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Acknowledgments: President Ford
   President Carter
   Vice President Gore
   Clifton Truman Daniel
   General Dawson (Chairman of Library Board) and Mrs. Dawson
   Mrs. Lindy Boggs (Chairman of the National Committee)
   Mr. Larry Hackman (Director of the Library) and Mrs. Hackman
   Senator Sam Nunn, Rep. Ike Skelton and other Members of Congress
   Distinguished Guests

It's a pleasure to join you all this evening. Today, men and women in public life invoke the
example of President Truman more often perhaps than that of anyone else. There may even be
one or two people in this room who have done that. Because he was a fighter for principle who
came back like no one else...because he gave 'em hell without fear or favor...because he so
embodied the virtues and decency of the people he served.

But the true measure of Harry Truman -- and what makes him one of our greatest Presidents -- is
not the number of people who claim his mantle. Instead, it is that every American President since
his time -- including my two distinguished predecessors who join us this evening -- has followed
in his footsteps...and carried forward America's leadership in the world. Today, the tradition of
sustained American engagement in peacetime that he began...of broad-based support for
democracy and free markets around the world...has proven so successful...and been so
consistently maintained by Republican and Democratic Presidents...that some forget what a bold
departure it was.
The Truman Doctrine...the Marshall Plan...the Atlantic Alliance...each was a step unlike anything previous in our nation's history. Indeed, NATO -- which President Truman rightly considered one of his greatest achievements -- was our first peacetime military alliance ever. This decisive change from past practice grew out of his belief -- shared by such other visionaries as George Marshall, Arthur Vandenberg and Dean Acheson -- that America could never again remain apart....that America has a vital stake in a stable, peaceful Europe. Because we had isolated ourselves after one world war, we had found it necessary to fight another. And these wise leaders saw that we could never let that happen again.

In this new era -- after the fall of Soviet Communism -- history calls upon us to build on their achievement...to secure a peace for the next century...just as Harry Truman's generation secured it for the last half of this one. To achieve that, America today is reaffirming its commitment to building a democratic, peaceful and undivided Europe -- seizing this moment, when people across the continent at last control their own destinies.

We are working to consolidate freedom's new gains into a larger and more lasting peace. Instead of a security based on the defense of one bloc against another, we seek a security that will be found in Europe's integration. We are building a peace that will bind the broader Europe together with a strong fabric woven of vital democracies, prosperous market economies and security cooperation. For America's future security, no other task is so important.
At the heart of this effort are three principles. First, we are supporting the growth of democracy in Europe's newly free nations. The success of their reforms will make us all safer -- because democracies tend not to wage war against one another...they are natural allies against aggression...and they are inclined to respect the human rights of their citizens.

Second, we are working to increase economic vitality in Europe, America and around the world. Our effort to bring down trade barriers -- through GATT and other agreements -- will help bind the nations of Europe with each other and with us in prosperity. In formerly communist countries, our support for the transition to market economies is helping to strengthen democracy's roots -- and block the advance of nationalism or ethnic hatred.

Third, and most important, we are building the transatlantic community of tomorrow by deepening our security cooperation. Because even though the overarching threat of communism has been defeated, the battle between freedom and tyranny goes on. The forces of intolerance and hatred wear different faces -- ethnic and religious conflict...state-sponsored terrorism...the spread of weapons of mass destruction. And neither Europe nor America can insulate itself from these threats. But by joining with our traditional allies across the ocean...and embracing others who now share our values...we create for ourselves the best defense.

We have seen the proof of that collective strength through more than 40 years of success. NATO's military power and cohesion makes it indispensable. But NATO does far more than provide the tanks and guns to safeguard our borders.
NATO binds the Western democracies together in common purpose with shared values-- it does not depend on an enemy to maintain its unity. The Alliance strengthens all of its members from within at the same time that it defends against threats from without. And to see the proof, compare the tremendous stability, economic strength and harmony in Western Europe with conditions of only a few decades ago. The Alliance brought former adversaries together, strengthened democratic forces and sheltered fragile economies. It gave them the confidence to look past the ancient enmities that caused countless wars. It gave them safety to sow the prosperity that today binds them -- and us -- together. By establishing NATO, America created the security it required...where history has shown it is most needed.

"The world is not static, the status quo is not sacred" -- those were words Harry Truman used to announce the Truman Doctrine. Now, we must build upon President Truman's great feat. We must adapt NATO for the missions of a new era. We must open NATO's doors to new members.

We must adapt NATO because absolutely nothing else can serve as a cornerstone for an integrated, secure, stable Europe.

NATO's success has been based on a single principle: we best promote our interests when we advance our values. By supporting democracy and free markets in Western Europe, we created a community of shared interests -- and an alliance for the common defense. Now, with the new
democracies of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, we can enlarge the circle of common purpose. We can create greater security for this new era.

