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Folder Title:
Samuel R. Berger-2nd Term Agenda Speech Background

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Speechwriting-Blinken

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**COLLECTION:**
- Clinton Presidential Records
- National Security Council
- Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
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**RESTRANCTION CODES**

**Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**
- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor’s deed of gift.

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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.
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1. If, by virtue of certain circumstances not clearly evident, the two countries are actually the same, the United Nations should consider the two countries one and the same. How could only one conclude this in identical circumstances? Perhaps the United Nations could at least consider this possibility.

2. It must be remembered that we cannot be sure that every country, which has a wysiwyg system of law, has the same laws as the United Nations.

3. If a country makes a declaration or statement in this passage, it cannot be sure that the country in question is not referring to an individual.
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- No mention of trouble spots - 5. Asis - Turkey

- Africa

- Middle East

- India, Iran, AP

- Cotton, EW

- South LA

- Bush boys

- Hunt, PH.
Euro-centric view of the world:

8 years since Berlin Wall fell (1989), 7 yrs since NATO declared that Soviet Union was not its adversary, 6 yrs since reunification of Germany, dissolution of USSR and adoption of NATO’s new Strategic Concept, 5 years since end of Gulf War and start of war in Bosnia, 4 years since Clinton took office, 3 years since PFP was launched, Muslim-Croat Federation brokered, 2 years since President launched peace initiative leading to end to war in Bosnia and Dayton accords, 1 year since NATO began historic peace implementation mission in Bosnia in partnership with Russia and more than dozen other European states.

For SRB speech, need some benchmarks to fill in a sentence: "It's been X years since the Berlin Wall fell, X - 1 years since [e.g.], X-2 years since [e.g.], X-3 years since [e.g.]"

What jumps out?
Foreign Policy for Next Four Years: CFR (10/30/96)/Berger

- Want to make clear that, despite line-up tonight, in highest tradition of CFR and NSC, this is a non-partisan event.

- Our subject is foreign policy for the next four years. Compels me to speak about record of accomplishment over last four years in a subtle, forward-looking context.

- In fact, regardless of who is President, period ahead will be time of enormous challenge and opportunity for America at a time of profound strategic changes.

- Time is limited at outset, so let me try to describe briefly some of the elements of strategic environment America will face and the challenges they present. It will come as shock no to you that I believe that we have created a solid foundation over the past four years on which to build. But there is much still to be done.

1. First, we must continue to deal with the historic, ongoing, uncertain, but I believe generally hopeful transition from the Soviet Union to a democratic Russia and a more integrated and secure Europe. Let us not lose the forest for the trees: the end of the Cold War and the emergence of a democratic Russia is the most important opportunity for human freedom and a more secure world in 50 years.

- Future course of these developments is by no means certain, either inside Russia or in the shadow of the FSU.

- But our support for Russian democracy and reform over past several years has been steady and it has produced concrete dividends.

  - denuclearization of Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakstan;

  - dismantlment under N-L of 3800 nuclear warheads since 1993 and 900 long-range missiles and bombers;

  - removal of Russian forces from Baltics;

  - cooperation on range of other mutual interests, including extraordinary collaboration in IFOR.
• Beyond Russia, we have worked hard to bolster forces of reform, democracy, independence and self-confidence of other former Soviet and Warsaw Pact nations -- with PFP, a growing relationship with Ukraine, deepening bilateral relationships with nations of CEE, renewed focus on central Asia.

• Certainly still many problems: uneven benefits of reform within Russia that has left "two economies"; Chechnya and other ethnic flashpoints; questions about leadership succession; more activist posture toward asserting Russian influence in "near abroad"; Russian nuclear cooperation with Iran. But, while it is foolish to proceed on assumption that Russian democracy and reform are irreversible, equally wrong-headed to fail to recognize that fundamental change has occurred and to build a cooperative framework around it, as President has done.

• What does that mean for next four years?

  - it means locking in the deep cuts of START II and moving ahead with further reductions;
  - helping Russia define its greatness, as POTUS has said, in terms of the promise of a democratic future, not simply the nostalgic glory in its past;
  - strengthening the independence of nations of Central Asia, for example by helping them develop their rich energy resources and pipeline systems in ways that bolster their sovereignty and reduce their dependence;
  - and perhaps most important, continuing the process begun by President Clinton in January '94 leading NATO to its most important transformation since its beginning: opening its membership to new democracies to the east in a steady, open and deliberate way that contributes to an integrated Europe and a stronger NATO-Russian relationship.

2. A second challenge for the period ahead will be neither to shrink from -- or become enthralled by -- the inescapable reality that America has become the indispensable force for peace in the post-cold War world.

• The fact is that when President Clinton took office, the most brutal war in Europe since WWII raged in Bosnia, and
while we can argue about whether we could have acted sooner or better, today there is peace in Bosnia and it would not have happened without U.S. leadership.

The fact is that because America backed diplomacy with force, the dictators in Haiti are gone, democracy is back and the desperate flow of refugees to our shores has ended.

The fact is that, however difficult it is to surmount generations of bitterness in the Middle East, the agreements between Israel and the PLO and Jordan were fundamental, if fragile, turning points and America remains central to keeping this process moving forward.

In these places and elsewhere, peace ultimately depends on the will of the parties. We can’t solve all the problems. There is no magic formula: there is only interest and values and judgment. But where America can make a difference and our interests are engaged, we must lead. That is the lesson of this century.

As we look ahead, America’s capacity for leadership will continue to depend upon maintaining the best military force in the world; on the will to act by ourselves if we must; on adequate resources for our diplomacy; and on strengthened international institutions so that our choice is not act alone or not to act at all.

3. Third, we must continue to sharpen and intensify our focus on a dangerous, interrelated web of new threats as we enter the next century: rogue states... terrorism... and the spread of weapons of mass destruction.

It may have seemed attractive to play Iran off against Iraq. But that policy failed. Each poses a particularly virulent threat. Both must be contained.

We know that Saddam Hussein periodically will test whether he can threaten his own people and his neighbors with impunity. As long as the United States remains firm, the answer will be no.

We know that our assessment of the Iranian threat -- its support for terrorism and disruption to the stability in the region -- is greater than that of many of our allies. That is why we must work to strengthen the international will to
isolate it: by our example, as in the case of our embargo and sanctions; by our firmness; by painstakingly building the evidence; and by continuing to press our friends — whether it is Germany or Russia or Japan — not to strengthen Iran’s hand.

• We know that as the most powerful nation on earth, we will continue to be a target for terrorists, who ironically benefit in their deadly pursuits from the very same openness in global communication and commerce that has contributed to our prosperity and enlightenment. There are no easy answers here. Working together with Congress, we’ve just added a billion dollars to our anti-terrorist efforts. We are working with allies on better law enforcement, intelligence sharing, extradition, and a host of other concrete actions that make a difference in this effort. At the same time, we must continue to press our allies to change their very mindset to one of zero tolerance for terrorism and of those states which support it.

• The terrorist threat becomes exponentially greater when combined with the spread of weapons of mass destruction.

