNT:**

$ 

**JUSTIFICATION FOR NOMINATION (If necessary, use additional sheets and staple to this form):**

Please see attached.
Nomination of Wendy E. Gray for NSC Outstanding Service Award

Wendy Gray continues to uphold the exceptional standards of diligence and commitment that earned her this award last year.

As the responsibilities of the Strategic Planning Directorate have intensified and grown, Wendy has worked hard to help ensure that our operations run smoothly – no mean feat in a directorate with two completely different functions, whose members sit on opposite sides of the building, whose mission requires extensive interaction not only with the front office but with West Wing domestic advisors, and whose deadlines are often shorter – and invariably more fixed – than those of our NSC colleagues. Wendy has been a crucial liaison between the two halves of our office – as well as between our office and the world across the street.

She has provided first-rate administrative support to the Senior Director and Director of Communications, regularly working late into the night to ensure an urgent package arrived on time; serving as a point of contact for interagency working groups on a broad variety of subjects; making sure that Communications counterparts in other agencies received talking points and speeches in a timely fashion.

She also has assisted the evolving team of speechwriters through the busiest season of foreign travel since the start of the Clinton presidency. Well before we started drafting remarks for Latin America, Africa, the Summit of the Americas, Germany, the G-8 or China, Wendy had provided each of the speechwriters with giant folders of background information – culled from resources as diverse as the library, the clips and the World Wide Web. She helped us shepherd the clearance process through our Senior Director and the NSA’s office, and maintained a library of up-to-date drafts in case other offices needed access. Her organizational skill and attention to detail made a real difference for all of us, when you consider that there were more than 20 sets of remarks for the Africa trip alone. All this on top of her regular administrative duties, including handling all our travel arrangements, supporting us on the road, and monitoring our domestic and office e-mail accounts in order to track us down with late-breaking information.

Finally, Wendy is always the one to remember our birthdays, organize lunches for departing staff, and coordinate our office’s gestures of support to NSC colleagues in need. Her generosity helps bring our disparate directorate together as a team.
PART II - CITATION

Include a concise 2 or 3 line citation to be used on the certificate for Outstanding Service Award.

In recognition of outstanding diligence, commitment and contributions to the communications and speechwriting missions of the Strategic Planning Division.

PART III - ACTION TAKEN BY THE COMMITTEE

☐ APPROVED ☐ DISAPPROVED

CASH AMOUNT APPROVED: $ 

REMARKS (If applicable):

NAME OF COMMITTEE CHAIRPERSON (Typed): 
SIGNATURE OF COMMITTEE CHAIRPERSON: 
DATE: 

NOMINATING OFFICIAL

NAME (Typed): VINCA LAFLEUR

TITLE (Typed): SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND DIRECTOR FOR SPEECHWRITING

SIGNATURE: Vinca Lafleur

DATE: July 18, 1998.
CASH AWARD PROGRAM FOR THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

INTRODUCTION

1. PURPOSE: To recognize and reward NSC employees who provide outstanding service to the NSC.

2. PERSONNEL CONCERNED: NSC employees graded GS-15 and below. Only in rare circumstances will managers GS-14 and GS-15 receive cash awards.

3. AUTHORITY: Title 5, United States Code, Chapters 43 and 45, and Title 5, Code of Federal Regulations, Parts 451 and 430, subpart E.

4. DEFINITION OF NSC EMPLOYEE: NSC employees are direct-hire employees on the NSC payroll. This does not include detailees, contractors, fellows, interns and developmentals assigned to the NSC.
BYLAWS FOR THE NCS CASH AWARD PROGRAM

1. **POLICY**: The National Security Council’s cash award program will recognize and reward NSC employees who provide outstanding service to the NSC through their official employment which reflects favorably on them, their office and the NSC. The purpose of the awards program is to recognize performance over and above the excellent performance normally expected of NSC employees. The awards program can be an effective tool of management for improving efficiency and morale. The program can bring out the best in employees and at the same time improve the quality of the product of service they provide.

2. **ELIGIBILITY**: Only NSC employees GS-15 and below are eligible. See definition of NSC employee. Only in rare circumstances will managers GS-14 and GS-15 receive cash awards.