That is why we established the Partnership for Peace as the framework for security cooperation between all the nations of Europe. In less than two years, the Partnership has brought 26 nations into a far-reaching program that builds confidence as well as ties of friendship. Now, former enemies join in field exercises throughout the year... building bonds together instead of battle plans against one another. This has had a tremendously positive effect, strengthening common values and principles. Because as nations look to the West with hope, their commitment to reform and democracy deepens.

Now, those nations in the region that maintain their democratic standards, continue their economic transformation and behave responsibly in the world, should be able to seek membership in NATO. By allying with them, we give these nations the confidence to consolidate their freedoms and build their economies. And that, ultimately, benefits us all.

NATO has completed its study of how it should bring in new members. We will move carefully and deliberately as we consider the study’s conclusions with all those who have joined with us in the Partnership for Peace. Now, we can begin more intensive discussions with those partners who are interested in the requirements and obligations of membership. After that, we will move carefully and openly -- but also steadily -- toward the next phase: considering who NATO’s new members should be and when they will be invited to join the Alliance. And throughout, we will
engage in a serious dialogue with Congress and the American people and how and why we must proceed with NATO's expansion.

Let me emphasize: bringing new members into the Alliance will enhance security throughout Europe -- including in Russia. We have reassured -- and will continue to reassure -- Russia that NATO is a defensive alliance, as it has always been. What NATO did to stabilize Western Europe after 1945 it can do for Central and Eastern Europe. Extending the zone of security and democracy in Europe will help prevent the conflicts that for centuries have tempted outside powers to intervene. For Russia and all her neighbors, this is a far better path than the alternative -- small, fearful nations caught in a dangerous balance-of-power game.

Our new and positive relationship with Russia provides another pillar in the security system we are building. Russia's effort to become a confident, stable democracy is one of the most significant developments of our time. The road will be long and difficult for Russia, but we have an important stake in her success. Russia has a vital contribution to the new Europe -- and we are determined to help it make that contribution.

That is why we have offered Russia a strong relationship with NATO -- even an "alliance with the Alliance." We already are working with Russia through the Partnership for Peace. We want that bond to deepen. Tomorrow, for example, U.S. and Russian forces will begin a peacekeeping exercise at Fort Riley, Kansas under the auspices of the Partnership. We look forward to the day when Russia's relations with NATO are daily, comprehensive and routine -- and we will go every
step of the way to build the confidence and security of a democratic Russia. But the choice between NATO's opening to Central Europe and our relationship with Russia is a false one -- and we need not sacrifice one to the other.

Tonight, I have spoken about NATO's extraordinary accomplishments in the past and its role in building the security of tomorrow. But NATO is at work now, as we speak, demonstrating on the ground in Bosnia how vital it is to securing peace in Europe. NATO airstrikes...the efforts of our negotiators...and military changes on the ground have brought the parties to the negotiating table. America has exerted its leadership through the Alliance and persistent diplomacy to bring the parties to this moment...and to an agreement on the basic principles of a settlement and a country-wide cease-fire.

The United States will continue to do everything possible to push forward. But now, the parties must now take the responsibility for forging a lasting settlement.

Next week, the presidents of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia will travel here, to Dayton, Ohio to resolve the remaining issues. The political settlement that is taking shape must preserve Bosnia as a single state and provide for a fair territorial compromise. It will commit the parties to hold free elections, establish democratic institutions of government at the national and regional level, and respect human rights. There is no guarantee of success, and difficult obstacles must still be overcome. But as the leaders gather in Ohio, they must know that the eyes of the world are upon them.
Now, as never before, they have the opportunity to lift their peoples out of conflict...end the bloodshed...and establish a genuine peace.

If a true peace is negotiated, then NATO must be prepared to help implement the agreement. The reasons are clear: there will be no peace without an international presence on the ground in Bosnia. That presence must be credible and have the capacity to enforce the peace. Only NATO, the most powerful and experienced military alliance on earth, meets that test...and will give the parties the reassurance they need to make peace.

As the leader of NATO, U.S. must take part in this effort. We cannot ask our allies to go it alone. It is important to remember that most of the troops on the ground will be contributed by other nations -- not America. But if we are not there, many of our partners will reconsider their commitments -- and that will undermine the peace effort. And if we are not there, we will sacrifice our leadership of NATO. All the parties have made it clear that the U.S. must be there to the secure the peace.

But I am determined that U.S. troops will only take part if NATO has complete say over command and control of our forces. If our conditions are met, then we must fulfill our obligation and lead this mission. I have been speaking with the Congress, urging them to heed this call...support the implementation plan...and write another chapter in the history of bipartisan support for American leadership. If we want peace after four bloody years of conflict, then we must lead this effort -- because otherwise it will not get done.
I am also delighted to report that, at our meeting in Hyde Park, President Yeltsin and I were in complete agreement on the need to support the peace effort in Bosnia. We also agreed that Russian peacekeepers will participate in implementing the peace. Our defense ministers will begin tomorrow to hammer out the details. We welcome this kind of participation, which foreshadows what our cooperation can yield in the future.