- We have made important progress: stopping North Korea’s nuclear weapons program, perhaps the greatest threat to security to Asia we inherited; gaining an indefinite extension of the NPT; after three years of work, signing the comprehensive test ban treaty, a goal of every President since Eisenhower.

• But there is far more to be done. Start II. Ratifying the CWC. Banning antipersonnel landmines and the production of fissile materials. There is an ambitious agenda ahead over the next four years.

4. Finally, our focus as a world power increasingly, will engage us across the Pacific as well as the Atlantic — with Japan, Southeast Asia, Korea and, critically, China.

- We have an enormous stake in an evolving relationship with a secure, stable and open China.

- It is essential that we under the path of active engagement with China — to work our differences and build our cooperation
5. I wish I could go on. If I do Hoag will shut me up. And if I don't, you'll say I left out some of the central issues we face. [like enhancing the structures of expanding markets which this President has led with GATT, APEC and the Hemispheric Free Trade Area; trying to defuse dangerously combustible tensions in the Aegean, in South Asia, in Northern Ireland and in Africa; shaping our relations with key Islamic nations -- from Turkey to Indonesia.]

- But after all, that what Q&A's are all about. And my friend Bob Zoellick may even find one or two things he disagrees with.

- Let me close with this: it is an era of boundless opportunity and unique responsibility for America. There will be differences among us along the way. But I hope that on the journey, we can preserve two overriding fundamentals: a broad agreement that America must lead in this world and an overarching commitment to a bipartisan foreign policy: not that we won't disagree, but that, once decided, we will move forward together as America.
Blinken, Antony J.

From: Sonenshine, Tara D.
To: Blinken, Antony J.
Cc: /N, NonRecord at A1
Subject: Berger musings
Date: Friday, February 21, 1997 5:22PM

I reviewed my notes of various Berger musings on second term agenda and decided to fold them into a memo for you for (2) reasons:

1--I've learned that these little insights become critical to speechwriters who later have to scrounge around for these bits of light!

2--Sandy seems hot on the idea of giving a second term agenda overview speech and this material is likely to become increasingly relevant. My guess is we get a go on that kind of speech early next week. (or Latin America, which Jim is pushing) Here goes:

Sandy's overall belief is that the POST COLD WAR PERIOD is over and it is time to pronounce it dead and gone. (He tried this out on you and me when we were talking with Baer about State of the Union. He wants to lay out the post, post-Cold War vision in the Presidential Hill retreat that we are working on, and, presumably in speeches. He seems to be coming around to the belief that the bumper sticker is INTEGRATION (political, economic and social/moral) with an emphasis on re-building, or "reconstruction" of new architecture, new policies, new partnerships. Let me quote from some of his markings on memos and musings as part of figuring out the second term agenda:

a. "It is time, not to praise the Post Cold War era, but to bury it. It has been a door stopper and we have lived with it for 7 years. But the phrase Post Cold War defines what has ended, not what is beginning. We owe something to the Bush administration for ushering in that period. Now it is Clinton's term to chart the new course--a course of INTEGRATION."

b. Containment vs Integration. Containment is about walls and separation. Integration is about building something; a convergence around shared values and interests.

ECONOMIC INTEGRATION
c. We have moved from the contentious days of the N-S dialogue, which was based around donor-recipient relationships to a free market model. The forces of economic integration are enormously powerful--a trillion dollars moves around the world every hour, investments, markets, etc. In the N-S debate between the haves and the have nots, it was about whether aid from big countries was important. Now the debate has shifted from an emphasis on foreign aid to a search for foreign investment. South Africa would rather have investors, than just aid.

Disparities still exist and there are downsides of economic integration--moral, economic instability and chaos, a Mexican Peso crisis in which the government loses its ability to control the huge wave of private capital.

d. A communications revolution allows you to arrive in a hotel room in New Delhi and watch Crossfire. (Sandy loves the story of himself arriving in Islamabad and seeing Bob Reich and George Stephanopolous on CNN discussing Primary Colors and who Anonymous was.

e. Still, there are people left out of the economic integration story. Not everyone is part of it. Many people still have no phone, let alone TV, or computer.

DEMOCRATIC INTEGRATION
f. Priority for second term is the convergence around democratic ideals.

Democracy won, not only in its struggle against communism, but in the charge that it was culturally biased. The challenge is to deepen it.

The US is engaged in all directions: East to Asia, West to Europe and Russia, South to Latin America and our hemisphere. The challenge is to encourage the process of integration around shared values so that a China comes to see the value of being part of the "GLOBAL CONSENSUS." The challenge is to isolate
those countries that stay outside the fold and expand integration to other regions to form this emerging
global consensus..

Clinton Second Term Agenda is to manage the risks and take advantage of the opportunities inherent in a
new era based around the integration of economies and democracies. The priorities are clear: democratic
and united Europe around expanded NATO, in harmony with stable Russia, bridge to Asia-Pacific
community/peace and stability on Korean peninsula,
-economic integration thru open markets in Latin America and elsewhere, democratic integration of our own
hemisphere, resources, etc. (If you need any of this from the transition book, let me know--but I know you
have it all in your head and computer already.)

Hope this helps. Talk to you Monday.
February 26, 1997

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR SANDY BERGER/JIM STEINBERG

THROUGH:      TONY BLINKEN

FROM:                      TARA SONENSHINE

SUBJECT:        SPEECHES

SECOND TERM AGENDA SPEECH:
You mentioned Secretary Cohen’s reference to Reagan’s London speech as possible grist for our mill.

There were actually (2) Reagan speeches in London; one in 1982 and one in 1988. I will send the original texts to Tony. Here are a few excerpts from each:

ADDRESS TO MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT (June 8, 1982)

"Optimism is in order, because day by day democracy is proving itself to be a not-at-all-fragile flower. From Stettin on the Baltic to Varna on the Black Sea, the regimes planted by totalitarianism have had more than 30 years to establish their legitimacy. But none—not one regime—has yet been able to risk free elections. Regimes planted by bayonets do not take root."

"...NO, democracy is not a fragile flower. Still it needs cultivating. If the rest of this century is to witness the gradual growth of freedom and democratic ideals, we must take actions to assist the campaign for democracy."

“Our military strength is a prerequisite to peace, but let it be clear we maintain this strength in the hope it will never be used, for the ultimate determinant in the struggle that’s now going on in the world will not be bombs and rockets, but a test of wills and ideas, a trial of spiritual resolve, the values we hold, the beliefs we cherish, the ideals to which we are dedicated.”
REMARKS TO MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS IN LONDON (June 3, 1988)

"...the people of Great Britain, the United States, and other allied nations have for 44 years made enormous sacrifices to keep our alliance strong and our military ready. For them we embarked in this decade on a new postwar strategy, a forward strategy of freedom, a strategy of public candor about the moral and fundamental differences between statism and democracy, but also a strategy of vigorous diplomatic engagement; a policy that rejects both the inevitability of war or the permanence of totalitarian rule, a policy based on realism that seeks not just treaties for treaties’ sake but the recognition and resolution of fundamental differences with our adversaries."