3. **THE OUTSTANDING SERVICE AWARD**:
   a. The Outstanding Service Award will be in the form of a certificate citing the outstanding service of the NSC employee. The award will include cash not to exceed an amount determined by the Senior Director for Administration each fiscal year.
   b. Awards will be presented following the awards committee’s review process described in paragraph seven.
   c. All cash awards presented to NSC employees are considered income by the Internal Revenue Service and are subject to withholding and other payroll taxes.

4. **BASIS FOR THE OUTSTANDING SERVICE AWARD**: 
   a. Outstanding service to the NSC over a sustained period. Presented to a NSC employee for outstanding service to the NSC over a sustained period.
   b. Outstanding service to employee’s office. Presented to a NSC employee for outstanding support to his/her office, resulting in significant contribution to that office.
   c. Outstanding service on an unusual task. Presented to a NSC employee in recognition of a special task which required effort over and above regular assignments and job elements.

5. **COMPOSITION OF AWARDS COMMITTEE**: The awards committee is a permanent group established to approve or disapprove nominations for the award. The awards committee will be composed of 5 NSC senior directors, one will act as chair of the committee. Members of the committee are allowed to nominate staff, but cannot discuss or vote on those nominations in committee meetings. The NSC Senior Director for Administration is the NSC’s awards officer and serves as a coordinator and consultant to the committee.
6. AWARDS NOMINATION PROCESS:

a. The NSC Administrative office will accept nominations at any time during the year. An employee may nominate an individual for the award consistent with the criteria cited. The nominator must be in a position to document the nomination and be familiar with the nominee's work.

b. Each nomination must include a narrative justifying that nomination. The narrative must include specific examples and dates to corroborate the assessment. The narrative must demonstrate the nominee's competence, accomplishment, skill, initiative and service which is clearly above the expected level of performance. This narrative must address the criteria for the award below. Criteria which deserves recognition through the award include, but are not limited to:

1) Performance of the important functions of a position in a manner that exceeds normal requirements and shows a high level of effectiveness.
2) Performance which has involved overcoming unusual difficulties.
3) Original development of improvements in methods, organization procedures or products.
4) Exemplary or courageous handling of an emergency situation.
5) Creative effort which makes an important contribution to the NSC.
6) Other one-time or nonrecurring contributions which deserve special recognition.

c. Consideration will only be given to nominations for NSC employees who have worked at the NSC for at least 12 months.

7. AWARDS COMMITTEE REVIEW PROCESS:

a. The awards committee will convene once a year usually in the summer, to approve or disapprove the nominations which have been submitted by that time.

b. In preparation for the awards committee's meeting, the NSC Senior Director for Administration will send the package of nominations with guidance to each committee member.

c. Committee members will read and assess the nominations before the committee convenes.

d. The committee will meet to discuss the merit of the nominations and vote whether to approve or disapprove each nomination with the majority deciding. The committee may request further justification for the award.

e. The main purpose of the NSC cash awards program is to recognize outstanding service from support staff. Thus, only in rare circumstances will the committee approve cash awards for managers GS-14 and GS-15.
f. The committee, in consultation with the NSC Senior Director for Administration, will either approve or amend the amount of cash awarded based on the funds available at that time. Also, the committee may approve a more appropriate amount based on the justification for the award.

g. The chairperson will indicate on the nomination form the amount of cash awarded and then sign the form.

8. AWARDS OFFICER:

a. The awards officer of the NSC is the Senior Director for Administration. The awards officer operates the Cash Award Program.

b. The awards officer arranges ceremonies at which the National Security Advisor or his designee present the awards.

c. The awards officer is the sole authorizer of payments for cash awards and the issuance of certificates.

9. AWARDS CEREMONY:

a. An awards ceremony will occur after the awards committee meets. The public presentation of awards provides an opportunity to demonstrate formally the NSC’s high regard and appreciation for employee contributions and services. The ceremony should be performed with befitting dignity, as soon as practicable after the committee meets.

b. The certificate for Outstanding Service Award will be signed by the National Security Advisor. Recipients will be presented their cash award and certificate citing their outstanding service by the National Security Advisor personally or by his designee.

c. The Statutory Head of the NSC (Executive Secretary) may host a reception and incur expenses through the White House Mess for the awards ceremony. The NSC will reimburse the Statutory Head for such costs in accordance with the Incentive Awards Act.

10. PROMOTION OF THE PROGRAM:

a. A successful cash award program depends on impetus and continuing interest from management. From time to time the awards officer and chairperson of the awards committee should promote the program for the benefit of NSC employees.