This is the best opportunity for peace in Bosnia since the war began. We must seize it. If we fail, the consequences -- for the people of Bosnia...for the region...for NATO...for Europe...and for the United States -- could be grave indeed.

If we fail to secure the peace, the fighting in Bosnia will reignite and the toll -- in lives lost and futures destroyed -- will climb even higher.

If we secure the peace, a conflict that we have contained within Bosnia could spread into neighboring nations...sparking a far larger war.

If we fail to secure the peace -- and NATO fails to rise to the challenge of the most dangerous conflict in Europe since World War II -- NATO's future as freedom's shield would be in doubt.

If we fail to secure the peace, our vision of an integrated, peaceful, democratic Europe -- with all the benefits that would bring for our long-term security and prosperity -- might not be realized.
If we fail to secure the peace, American leadership -- the source of our strength at home and success around the world -- will be called into question.

If we fail to secure the peace, America’s sons and daughters could be called to fight another war in Europe -- where we have already sacrificed so much in this century for the cause of freedom.

This is a crucial moment in Bosnia -- but it is also a pivotal period for our nation. We must make tough choices -- as Harry Truman did. We face these choices because now is the time for us to prepare our security for the 21st century.

Now, democracy and free markets have an historic opportunity...a unique moment...to put down strong roots around the world -- and we must seize it. We must put our energy behind what President Truman called “the vitalizing force of democracy.” He saw that democracy led people to rise to the responsibilities of their freedom...to work hard...and to build worthy lives for themselves. And he knew that if they experienced that force, they would also find the common interests that bound them to other free people. That, ultimately, was what lay behind the drive and vision that created this last half-century of American success. Today -- and in the months and years ahead -- our task is to renew that vision...and carry it forward into this new era. We can do that...and we can multiply the successes of those who preceded us....for ourselves and our children...in the century to come.
Acknowledgments: President Ford  
    President Bush  
    Members of the Truman Family  
    Members of Congress  
    Distinguished Guests

It's a pleasure to join you all this evening. And, of course, it is a delight to join any chorus singing the praises of President Harry Truman -- a chorus that could not get any larger. Indeed, politicians today liken themselves to President Truman more often than to anyone else-- and there may even be a one or two in this room who are guilty of the offense. Because he was a fighter who came back like no one else...because he gave 'em hell without fear or favor...because, above all, he so embodied the virtues and decency of the people he served.

But the true measure of Harry Truman -- and what makes him one of our greatest Presidents -- is not the number of people who claim to bear his mantle. Instead, it is that every American President since his time -- including my two distinguished predecessors who join us this evening -- has carefully followed in his footsteps...and carried forward America's leadership in the world. Today, the tradition of vigorous American engagement that he began...of broad-based support for democracy and free markets around the world...has proven so successful...and been so consistently maintained by Republican and Democratic Presidents...that some forget what a bold departure it was.
Throughout its history, America has been supportive of other democracies. But until World War II ended, we never undertook such widespread support...viewed it as our responsibility...or realized just what a strong means it was for furthering our interests. The Truman Doctrine...the Marshall Plan...the creation of the Atlantic Alliance...each was a step unlike any previous one in our nation’s history. For example, NATO -- which President Truman rightly considered one of his finest achievements -- was our first peacetime military alliance in more than 150 years of nationhood. This decisive change from past practice grew out of his belief -- shared by such other giants as General Marshall, Senator Vandenberg and Dean Acheson -- that times had changed...that America could not remain aloof. Because we had isolated ourselves after one world war, we had found it necessary to fight another. And these wise leaders saw that we could never let that happen again.

The policies of that time and the bipartisan coalition that backed them laid the groundwork first for an incredible string of triumphs: the revival of Western Europe...the confrontation with Soviet Union in Berlin...the anchoring of West Germany in the West. Out of the ashes of World War II, the men and women of that time built the battlements of democracy across the Atlantic, the Pacific, in the Mediterranean and around the world. And they paved the way for decades of further success: building the wealthiest nation in history and winning over the long haul in the Cold War. From that great generation’s determination that America must lead grew the security and unparalleled freedom we enjoy today.
Some say that with the crowning achievement of victory in the Cold War, a stage in American history came to a close. They say that the demise of Soviet communism removed the single, massive threat to our liberty and our way of life. And they ask why we need to spend our energy and resources on maintaining such an active foreign policy.