“...In a process reaching back as far as the founding of NATO and the Common Market, the House of Western Europe, together with the United States, Canada, Japan, and others—this House of Democracy—engaged in an active diplomacy while sparking a startling growth of democratic institutions and free markets all across the globe; in short, an expansion of the frontiers of freedom and a lessening of the chances of war.”

II LATIN AMERICA SPEECH
Jim Steinberg had mentioned looking back at what President Kennedy said about Latin America, within the context of his “Alliance for Progress.” Here are excerpts from his speech:

ADDRESS AT A WHITE HOUSE RECEPTION FOR MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AND FOR THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS OF THE LATIN AMERICAN REPUBLICS (March 13, 1961) East Room of the White House

"Our hemisphere’s mission is not yet completed. For our unfulfilled task is to demonstrate to the entire world that man’s unsatisfied aspiration for economic progress and social justice can best be achieved by free men working within a framework of democratic institutions. If we can do this in our own hemisphere, and for our own people, we may yet realize the prophecy of the great Mexican patriot, Benito Juarez, that ‘democracy is the destiny of future humanity.’”

"...We must support all economic integration which is a genuine step toward larger markets and greater competitive opportunity..."
in dignity and in freedom. To achieve this goal political freedom must accompany material progress. Our Alliance for Progress is an alliance of free governments, and it must work to eliminate tyranny from a hemisphere in which it has no rightful place.”

“Let us once again transform the American continent into a vast crucible of revolutionary ideas and efforts—a tribute to the power of the creative energies of free men and women—an example to all the world that liberty and progress walk hand in hand. Let us once again awaken our American revolution until it guides the struggle of people everywhere—not with an imperialism of force or fear—but the rule of courage and freedom and hope for the future of man.”
State of the Union -- Foreign Policy Outline

I. Intro.

• Now, from the summit of this century, we see the [world] peoples of the world? nations? converging around the ideals that define America, [and the interests that America defends.] we should be careful about everyone converging around/behind our interests. the fact that we share ideals doesn’t necessarily mean we share interests, though the shared ideals makes it a lot easier to advance our interests. suggesting that everyone is coalescing behind our interests also opens POTUS to charge of being soft-headed on the challenges that are out there. We may want to portray America’s ideals as universal, but we kid no one when we suggest that our interests are. (Reminds me of TL’s fuming whenever POTUS said that we had no alterior or self-serving motives. Of course we do.)

• We stand closer to the start of the 21st century than to the end of the Cold War. We have taken down many of the blocs and barriers that divided the world for our parents and grandparents -- now we must build the new institutions of cooperation and integration that will shape the world for our children. In this time of construction, the decisions we make over next four years will shape decades to come -- and the lives of every American. Suggest we make a habit of substituting “creation” for construction. TL’s “acts of construction was find for an NSA, but is sounds small bore for a President and only convinces listeners that the projects envisioned are policy tapas instead of the big enchilada. Creation, as Dean Acheson knew, sounds primal, big and biblical.

II. Foreign Policy Opportunities

1. Build an undivided Europe of democracies at peace, built around an expanded NATO and a strong NATO-Russia partnership.

We have learned all too well in this long and bloody century that conflict in Europe will inevitably draw in our nation. Today, we have an unrivaled opportunity to prevent war from returning to Europe. By strengthening and enlarging the Alliance that preserved freedom in the Cold War [...] we can lay the foundation for an era of unprecendented peace and stability. And by holding out the hand of partnership to Russia, we can bridge the final chasm in Europe -- and heal a wound in history that has troubled the world for centuries.

Initiatives:
(i) NATO Summit in July to begin process of welcoming first new members for Central Europe (and to advance adaptation to new missions and NATO-Russia partnership;  
(ii) Partnership for Freedom with NIS to finish move from aid to trade and investment.

2. Build An Asia Pacific Community with America its stabilizing force, around strong alliances with Japan and Korea and a productive relationship with China. In the Asia-Pacific, home of half the world’s people, we have witnessed a burst of growth and energy like few in history. With America’s help, that energy can be channeled into the creation of a
community for economic progress and stability that will benefit our people -- and all those in the region -- many times over. Without America, that tremendous energy could spill over into rivalry and conflict. We have fought three wars in Asia in less than three-quarters of a century. It is in our deepest interest to work so that the Pacific lives up to its name.

Initiatives:
(i) dialogue, regular summits with China;
(ii) move forward with agreement to dismantle North Korea's frozen nuclear program (including full funding for KEDO) and with Four Party talks initiated by U.S. to bring lasting peace and stability to Cold War's last frontier;
(iii) Japan objective?
(iv) India - Pakistan?

3. Strengthen the hand and extend the reach of peace and democracy in key strategic areas: Bosnia, the Middle East, Northern Ireland, Cyprus. Wouldn't it be wise to drop the democracy here? Building democracy in the Middle East is not on our agenda; it exists already in Northern Ireland, however much we may not like the picture; it's not really the issue in Cyprus. Think it is stronger to just focus on peace.

Supporting peacemakers in the troubled places of the world reduces the chance that our troops will ever be called upon to put their lives on the line for our vital interests. But promoting peace also advances America's mission in the world. Since FIRST INSTANCE TK, the world has looked to us as an honest broker -- and I am proud that on display in the Roosevelt Room at the White House is Theodore Roosevelt's Nobel Peace Prize for ending the Russo-Japanese War. It was the first of TK peace prizes won by Americans -- and our world is safer and better because America has championed the cause of peace. [Only America is trusted to get the job done -- and only America can.]

Initiatives:
(i) in Bosnia, help make peace self-sustaining through SFOR, economic reconstruction, political reconciliation -- need supplemental from Congress to fund SFOR;
(ii) in the Middle East, build on Hebron by moving forward on interim agreement and widen circle of peace to Syria, Lebanon, fund Middle East Development Bank;
(iii) in Northern Ireland, work to reinstitute cease fire and advance talks;
(iv) in Cyprus, appoint Special Envoy to make new push for settlement, help defuse broader tensions between Turkey and Greece.

4. Forge international coalition against proliferation, terrorism & rogue states, crime & drugs and environmental degradation. For the sake of coherence, why not leave out rogue states -- or put them elsewhere. Here is the basket of new age problems -- or problems we can plausibly claim have a particular importance in this new era. But there have been rogue states forever. Another thought is to treat rogues functionally -- e.g. insofar as they support terrorism or proliferation. Otherwise, you wind up with a lump of old-fashioned geopolitics in the midst of all this new thinking.
We are blessed to live in a time of peace. But with that blessing comes a responsibility: to lead the world community to build security for the future...by stopping the spread of weapons of mass destruction and combating the new dangers of our era that know borders. Only by joining together with others can we ensure that terrorists find no safe haven...cut the drug pipeline that circles the globe on its way to our neighborhoods...keep the pressure on international crime syndicates...