The answer is that while the monolithic threat is gone, the forces of intolerance and hatred remain with us. They wear different faces -- ethnic and religious conflict...terrorism...international crime. And America cannot insulate itself from these dangers. The changes in the world 50 years ago that ended the possibility of isolation -- in technology and economic interdependence -- have not disappeared. Instead, they have deepened and accelerated.

Senator Vandenberg said that in a time when a V-2 bomb could be launched in Germany and hit London (ck), there could be no isolation. That is so much more true today, when the world has grown so much closer...when intercontinental weapons can strike any spot on earth...when ideas, capital and commodities that we depend on cross borders with lightening speed...when upheaval in places that once seemed distant disrupts American markets and lives.

Today, the idea that a clear line divides foreign policy from domestic is a dangerous illusion. The world has grown so compact that to keep the poison of drugs out of our homes and families, we must have the cooperation of authorities thousands of miles away. To keep nuclear materials out of dangerous hands, we must work closely with people on other continents where the materials
are stored. And to ensure that the ozone above us shields us from cancer or the atmosphere doesn’t fill up with carbon dioxide and overheat the planet -- we must have the cooperation of nations around the world. Physical distance is deceptive. Today, we all live in adjoining neighborhoods of a single global village.

To keep our nation secure, free and prosperous, we must continue to lead -- and not leave world developments to chance. And as our success over the last five decades has shown, we best promote our interests when we advance our values. The genius of postwar American foreign policy has been the connection between principles and goals. By spreading the values of democracy and free markets, we have created a community of common interests around the world. Because democracies are natural allies against aggression, and want to preserve peace...they aim to increase prosperity through trade...and tend to respect the rights of their citizens.

Proceeding by our principles...navigating by the lights of our values...enlarging the community of shared goals...this is a method that we must follow in this new era.

And we are. One of our boldest efforts builds on President Truman’s brilliant feat of creating the Atlantic Alliance. Indeed, nothing is more critical to strengthening the circle of democracies than the project of enlarging NATO and refitting it for the next century.
There are those who say that NATO accomplished its mission by preventing Soviet expansion -- and therefore should be laid to rest. But saying that mistakes the alliance's greatest achievement with its reason for existence. NATO binds the Western democracies together -- it is not an association of convenience for a single task. The Alliance strengthens all of its members from within at the same time that it defends against threats from without. And to see the proof, compare the astonishing vibrance of our NATO allies today with their condition only a few decades ago. That prosperity is not simply a result of market forces. NATO sheltered those economies, giving them the vital security that allowed market forces to flourish.

That is why we must not press NATO into the history book of the Cold War and place it on a shelf. "The world is not static, the status quo is not sacred" -- those were words Harry Truman used when he announced the Truman Doctrine, that first great turn in America's peacetime policy toward world leadership. We must keep those words in mind and give NATO new missions for a new era.

We must adapt NATO because, as we saw in the Gulf War and in Bosnia, our era brings new security threats that must be answered. The Alliance remains the greatest instrument for addressing these dangers -- and keeping it strong will discourage many others who would be tempted to aggression. But we must give the Alliance the capacity to meet these new challenges -- and not the lock it behind now-meaningless borders.
We must adapt NATO because absolutely nothing else can serve as a cornerstone for an integrated, secure, stable Europe. NATO must expand -- and it will expand. That was the message I brought to Europe in January, 1994 -- and that is goal toward which we have been working for ever since.

We have welcomed the newly free nations of Central Europe into the community of democracies - and we are heartened by their progress. Many of them have turned to democracy with a remarkable fervor. Some, like the Czech Republic, Poland and Slovenia have already turned in impressive economic results. So long as the nations of the region maintain their democratic standards, they should have the option to join the great institutions of the West -- including NATO and the European Union. Already, we have seen that Partnership for Peace, which established a path to NATO membership, has had a tremendous positive effect, instilling our values and principles. POSSIBLE EXAMPLES OF P4P COOPERATION.

In the years ahead, we look forward to cementing our ties with some of these nations. The reasons are clear: America’s future security and prosperity demands that we bring those who share our values into the fold...that we join with them for common defense...and by allying with them, we give them the confidence to build their economies. And that, ultimately, benefits us all.

NATO has undergirded our prosperity by keeping the peace. Now is not the time to discard it, but to strengthen it.
Let me emphasize: enlarging the Alliance will enhance stability in Europe. It will not weaken it -- as some argue -- by antagonizing Russia. NATO democracies in Central Europe will be a greater force for peace than would be small, fearful nations caught in a dangerous balance-of-power game. What's more, in parallel with the process of enlargement, we have offered Russia a strong relationship with NATO -- what has been called an alliance with the Alliance. (Elaborating sentence then possible sentence on Russia and P4P) We will go every step of the way to build the confidence and security of a democratic Russia. But the choice between security in Central Europe and our new and positive relationship with Russia is a false one -- and we will not sacrifice one to the other.