**Initiatives:**
(i) on proliferation, pass CWC and CTBT, secure START II with Russia and move to START III, increase security and safety of nuclear facilities, negotiate fissile material cut-off, pursue worldwide ban on landmines;
(ii) on terrorism, increase cooperation and common efforts with allies, pass legislation (taggants, wiretaps, Internl. Crime Control Act, other?), reduce vulnerability of critical infrastructure (computer networks, telecommunications, power plants etc...) to terrorists, criminals, foreign governments, hackers;
(iii) on rogue state, lay out refined policy toward Iraq
(iv) on crime & drugs, set eradication/consumption targets, increase pressure on cartels;
(v) on environment, limit greenhouse gas emissions.

5. **Build an open global economy to secure jobs and growth in America.** Instead of emphasizing reasons, can we emphasize facts here? Export growth (unless the dollar has dragged it down) and relative growth of exports next to the rest of the economy, export-related job creation. Think at this point facts speak louder than words.

**Initiatives:**
(i) Mexico, Latin America Trip
(ii) fast track authority;
(iii) Chile in NAFTA;
(iv) telecommunications agreement.
(v) Denver/G-7 initiatives?

**III. Strength, Diplomacy, Sharing Risks and Costs: The Tools We Need to Seize Opportunities**

We cannot seize opportunities of our time without the strength and the resources to get the job done -- and without sharing the risks and costs of our leadership with other like-minded nations. That means maintaining our commitment to a strong and ready military -- and renewing our commitment to a fully funded, efficient diplomacy. And it means reforming the United Nations to meet new demands, while giving it the money it must have to succeed.

**Initiatives:**
(i) armed forces modernization with XX% increase for weapons procurement;
(ii) increase 150 account to fully fund our diplomacy;
(iii) UN reform and arrears -- put debt in escrow to be released as UN reforms;
(iv) Pay our way in international financial institutions.

IV. Conclusion: Seizing the Opportunities of a New American Century Can’t be Done on the Cheap -- But the Price of Inaction is even Greater.

(i) cost of war/civil war/strife in Bosnia, Haiti, Guatemala versus cost of making peace self-sustaining. (e.g. spent $1.7 billion over decade to help government fight rebels in Guatemala -- now, scrounging to come up with $25 million to support their historic peace accord.)
Outline -- Second Term Agenda Speech

I. Introduction -- Beyond the "Post Cold War"

- "Post Cold War" defines what has ended, not what is beginning. Need to move beyond that phrase in our thinking and talking, because we already have in our actions.

- Most great turning points in history have two distinct phases: tearing down and building up. We have already torn down blocs and barriers that divided world for fifty years. Now, challenge is to build up new institutions, adapt old ones, for next fifty years. We must complete move from containment to integration.

- Integration happening with or without us. Question is whether we will continue to lead, to shape it to our advantage -- or let it run a course that may be contrary to our interests.

  **Economic Integration:** Pushed by technology, information, world is coming together around open markets. Easing disparities. But many left out -- creates tension between "haves"/"have nots" (especially since "have nots" now more aware of what "haves" have). And forces of disintegration use technology, progress we cherish to their advantage. Profoundly in our interest to advance economic integration (ITA, WTO/Telecomms etc...) while rounding off the rough edges of change.

  **Democratic Integration:** World converging as never before around shared values -- our values: democracy, tolerance, freedom of religion, speech. But new democracies are fragile and there are holdouts. Our challenge is to advance this emerging global consensus by extending reach and strengthening grip of democracy.

II. Strategies of Integration

- Clinton administration leading way toward greater economic and democratic integration, while managing the risks this change produces, in five strategic areas:

  1. **Building an Undivided Europe at Peace** (U.S.-EU; CEE; NIS; NATO adaptation, enlargement and relationship with Russia)

  2. **Creating a Stable Asia Pacific Community** (new security and trade relationships with Japan and Korea; stability and peace on Korean peninsula; strategic dialogue with China.)

  3. **Advancing Peace** (Bosnia; Middle East; Haiti; Cyprus etc...)

  4. **Meeting New Threats** (proliferation; terrorism; crime and drugs; rogue states.)

  5. **Building a New, Open Trading System for 21st Century** (200 trade agreements; NAFTA, WTO; ITA and Telecoms; pursuing agenda in Americas).
III. Giving Ourselves the Tools to Succeed

- We cannot shape forces of integration without strength and resources to get the job done -- and without sharing risks and costs of leadership with other like-minded nations. That means maintaining our commitment to strong, ready military. And it means renewing our commitment to fully funded diplomacy -- and to a reforming UN, IFIs.

1. A strong military (modernization and increased funding for weapons procurement; taking care of troops and families.)

2. Resources/Support for UN and IFIs. (increase 150 account; UN reform and arrears; pay our way in IFIs).

IV. Conclusion
February 27, 1997

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER
FROM: ANTONY BLINKEN
SUBJECT: UPCOMING FOREIGN POLICY SPEECHES

At your request, attached are two lists: first, scheduled or likely foreign policy speeches by the President from now through July (with major addresses in bold); and second, speeches for you to consider. Also listed are pending invitations to the President and to you. The contents of this memo reflect discussions with Tara and strong input from the speechwriting and planning groups.

Subjects for the President’s speeches are mostly self-evident (even if the specifics are not.) The exceptions are the Latin America speeches -- we should meet well before the Mexico trip to consider how we use these many opportunities to advance our Americas message and broader themes of leadership and bipartisanship. We also should consider whether to push for scene setters in the United States before major “foreign” events (e.g. the Latin America trips; Denver; Madrid) -- a good way to focus domestic attention on the importance of engagement, to set expectations and to convey the image of a President going off to represent America’s interests.

A scene setter would be especially appropriate before the Latin America swing. The speechwriters feel strongly that we must avoid giving a warmed over version of the same speech in each place. Instead, the scene setter could lay out three or four broad themes which we would then expound upon as the trip proceeds (e.g. strengthening market democracy in Brazil; partnership in Argentina; peace in Costa Rica; expanding opportunity in Barbados...) Packaged as a whole, the speeches would tell a story about the reality and promise of the Americas.

In terms of work load, as of now the one heavy month is May, especially the Latin America trip -- we may wish to get help from the domestic speechwriters, as we have in the past.

Regarding your speeches, in the ideal world we always would look to make news and/or to advance front burner issues or push back at criticism. There can and will be some exceptions, such as the second term agenda speech, or when we need to touch an important constituency. But in general, we should be disciplined in only sending you and Jim out when we have something new or noteworthy to say.

Finally, as you suggested, we all took note of President Frei’s remarks and agree they were simple, direct and superb. We may be experiencing a case of rhetoric fatigue. Because the President speaks often (and often on short notice) we tend to fall back on well worn formulas. We need to recapture some of the straight talk -- with appropriate lift -- that made the Ireland trip stand out. We will work at it.