As you know, the Alliance may soon may be called upon to keep the peace in Bosnia. U.S. leadership has brought this tragic conflict closer than ever to a peaceful solution. NATO airstrikes and military changes on the ground brought the parties to the negotiating table. Our diplomatic efforts have yielded the basic principles of a settlement and a country-wide cease-fire. Soon, talks will begin in Ohio that could clear the way to a final settlement. There are many obstacles, but we are hopeful that the parties will come to terms.

If -- and only if -- a true peace is negotiated, then NATO must help implement the agreement. Only NATO -- the most powerful and experienced military alliance on earth -- has the means to do the job. And as the leader of NATO, U.S. troops must take part in the effort. We have an important stake in preventing the conflict from reigniting. If a plan were to collapse because of insufficient backing from the international community, hostilities could erupt again with even
greater fury, threatening some of the new democracies whose liberation we have celebrated... and undermining stability throughout Europe. America has worked too hard over the decades to see Europe slide back into chaos -- endangering our vital political, economic and security interests.

We cannot ask our allies to go it alone. It would undermine the peace effort -- and it would undermine NATO. But I am determined that U.S. troops will only take part if NATO has complete say over command and control of the forces. In addition, nations that participate in the mission must cover their own costs. [other modalities/requirements tk]. If these conditions are met, though, then we must fulfill our obligation and lead this mission. And I will urge Republicans and Democrats to heed this call... give support for the implementation plan... and write another chapter in the history of bipartisan support for American leadership. The fact is: if we do not lead this effort, it won't get done.

In Bosnia -- but also in a hundred other respects -- we are living at a pivotal time. It is a moment when democracy and free markets have an extraordinary chance to put down strong roots around the world. It is a moment when we must support what President Truman called "the vitalizing force of democracy." He saw that democracy led people to rise to the responsibilities of their freedom... to work hard... and to build worthy lives for themselves. And he knew that if they experienced that force, they would also find the common interests that bound them to other free people. That, ultimately, was what lay behind the drive and vision that created this last half-century of American success.
Navigating by the lights of our values....we can build on that vision...and we can expand that success many times over in the 21st century. I believe it can be a time of exceptional achievement and growth. But we must not close the book on all the achievements we inherited and turn our backs on the world. Instead, we must rise to the challenge...make the legacy of that generation our own...and preserve the tradition of American leadership in the world. Then we will redeem the promise of this moment and provide the future we want for our children and grandchildren.
From: Benjamin, Daniel
To: Veit, Kathy in New York
Cc: /N, NonRecord at A1; Bass, Peter E. in New York; Blacker, Coit in New York; Blinken, Antony in New York; Joshi, Kay in New York; Vershbow, Sandy in New York
Subject: truman library [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Monday, October 23, 1995 6:54PM
Priority: High

Kathy--

Please pass to TL. Berger has a copy. Many thanks.

<<File Attachment: HSTLIB3.DOC>>
It's a pleasure to join you all this evening. And, of course, it is a delight to add my voice to any chorus singing the praises of President Harry Truman -- a chorus that could not get any larger.

Today, men and women in public life liken themselves to President Truman more often than to anyone else -- and there may even be one or two in this room who are guilty of the offense.

Because he was a fighter who came back like no one else...because he gave 'em hell without fear or favor...because, above all, he so embodied the virtues and decency of the people he served.

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consistently maintained by Republican and Democratic Presidents...that some forget what a bold departure it was.

The Truman Doctrine...the Marshall Plan...the Atlantic Alliance...each was a step unlike any previous one in our nation's history. Indeed, NATO -- which President Truman rightly considered one of his greatest achievements -- was our first peacetime military alliance ever. This decisive change from past practice grew out of his belief -- shared by such other visionaries as General Marshall, Senator Vandenberg and Dean Acheson -- that America could never again remain aloof. Because we had isolated ourselves after one world war, we had found it necessary to fight another. And these wise leaders saw that we could never let that happen again.

The policies of that time and the bipartisan coalition that backed them laid the groundwork for an incredible string of triumphs: the revival of Western Europe and Japan...the Berlin Airlift...the anchoring of West Germany in the West. Out of the ashes of World War II, America built the battlements of democracy across the Atlantic, the Pacific, in the Mediterranean and around the world. And that paved the way for decades of further success: building the wealthiest nation in history, containing Communism and, ultimately, winning in the Cold War. From that great generation's determination that America must lead grew the security and unparalleled freedom we enjoy today.

With the crowning achievement of victory in the Cold War, a stage in American history came to a close. The demise of Soviet communism removed the single, massive threat to our liberty. In the
wake of that historic event, some ask why we need to spend our energy and resources on maintaining our leadership abroad.