CC: Jim Steinberg - Tara Sonenshine - Julia Moffett - David Johnson - Dan Benjamin - Vinca Showalter - James Gibney - Steve Naplan

Attachment

CONFIDENTIAL
Reason: 1.5 (b,d)
Declassify on: 2/27/2002
I. SCHEDULED OR ANTICIPATED SPEECHES BY THE PRESIDENT

MARCH
CWC Event (between 3/6 and 3/14)
Mubarak Press Conference Statement (3/10)
Yeltsin Press Conference Statement (3/20)
Address to People of Denmark (3/21)
Foreign Policy Meeting with Congressional Leadership

APRIL
Chretien Press Conference Statement (4/8)
Zedillo Press Conference Statement (4/11)
Mexico Speech (4/12)
Hashimoto Press Conference Statement (4/25)
White House Global Leadership Conference

MAY
Latin America Scene Setter Speech (t)
Barbados Speech (5/7)
Cardoso Press Conference Statement (5/8)
Brazil Speech (5/8)
Menem Press Conference Statement (5/9)
Argentina Speech (5/10)
Figueres Press Conference Statement (5/11)
Costa Rica Speech (5/12)
Other South America Speech (5/13)
Memorial Day Remarks (5/26)
Marshall Plan Speech -- The Hague (5/27)
U.S.- EU Summit Press Conference Statement (5/28)
USMA Commencement Speech (5/31)

JUNE
Denver Summit Scene Setter Speech (t)
Denver Summit Press Conference Statement (6/21)
Speech to People of Denver (t)

JULY
NATO Summit Scene Setter Speech (t)
NATO Summit Press Conference Statement (7/9)

II. PENDING INVITATIONS
Council of the Americas Conference -- April 29 at State Department. Other speakers: Albright, Barshefsky, Daley, Mosbacher, Gingrich. Good place for pre-Latin America trip scene setter.

Atlantic Council -- Open invitation in D.C. Chair is Goodpaster, President is Acheson. Should be considered as forum for NATO enlargement/future of Europe/engagement speech in spring.
I. POSSIBLE NSA SPEECHES

Topics

A Strategic Agenda for the Second Term. This speech would be an opportunity to flesh out the six strategic priorities the President described in the State of the Union: building an undivided Europe; forging an Asia Pacific community; advancing peace and democracy; meeting new threats to our security; and creating a new, open trading system for the 21st century. If properly pre-sold, the speech should have news value as the first detailed explanation of our priorities by the new national security adviser. Also, as we get closer to delivery day, we can consider grafting onto the speech a news item. **Delivery Date: mid-March. Location: D.C. or NYC.**

Latin America Scene Setter. In the lead-up to either Mexico or the longer Latin America trip, a speech laying out what we hope to accomplish -- with specific benchmarks -- can set appropriate expectations and make news if we can cite a specific, compelling objective (e.g. as we previewed the ITA before Manila.) This speech would be pre-empted by a POTUS scene setter. Also, Mack will want to talk on the same subject -- but you would generate much more media interest. **Delivery Date: First week April or first week May. Location: TBD.**

Iraq Policy/Rogue States. NESA is eager to have you or Secretary Albright lay out next steps on Iraq and a post-Saddam policy. We could couch it in a broader speech about containing rogue states. There is a good speech to be given here, but no obvious news peg -- although talking about post-Saddam should generate coverage. **Delivery Date: TBD. Location: TBD.**

Advancing a Strategic Dialogue with China. In its last incarnation, your China speech was starting to click -- alas, it fell into a black hole after the hand-off to State. We could and should revive that speech at an appropriate time -- around the Human Rights resolution in Geneva (a tough time -- but it would make news); in the immediate lead up to Hong Kong; or tied to any other key event/development in our relationship. We need a high level, detailed statement of policy and vision -- and we need to set more concrete benchmarks for the months ahead. **Delivery Date: Spring. Location: TBD.**

The Road Ahead in Bosnia. Since the President announced SFOR, nary a word about Bosnia. Arguably, it makes sense to let sleeping dogs lie. But there is a lot to be said for setting out what we expect to accomplish over the next 16 months regarding reconstruction, reconciliation, war criminals, refugees etc... so that we can say “mission (partly) accomplished” when SFOR’s mandate ends. We probably should wait for a news peg -- but keep this in mind. **Delivery Date: TBD. Location: TBD.**

II. OTHER POSSIBLE TOPICS

* Resources/How reformed UN and IFIs can advance US interests
* NATO enlargement/future of Europe. (A speech putting enlargement in the context of our other efforts to bring Europe together.)
* Democracy promotion -- in advance of Latin America or Denver.
III. PENDING INVITATIONS

Center for the Study of the Presidency Student Symposium -- March 14 or 15 in D.C. Keynote address to top undergraduate students from colleges and universities throughout U.S., Canada, Latin America, Europe, Far East. Senator Lugar will speak in a separate program. Previous speakers have included Shali and Scowcroft. While this is a very good student group, the forum is not ideal to advance a message with the media or a broader public (we would have to build press coverage.) Before rejecting we should consider whether a youthful audience might not make sense for the second term agenda speech -- it would help emphasize the notion that we are building for the next fifty years and beyond. Alternative is a think tank audience studded with foreign policy luminaries.

Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland -- Date TBD in April in D.C. Keynote speaker to Conference on Foreign Policy and the Public. CISS recently has undertaken strong studies on public perceptions of American engagement and NATO enlargement (the latter co-directed by Rosner.) Good forum for strategic overview/resources-engagement.

Interaction Annual Forum -- May 5-7 in Alexandria, Va. Plenary address to coalition of NGOs that focus on international development, relief and refugee assistance. Good forum for resources/democracy speech.

World Affairs Council of Northern California -- Open invitation to address San Francisco WAC. Strong interest in resources. Could also do Asia/China. 11,000 members and fed to weekly PBS program. We should talk about a West Coast trip hitting L.A. and S.F.
[Convey sense: them on by strict objective - transforming - counteract what is overall vision. There is overly vision just

1. Undecided Europe Vietnam & Bosnia not proven.
   - to bad quoting small choices (see transition paper)

   - Posture not that NATO enlarged. Not act pilot, act ethnic pilot. No complicity logic. True in 64, true now. (See Jhlatt lecture)

   End of C3. Change to NATO

   - Bashar down. NATO works well.

   People mind of own. Raced in Bosnia still relit.

   - Fears of student loyals - frequently
     will insist NATO be helpful instead change
     (Germ, Spain, E Germ)

   3. Make it more proven. Embarrass. Organize process, begin in Middle. Does not conal effect will.

   - Why study sound out D, monuments of NATO
     i.e. domain of new states (Hungary) - Behavior affected.

   Diplomacy? Who? (come of first)
   - How do you not diminish, get to them not part
     of first line. Tread process
     other systems (PRs & Seca)

   1. How do you do it? Very thin one hand
     support forces of D in Bosnia. (Does not provide military)
given reass. Yet our NATO's destiny. It's exercise
- seen. We've engaged in
[too hard / too soft] = recognize that we're
in Syria/Lebanon - We live with it.
- 4th dimension, domestic - Bipartisan - Public
- support.
- NATO adaptation
- other Europe (billion €$)
All the more... in 30-60 or 90 days.
Historically, tests the bonds of relationship.
- Europe, slowly, differently, perspective. Need to reach toward
- stronger vision - Indeed, more now, less few months
- than
- stronger relationship by being so to work together.