The answer is that the forces of intolerance and hatred remain with us. They wear different faces -- ethnic and religious conflict...state-sponsored terrorism ...the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction -- and they threaten us in different ways. But at heart, the battle between freedom and tyranny goes on. And America cannot insulate itself from this age-old conflict.

To keep our nation secure, free and prosperous, America must continue to lead -- and not leave world developments to chance. And to do so, we must build upon President Truman's great feat of creating the Atlantic Alliance -- the community of Western democracies that has succeeded so brilliantly....standing together for our common security and mutual prosperity...becoming the foremost instrument of American leadership abroad.

NATO's success over nearly five decades has been based on a single principle: we best promote our interests when we advance our values. Supporting democracy and free markets in Western Europe, we created a community of shared interests -- and an alliance for the common defense. NATO's history proves the point that democracies are for the most part natural allies against aggression ...want to preserve peace....seek to increase prosperity through trade....and tend to respect the rights of their citizens.
NATO’s history underscores that we must proceed by our principles...navigate by the lights of our values...enlarge the community of shared goals...in order to create security for this new era.

And we are -- carrying forward a project that began 50 years ago. Some forget, but the Transatlantic community -- America’s core family of friends along with Japan -- was not meant to end at the Fulda Gap. Before NATO was created, America sought to build strong ties with all of postwar Europe -- Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and even the Soviet Union were offered Marshall aid. But the effort ended when the Iron Curtain fell.

Now, however, with the end of the Cold War, we can build a Transatlantic community that reaches as far as democracy itself. That is why we are working so hard to support democratic and free market reform in the free nations of Central Europe and the former Soviet Union. That is why we are extending our hand in partnership to Russia. That is also why we established the Partnership for Peace as the framework for security cooperation between all the nations of Europe. In less than two years, the Partnership has moved from words to deeds, bringing together former enemies in military cooperation. Finally, to build the community America needs, we are preparing to open NATO’s doors to new members. There is no task more vital to our nation’s security than building a strong Transatlantic alliance of democracies for the century to come -- and NATO will be that community’s core institution.

NATO binds the Western democracies together -- it does not depend on an enemy to maintain its unity. The Alliance strengthens all of its members from within at the same time that it defends
against threats from without. And to see the proof, compare the tremendous stability, economic
strength and harmony in Western Europe with conditions of only a few decades ago.

NATO brought former adversaries together, strengthened democratic forces and sheltered fragile
economies. It gave them the confidence to put aside ancient enmities that caused countless wars.
NATO gave nations the security to sow a prosperity that binds them together -- instead of the
fascism, communism or extreme nationalism that would have guaranteed more bloodshed. France
and Germany went to war three times in 70 years. Since the advent of NATO, they have become
the closest of allies -- and Europeans and Americans have benefited.

"The world is not static, the status quo is not sacred" -- those were words Harry Truman used
when he announced the Truman Doctrine, that first great turn in America's peacetime policy
toward world leadership. Now, we must keep those words in mind as we fit NATO for the
missions of a new era -- because we face new security threats that must be answered. NATO did
not fight the Gulf War -- but there would have been no coalition without it. And without NATO,
there might never have been a moment of hope for Bosnia, as there is now.

The Alliance remains the greatest instrument for addressing these dangers -- and keeping it strong
will discourage others who would be tempted to aggression. But we must give the Alliance the
capacity to meet these new challenges -- and not the lock it behind now-meaningless Cold War
borders.
We must adapt NATO because absolutely nothing else can serve as a cornerstone for an integrated, secure, stable Europe. NATO must be ready to let in new members -- and it will. That was the message I brought to Europe in January, 1994 -- and that is goal toward which we have been working for ever since.

We have welcomed the newly free nations of Central Europe into the community of democracies - and we are encouraged by their progress. Many of them have turned to democracy with a remarkable fervor. Some, like the Czech Republic, Poland, Estonia and Slovenia have already turned in impressive economic results. So long as the nations of the region maintain their democratic standards, continue their economic transformation and behave responsibly in the world, they should be able to seek membership the great institutions of the West -- including NATO and the European Union. Already, we have seen that the prospect of integration with the West has had a tremendous positive effect, strengthening common values and principles. Because as nations look to the West with hope, their commitment to reform and democracy deepens.

In the years ahead, we look forward to further deepening our ties with some of these nations. America's future security and prosperity demands that we bring those who share our values into the fold....that we join with emerging democracies in Europe for common defense. By allying with them, we give these nations the confidence to consolidate their freedoms and build their economies. And that, ultimately, benefits us all.
NATO has completed its study of how it should bring in new members. We will move carefully and deliberately as we consider the study’s conclusions -- and the requirements of NATO membership -- with all those who have joined with us in the Partnership for Peace. We will move carefully and openly -- but also steadily -- toward the next phase: considering who NATO’s new members will be and when they should be invited to join the alliance.

Let me emphasize: bringing new members into the Alliance will enhance security throughout Europe. It will not weaken it -- as some argue -- by antagonizing Russia. We have reassured -- and will continue to reassure -- Russia that NATO is a defensive alliance, as it has always been. What NATO did to stabilize Western Europe after 1945 it can do for Central and Eastern Europe. Extending the zone of security and democracy eastward will help prevent the conflicts that for centuries have tempted outside powers to intervene. For Russia and all her neighbors, this is a far better path than the alternative -- small, fearful nations caught in a dangerous balance-of-power game.

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As the leader of NATO, U.S. must take part in this effort. We cannot ask our allies to go it alone. That would undermine the peace effort -- and undermine NATO. All the parties have made it clear that the U.S. must be there to the secure the peace.

This is not a favor to anyone. We have an important stake in preventing the conflict from reigniting. If a plan were to collapse because of insufficient backing from the international community, hostilities could erupt again with even greater fury, threatening some of the new democracies whose liberation we have celebrated... and undermining stability throughout Europe. America has sacrificed too much in two world wars and in the Cold War to see Europe slide back into chaos -- endangering our vital political, economic and security interests.

But I am determined that U.S. troops will only take part if NATO has complete say over command and control of the forces. In addition, nations that participate in the mission must cover their own costs. If these conditions are met, though, then we must fulfill our obligation and lead this mission. And I have been speaking with the Congress, urging them to heed this call... give support for the implementation plan... and write another chapter in the history of bipartisan support for American leadership. The fact is: if we do not lead this effort, it won’t get done.

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freedom...to work hard...and to build worthy lives for themselves. And he knew that if they experienced that force, they would also find the common interests that bound them to other free people. That, ultimately, was what lay behind the drive and vision that created this last half-century of American success.

We can build on that vision...and we can expand that success many times over in the 21st century. I believe it can be a time of exceptional achievement and growth. But we must not close the book on all the achievements we inherited and turn our backs on the world. Instead, we must rise to the challenge...make the legacy of that generation our own...and preserve the tradition of American leadership in the world. Navigating by the certain lights of our values, we will redeem the promise of this moment and provide the future we want for ourselves and for our children.

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Over 50 years ago, Senator Vandenberg said that when a V-2 bomb could be launched in Germany and hit London (ck), there could be no isolation. That is so much more true today, when the world has grown so much closer...when intercontinental weapons can strike any spot on
earth... when ideas, capital and commodities that we depend on cross borders with lightening speed... when upheaval in places that once seemed distant disrupts American markets and lives.
From: Tony Blinken  
To: Danny Benjamin  
Agency: NSC  
Fax Number: 202-456-9160  
Date/Time: 10/24/95  
No. of pages to follow: 10  
Message: Tony L. and Chip reading now. Reads well. See small edit suggestions. Only broad problem from my end is maybe too much on NATO enlargement. Have sense you could compress because section seems to circle back on itself a bit. Liked stuff on global village in previous draft -- anyway to get it back? Tony
It's a pleasure to join you all this evening. And, of course, it is a delight to add my voice to any chorus singing the praises of President Harry Truman -- a chorus that could not get any larger.

Today, men and women in public life liken themselves to President Truman more often than to anyone else -- and there may even be one or two in this room who are guilty of the offense. Because he was a fighter who came back like no one else...because he gave 'em hell without fear or favor...because, above all, he so embodied the virtues and decency of the people he served.

But the true measure of Harry Truman -- and what makes him one of our greatest Presidents -- is not the number of people who claim to bear his mantle. Instead, it is that every American President since his time -- including my two distinguished predecessors who join us this evening -- has followed in his footsteps...and carried forward America's leadership in the world. Today, the tradition of sustained American engagement in peacetime that he began...of broad-based support for democracy and free markets around the world...has proven so successful...and been so
consistently maintained by Republican and Democratic Presidents...that some forget what a bold departure it was.

The Truman Doctrine...the Marshall Plan...the Atlantic Alliance...each was a step unlike any previous one in our nation's history. Indeed, NATO -- which President Truman rightly considered one of his greatest achievements -- was our first peacetime military alliance ever. This decisive change from past practice grew out of his belief -- shared by such other visionaries as General Marshall, Senator Vandenberg and Dean Acheson -- that America could never again remain aloof. Because we had isolated ourselves after one world war, we had found it necessary to fight another. And these wise leaders saw that we could never let that happen again.

The policies of that time and the bipartisan coalition that backed them laid the groundwork for an incredible string of triumphs: the revival of Western Europe and Japan...the Berlin Airlift...the anchoring of West Germany in the West. Out of the ashes of World War II, America built the battlements of democracy across the Atlantic, the Pacific, in the Mediterranean and around the world. And that paved the way for decades of further success, building the wealthiest nation in history, containing Communism and, ultimately, winning in the Cold War. From that great generation's determination that America must lead grew the security and unparalleled freedom we enjoy today.