Relations w/Russia
- Ambition but morph about NATO. It's about
- U.S. - Russian deal. Not for a tax. On Europe's
- control. Safety
- Let's not forget most important to design a lifestyle:
- wallpaper, common, end of vision. Tell to go to
- build on this debris to build new relationship, start.
- Create
- Not Roman/turn/Moscow lock. It's puppet.
- Leaders make. We need stronger w/Am. Islamic
- [Conversely, margin not Russian]
Difficult issues: China
- Blue belt key + TH.
- Large red belt in Reagan.
- Man let me talk about AP world, ext. In 60's/70's, N.A. Eur./Afr. non-
  zeros. But (many) of APF 1/3s, their
  constants be related near which NS+NA
definitions: Shifting of power.

- Now, how we sustain economic might
  in region where there are such disputes
  (Japan/US, Vietnam, China)

- Before west idea - our presence in Peru
  - New stands for - Australian speech

- China network from NYC.

Peace
Use of force detail
- Intervention
- Diplomacy + power => will act RC, into checked
  Clinton/FK's allies, etc. We will respond quickly
  if needed.
- French, other states, who important of
Reason: true
can contribute to peace

Great opportunity. Sit outside world, so only S.P. will
might pour sound to none, w/blers to which will
circle to my perception tll mid night. M. can num
peace.

Real Q.

When re invent list authority (hip, mill, oth)
Those can chem. AS.

Are fermiri create

interest

look of bumper sticker.

Never can rate differ.

Give each child

goal. Then excuse every thin

culture.

Def. power

def. end

One musts. Die up. I lost bone soro taste.

Gift culture.

In Boom. I tend, critical for hit

at soro. Maybe tny.

In Hit only after effect all utter

(huge, sord, etc.) Defects produce in excrcse of

power.

In Boom. 

an xox of

pret. rigor, disciplin.

But shitfire hand s near or gold.

Neither enthralled by or weehin w/he/var in her.
4. New Things

Red herring untied (true trillion)

On tomorrow or pride, when close we cut down. How do we cut others.

When down cut unlikely (e.g., picking clay) be you hope by untested (embryo of iron). All is paint it (which it becomes self-defile by decay in some clean room). A time for the less.

---

II. Introduction

American prosperity out of us. No longer. Yes. Big moment. United would. Perhaps be the... to be usable. Attractive. To say the new defined among our last turn of panel. To tellingly set to construct for period. It is begin to direction. Definition of U.S. or slip towards uniquely exactly shape our prior better. Both opportunity belong.

Integration. If you set in music looking down. Most benefited from step centers of life. Growth of economic integrate (or more or plan).
Integrating phenom. Not nearly soul or soul. Extrovert one another dispute on how we sit up.

Life of jobs not = some sense of it.

Technological revolution = see graphic inButtonModule.

Drew Les New 4 Chem. for satellite climb on bases.

Have some sense of cc tech integration.

Accepting hit on other things = integration and human - conceived around whole value of human principles (2-1-2 per day).

Debate no longer News is our aid, but complete for more - btw Malaysian South Africa.

Integration skill die middle int. and role off 

bogus (ern control steps 4-10 yrs ago) =

definition like people will commit.

Dent spit us on dimensional (towards the line)

Integration is multidimensional that means a map.

Credit will harm.

Flip side no order. Not to say genius integral.

- Work so far. Dengue round.

Neither = Malaria chilly + so harder to deal with.

Don't choose.
1. End of the Post-Cold War Era
--It is time not only to praise the Post Cold War Era but to bury it. We have lived with it for 7 years. But it defines what has ended, not what is beginning. We need to lay out a new course which looks at how we will build the enduring policies and structures for the next 50 years. (Armacost: we should not forget that the Cold War ended somewhat precipitously and that no set of conferences like Versailles or Paris or Yalta resulted. We had to create over time the new environment and we did it successfully.)

2. If someone looked down today from Mars at our planet they would see powerful new forces shaping events.

Economic integration--if we buy a car today, it is made in 8 places, jobs in America inextricably linked to jobs overseas. The forces of economic integration are powerful--a trillion dollars moves around the world every hour. The NS debate has shifted from a focus on foreign assistance to a competition for foreign investment from South Africa to Malaysia. Not that economic integration is, by definition, always positive. It can bring dislocation, it can be negative or positive. But it is reality and we can either be part of it or watch it unfold.

Communications Revolution. At the same time that new patterns of economic relations are evolving, so too are new ways of interacting (Tara--from the internet to satellite television.) The communications revolution allows you to arrive in a hotel room in New Delhi and watch Crossfire. I remember arriving in Islamabad and seeing George Stephanopolous and Robert Reich discussing Primary Colors. Think about the Chinese poster of the Li River: What you see in the background where the houses line an ancient river are satellite dishes in backyards. Again, we should not overstate the case. Just as there are people left out of the economic integration, there are those with no phones, no TV, no computer.

Democratic Integration. Yes, democracy won, not only in the struggle against communism, but in the charge that it was culturally biased. And today we seek to integrate around shared values and common interests, around universal rules of behavior. But, again, not all nations share our view of democracy and some remain outside the fold, outside a global
consensus of norms. But still we seek to strengthen and deepen the democratic roots and traditions.

Integration is not a substitute for containment. For one thing, containment was a one dimensional concept. We looked at the map and drew lines. Integration is multi-dimensional and value-free. It can be either negative or positive. It also has a dynamic all its own. So I don’t mean to suggest we have found the newest bumper sticker or slogan.

3. The search for a new slogan. We keep looking for a new slogan. I don’t believe we should be making foreign policy by metaphor. Metaphors can paralyze us. Munich led to Vietnam, Vietnam hung over us in Bosnia. Even containment, which was right in its central thrust, was often misapplied as a label or recipe for action. There is no overarching slogan, but there IS, under President Clinton, an overarching vision, a set of core strategic objectives which guide our course. It may not be condensable into a catchy phrase. I am pleased that we got it down to 6 core principles. Together they spell out a roadmap; a definition of America’s course in the world. We began to lay it out in the first term and we do so with greater clarity and purpose in the second terms. Let me outline the tenets of our vision:

EUROPE: We seek to build a united, democratic, and peaceful Europe around an expanded NATO and in partnership with Russia. (Good relations with our allies, (Tara) have always helped us achieve things--from working together in Bosnia to...when we work towards a common goal, we cement those relations.) Today we are working with the Europeans to expand NATO. There were compelling reasons for why in 1994 President Clinton sought this path. We had (3) choices: disassemble it, tear it down. But NATO is a well functioning institution that has been effective. Or we could have frozen it where it was and simply consolidated the gains made in 1974 (Spain) in 1955 (Germany). Or lastly we could have, as we chose to do, expand it, begin an organic process that would be embrace these new times and new directions. Why not let the bright light of the West, its democratic candle, as represented by NATO, expand to include new countries that have fought for that freedom. NATO expansion will not be easy. It is a 4-dimensional exercise. The first part is the easy part--WHO comes in, and even that we have not fully decided. Secondly, how do you avoid diminishing the states in the East who are not part of the first wave. How do you be inclusive and integrate those who are not first candidates into other structures. Thirdly, how do you do it in a way that gets
the balance with Russia right—which both supports the forces of democratization and openness in Russia, but doesn’t threaten, on the other hand, the forces we don’t want to arise—of nationalism and hostility. We recognize that won’t be easy but we will go about it with purpose over the next 4 years. And lastly, how you do build a bipartisan consensus and create the necessary public dialogue to support our enlargement of NATO. These are hard questions.

RUSSIA: Let me say a word about our relations with Russia. The trip to Helsinki was NOT only about NATO enlargement. It was about the kind of relationship we want to build with a democratic Russia for the next century. We need economic cooperation, arms control, security arrangements—not because we are romantic or under great illusions, but because it is in our own self interest to reduce the nuclear arsenals, to prevent the rise of a nationalistic Russia, to cement democratic change and improve the economic picture.

ASIA-PACIFIC COMMUNITY: The very fact that we talk about an Asian-Pacific community represents a historic shift to which President Clinton is due a great deal of credit—from Blake Island and ASEAN, he pushed for integration. We use to talk about blocs like North America, Europe, Asia. Now we see partnerships and alliances. But still we face hard choices: Can China make the accommodation necessary to sustain the integration with the West. What is the right form of leverage to influence their behavior. Can we sustain the economic integration of a region with such disparate economies from Vietnam to Japan, from China to N. Korea.

PEACE TO REGIONS OF IMPORTANCE: As we seek to use American power and purpose in regions of the world, we come back to some basic tenets. Where our vital national interests are threatened, we respond, alone if necessary. But increasingly we face situations where we have to decide whether or not to use our resources and military might and how. We made decisions to do so in Bosnia, in Haiti, in the Middle East to name a few. We invested our diplomatic authority knowing that we are not perceived by most countries as seeking dominion over others. But let me be clear: One invests diplomatic capital, let alone the treasures of young lives, with extreme caution. We are often criticized for not acting sooner. But in Haiti, for example, we acted only after we had exhausted every other alternative. We must be prudent in the exercise of our power. We should be neither enthralled by or reckless with our influence.
NEW SECURITY THREATS
We have enormous opportunities in the world today, but still we face threats and challenges from drugs, crime, terrorism, proliferation and environmental crises. We will need not only unilateral action but multilateral action to meet some of these global threats. On arms control, we have integrated around rules of behavior and constructed international regimes: MCTR, CWC, IAEA, etc.

OPEN GLOBAL ECONOMY (might get input from Tarullo who feels strongly that there are risks in overstating the relationship between open economies and open democracies.)

RESOURCES (standard pitch for tools—both financial and diplomatic. Talk about it in terms ordinary Americans understand—we need to have the ability to create conditions that lessen the need for young men and women to fight, we need to extend democracy's hand, to stop terrorism and drugs from poisoning our society, etc.

CONCLUSION: Clinton's second term agenda is build on solid strategic objectives that were laid out in the State of the Union speech. We seek to manage the risks and take advantage of the opportunities in this post, post-Cold War world; in this new era built around new patterns of integration. 50 years ago a farsighted America led in creating the institutions that secured victory in the Cold War and built a growing economy. As a result, half the world lives under democracy. Now America must be far sighted again to create the policies, build the institutions and secure the peace and prosperity for today and tomorrow.
Outline -- Second Term Agenda Speech

I. Introduction -- Beyond the “Post Cold War”

- “Post Cold War” defines what has ended, not what is beginning. Need to move beyond that phrase in our thinking and talking, because we already have in our actions.

- Most great turning points in history have two distinct phases: tearing down and building up. We have already torn down blocs and barriers that divided world for fifty years. Now, challenge is to build up new institutions, adapt old ones, for next fifty years. We must complete move from containment to integration.

- Integration happening with or without us. Question is whether we will continue to lead, to shape it to our advantage -- or let it run a course that may be contrary to our interests.

  Economic Integration: Pushed by technology, information, world is coming together around open markets. Easing disparities. But many left out -- creates tension between “haves”/“have-nots” (especially since “have-nots” now more aware of what “haves” have). And forces of disintegration use technology, progress we cherish to their advantage. Profoundly in our interest to advance economic integration (ITA, WTO/Telecomms etc...) while rounding off the rough edges of change.

  Democratic Integration: World converging as never before around shared values -- our values: democracy, tolerance, freedom of religion, speech. But new democracies are fragile and there are holdouts. Our challenge is to advance this emerging global consensus by extending reach and strengthening grip of democracy.

II. Strategies of Integration

- Clinton administration leading way toward greater economic and democratic integration, while managing the risks this change produces, in five strategic areas:

  1. Building an Undivided Europe at Peace (U.S.-EU; CEE; NIS; NATO adaptation, enlargement and relationship with Russia)

  2. Creating a Stable Asia Pacific Community (new security and trade relationships with Japan and Korea; stability and peace on Korean peninsula; strategic dialogue with China.)

  3. Advancing Peace (Bosnia; Middle East; Haiti; Cyprus etc...)

  4. Meeting New Threats (proliferation; terrorism; crime and drugs; rogue states.)

III. Giving Ourselves the Tools to Succeed

- We cannot shape forces of integration without strength and resources to get the job done -- and without sharing risks and costs of leadership with other like-minded nations. That means maintaining our commitment to strong, ready military. And it means renewing our commitment to fully funded diplomacy -- and to a reforming UN, IFIs.

1. A strong military (modernization and increased funding for weapons procurement; taking care of troops and families.)

2. Resources/Support for UN and IFIs. (increase 150 account; UN reform and arrears; pay our way in IFIs).

IV. Conclusion
By PAUL-HENRI DU LIMBERT=

BRASILIA, Brazil (AP) French President Jacques Chirac on Wednesday proposed a first-ever summit among European and Latin American leaders, saying the regions must strengthen economic and political ties.

"Let's be ambitious and let's be visionary," Chirac said in an address to Brazil's parliament Wednesday. "Let's go forward to meet our future."

Chirac, who suggested late 1998 as a date for the summit, spoke on the first stop of a Latin American tour that is to include Uruguay, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Argentina. The trip is aimed at boosting trade with Latin America and warning the region not to be pulled into a U.S.-dominated free-trade zone.

Brazilian grenadiers played a samba tune as Chirac was welcomed at the presidential palace by his counterpart, Fernando Henrique Cardoso.

Brazil considers the visit a sign of France's desire to revive a partnership neglected under the late French President Francois Mitterrand.

Among Brazil's political interests: French support for a permanent seat on the U.N. Security Council and for Brazil's quest to lower commercial barriers.

Chirac said French trade with Brazil was "still insufficient," though Paris has doubled its exports during the past five years.

The French invested heavily in Brazil last year, including a Renault auto factory.
I hate to carp, but yet again Africa fails to feature at all in a major policy speech, except one fleeting reference to South Africa. We suggested a para on Africa for inclusion, but if that doesn’t fit, you could make a couple of minor changes that would acknowledge that we are not indifferent to or ignorant of the threats and opportunities that emanate from an entire continent.