With the crowning achievement of victory in the Cold War, a stage in American history came to a close. The demise of Soviet communism removed the single, massive threat to our liberty.
In the wake of that historic event, some ask why we need to spend our energy and resources on maintaining our leadership abroad.

The answer is that the forces of intolerance and hatred remain with us. They wear different faces -- ethnic and religious conflict, state-sponsored terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction -- and they threaten us in different ways. But at heart, the battle between freedom and tyranny goes on. And America cannot insulate itself from this age-old conflict.

To keep our nation secure, free and prosperous, America must continue to lead -- and not leave world developments to chance. And to do so, we must build upon President Truman's great feat of creating the Atlantic Alliance -- the community of Western democracies that has succeeded so brilliantly....standing together for our common security and mutual prosperity....becoming the foremost instrument of American leadership abroad.

NATO's success over nearly five decades has been based on a single principle: we best promote our interests when we advance our values. Supporting democracy and free markets in Western Europe, we created a community of shared interests -- and an alliance for the common defense. NATO's history proves the point that democracies are for the most part natural allies against aggression...want to preserve peace....seek to increase prosperity through trade....and tend to respect the rights of their citizens.
NATO's history underscores that we must proceed by our principles...navigate by the lights of our values...enlarge the community of shared goals...in order to create security for this new era.

And we are -- carrying forward a project that began 50 years ago. Some forget, but the Transatlantic community -- America's core family of friends along with Japan -- was not meant to end at the Fulda Gap. Before NATO was created, America sought to build strong ties with all of postwar Europe -- Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and even the Soviet Union were offered Marshall aid. But the effort ended when the Iron Curtain fell.

Now, however, with the end of the Cold War, we can build a Transatlantic community that reaches as far as democracy itself. That is why we are working so hard to support democratic and free market reform in the free nations of Central Europe and the former Soviet Union. That is why we are extending our hand in partnership to Russia. That is also why we established the Partnership for Peace as the framework for security cooperation between all the nations of Europe. In less than two years, the Partnership has moved from words to deeds, bringing together former enemies in military cooperation. Finally, to build the community America needs, we are preparing to open NATO's doors to new members. There is no task more vital to our nation's security than building a strong Transatlantic alliance of democracies for the century to come -- and NATO will be that community's core institution.

NATO binds the Western democracies together -- it does not depend on an enemy to maintain its unity. The Alliance strengthens all of its members from within at the same time that it defends
against threats from without. And to see the proof, compare the tremendous stability, economic strength and harmony in Western Europe with conditions of only a few decades ago.

NATO brought former adversaries together, strengthened democratic forces and sheltered fragile economies. It gave them the confidence to put aside ancient enmities that caused countless wars. NATO gave nations the security to sow a prosperity that binds them together -- instead of the fascism, communism or extreme nationalism that would have guaranteed more bloodshed. France and Germany went to war three times in 70 years. Since the advent of NATO, they have become the closest of allies -- and Europeans and Americans have benefited.

"The world is not static, the status quo is not sacred" -- those were words Harry Truman used when he announced the Truman Doctrine that first great turn in America's peacetime policy toward world leadership. Now, we must keep those words in mind as we fit NATO for the missions of a new era -- because we face new security threats that must be answered. NATO did not fight the Gulf War -- but there would have been no coalition without it. And without NATO, there might never have been a moment of hope for Bosnia, as there is now.

The Alliance remains the greatest instrument for addressing these dangers -- and keeping it strong will discourage others who would be tempted to aggression. But we must give the Alliance the capacity to meet these new challenges -- and not the lock it behind now-meaningless Cold War borders.
We must adapt NATO because absolutely nothing else can serve as a cornerstone for an integrated, secure, stable Europe. NATO must be ready to let in new members -- and it will. That was the message I brought to Europe in January, 1994 -- and that is goal toward which we have been working for ever since.

We have welcomed the newly free nations of Central Europe into the community of democracies - and we are encouraged by their progress. Many of them have turned to democracy with a remarkable fervor. Some, like the Czech Republic, Poland, Estonia and Slovenia have already turned in impressive economic results. So long as the nations of the region maintain their democratic standards, continue their economic transformation and behave responsibly in the world, they should be able to seek membership in the great institutions of the West -- including NATO and the European Union. Already, we have seen that the prospect of integration with the West has had a tremendous positive effect, strengthening common values and principles. Because as nations look to the West with hope, their commitment to reform and democracy deepens.

In the years ahead, we look forward to further deepening our ties with some of these nations. America's future security and prosperity demands that we bring those who share our values into the fold... that we join with emerging democracies in Europe for common defense. By allying with them, we give these nations the confidence to consolidate their freedoms and build their economies. And that, ultimately, benefits us all.
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