I suggest the following:

1) On page 4, last para, where we mention rogue states "Iran, Iraq, Libya" add: Sudan -- a comparable pariah.

2) On page 10, 3rd para, where we talk of diplomatic engagement to resolve conflicts, add Angola, ie. "from the Middle East, to Angola, to Northern Ireland".

3) On page 13, 4th para on emerging markets, after sentence on Latin America, add: "To Saharan Africa, we export over 20% more than to all of the states of the former Soviet Union combined."

With apologies for lateness, attached draft of speech SRB to deliver tomorrow at 11 a.m. Your comments (or rather, your factual review) would be greatly appreciated.
Blinken, Antony J.

From: Malley, Robert
To: Blinken, Antony J.
Cc: .R, Record at A1
Subject: SRB Speech [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Wednesday, March 26, 1997 7:39PM

Tony:

I read the speech, which I thought was very good, especially the early discussion of the new era and the forces of integration (and most particularly the reference to the fact that integration promotes disparities -- in many ways the theme of my book . . . but I digress.)

Only part in that section that I found a little bit disconcerting was when you conclude by saying that integration is neither inherently good or bad. I happen to agree, but it does not exactly follow from what I take you are saying or fit with general theme of speech -- that integration is a positive evolution (particularly since it is integration towards US values), but we need to be clear-eyed about dangers.

Anyway, I thought you might want to revisit the phrasing which sounds like we must fatalistically accept integration because it is going to happen, rather than promote it because it serves our basic interests.

See you (and don't forget lunch)
Adding power sections (in turn of Int's)

First instruct: diplomacy?

With Bose - Hult, M.I, P. I can't disagree or be consistent. No Pan American but we can show more on Rire.

But in the 50's, is only superpower be we are not peasants by others is public enemy ultimatum is host to Soviet. We often rest in role we can play more interest. Desirable.

Other others of world could be less stable than we. Can expert's (Cold War) South East Turkey or Egypt's potential problem plus propose - Though our experts: diplomacy: we must be more active. Water crisis harks to West & is a concern plus potential drought? Water potentially of S. Asia can be a potential for S. Asia. Whether Turkey warns on loss of Sediment changes terraces? Causes all alike.
The world needs first line of action in our defense

For stability, democracy:

For an situation in which conflicts bad can +
Threaten our profits - not money well - but
Regard stability + risk of wider conflict. These
Poor hard fact: Need to be

Guilt to act. So, when we see Am. military forces
Be in the middle, when relying on it, let it
Quickly use that upon world stage + tempting
to do too much.

We should stand

Careful to make any base, truly, when our

Has outlets (to other put of blanks)

But, can be presented

He's + Boeing's power used wisely tell clearly,

When noted to not have affected (Boeing) the

of wider conflict. And, finally, due to share,

Kissinger

Prestige

Fare:
"It has been nearly 8 years since the Berlin Wall fell, six since the end of the Soviet Union, five since radical free market reforms began to work in Central Europe, and over three since NATO opened its doors to new members."

For SRB speech, need some benchmarks to fill in a sentence: "It's been X years since the Berlin Wall fell, X-1 years since [e.g.], X-2 years since [e.g.], X-3 years since [e.g.]

What jumps out?
Try something like "economic austerity imposed following the 1980's debt crisis and extremely high levels of inflation increased the disparity between rich and poor in Latin America during the 1980's...in major countries, the lowest strata of society suffered the sharpest drop in real per capita income." The good news is that most governments in the hemisphere have recognized the urgency of addressing the root causes of poverty, and are devoting more resources to areas like basic education. The structural reforms in place throughout the region have created the environment for economic growth and job creation over the long term. Economic growth is key to lifting Latin America's poor.

To put it somewhat differently -- the poor in Latin America got poorer in the 1980's because they bore the brunt of the debt-induced regional downturn and because they had the least margin for economic slippage.
Another tactoid: Real wages in key countries like Argentina, Mexico, Venezuela, Peru have still not recovered to their level in 1980, before the debt crisis.

Try something like "economic austerity imposed following the 1980’s debt crisis and extremely high levels of inflation increased the disparity between rich and poor in Latin America during the 1980’s...in major countries, the lowest strata of society suffered the sharpest drop in real per capita income." The good news is that most governments in the hemisphere have recognized the urgency of addressing the root causes of poverty, and are devoting more resources to areas like basic education. The structural reforms in place throughout the region have created the environment for economic growth and job creation over the long term. Economic growth is key to lifting Latin America’s poor.

To put it somewhat differently -- the poor in Latin America got poorer in the 1980’s because they bore the brunt of the debt-induced regional downturn and because they had the least margin for economic slippage.

For SRB speech, do you have factoid showing growing income disparities in L. America?
TO: BERGER

FROM: NAPLAN BLINKEN

SUBJECT: CSIS SPEECH DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: NOTED BY BERGER DUE DATE: 03 APR 97 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: NAPLAN LOGREF:

FILES: WH NSCP: CODES:

FOR ACTION FOR CONCURRENCE FOR INFO

BLINKEN NAPLAN NSC CHRON

COMMENTS:

DISPATCHED BY ____________________ DATE ___________ BY HAND W/ATTCH

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National Security Council
The White House

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BYPASSED WW DESK: ___________  DOCLOG: A/NO

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A = Action  I = Information  D = Dispatch  R = Retain  N = No Further Action

cc: Sonenshine

COMMENTS:

"97 APR 5 PM 2:36"

Exec Sec Office has diskette NO
INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: ANTONY BLINKEN AJB

FROM: STEVE NAPLAN

SUBJECT: CSIS Speech Distribution

Attached please find the list of academics, policy influentials, and media pundits to whom a copy of your March 27, 1997 CSIS speech was mailed, with a cover note from Tony Blinken.

Additionally, same-day faxes of the speech were sent to approximately 60 of the most prominent columnists and media commentators (list also attached).

Your speech has also been added to the NSC’s home page on the Internet’s World Wide Web.

Naturally, we will be glad to add any names you would like to the mailing list.

CC: Tara Sonenshine

Attachment
Tab A Mailing List and Fax List
## Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
### Clinton Library

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>Mailing List [for CSIS Speech] (partial) (9 pages)</td>
<td>ca. 04/1997</td>
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### COLLECTION:
- Clinton Presidential Records
- National Security Council
- Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
- OA/Box Number: 3388

### FOLDER TITLE:
- Samuel R. Berger-2nd Term Agenda Speech Background

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor’s deed of gift.
- PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
- RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]
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<td>Mr. John Whitehead</td>
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<td>Mr. Robert Zoellick</td>
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<td>Vice President</td>
<td>Citizens Democracy Corps</td>
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<td>Mr. John Joyce</td>
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<td>and Allied Craftworkers 815 15th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20065</td>
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<td>Mr. Thiont Peter W. Rodman</td>
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<td>National Security Programs The Nixon Center for Peace and</td>
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<td>Mr. Mark Shields</td>
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