

government procurement. To date, our efforts on procurement have been concentrated in the World Bank and the regional development banks, but our initiative to pursue an agreement on transparency in WTO member procurement regimes should make an additional important contribution. We have also made important strides on labor issues. The WTO has endorsed the importance of core labor standards sought by the United States since the Eisenhower Administration-the right to organize and bargain collectively, and prohibitions against child labor and forced labor. We will continue pressing for better integration of the international core labor standards into the WTO's work, including through closer WTO interaction with the International Labor Organization (ILO).

We continue to ensure that liberalization of trade does not come at the expense of national security or environmental protection. For example, the national security, law enforcement and trade policy communities worked together to make sure that the WTO agreement liberalizing global investment in telecommunications was consistent with U.S. national security interests. Moreover, our leadership in the Uruguay Round negotiations led to the incorporation of environmental provisions into the WTO agreements and creation of the Committee on Trade and Environment, where governments continue to pursue the goal of ensuring that trade and environment policies are mutually supportive. In addition, with U.S. leadership, countries participating in the Summit of the Americas are engaged in sustainable development initiatives to ensure that economic growth does not come at the cost of environmental protection.

In May 1998, President Clinton presented to the WTO a set of proposals to further U.S. international trade objectives:

* First, that the WTO make further efforts to eliminate trade barriers

and pursue
a more open global trading system in order to spur economic growth,
better jobs,
higher incomes, and the free flow of ideas, information and people.

* Second, that the WTO provide a forum where business, labor,
environmental and
consumer groups can provide regular input to help guide further
evolution of the
WTO. The trading system we build for the 21st century must ensure
that economic
competition does not threaten the livelihood, health and safety of
ordinary
families by eroding environmental and consumer protection or labor
standards.

* Third, that a high-level meeting of trade and environmental officials
be
convened to provide direction for WTO environmental efforts, and
that the WTO and
the International Labor Organization commit to work together to
ensure that open
trade raises the standard of living for workers and respects core labor
standards.

* Fourth, that the WTO open its doors to the scrutiny and participation
of the
public by taking every feasible step to bring openness and
accountability to its
operations, such as by opening its dispute settlement hearings to the
public and
making the briefs for those hearings publicly available.

* Fifth, that the nations of the world join the United States in not
imposing any
tariffs on electronic commercial transmissions sent across national
borders. The
revolution in information technology represented by the Internet is the
greatest
force for prosperity in our lifetimes; we cannot allow discriminatory
barriers to
stunt the development of this promising new economic opportunity.
An electronic
commerce work program was agreed to at the May 1998 WTO
Ministerial. It will be
reviewed at the 1999 ministerial meeting.

* Sixth, that all WTO members make government purchases through
open and fair
bidding and adopt the OECD antibribery convention. Prosperity

depends upon government practices that are based upon the rule of law rather than bureaucratic caprice, cronyism or corruption.

* Seventh, that the WTO explore a faster trade negotiating process and develop an open trading system that can change as fast as the global marketplace. Positive steps include annual tariff and subsidy reductions in agriculture, greater openness and competition in the services sector, further tariff reductions in the industrial sector, and stronger intellectual property protection.

Export Strategy and Advocacy Program

The Administration created America's first national export strategy, reforming the way government works with the private sector to expand exports. The new Trade Promotion Coordination Committee (TPCC) has been instrumental in improving export promotion efforts, coordinating our export financing, implementing a government-wide advocacy initiative and updating market information systems and product standards education.

The export strategy is working, with the United States regaining its position as the world's largest exporter. While our strong export performance has supported millions of new, export-related jobs, we must export more in the years ahead if we are to further strengthen our trade balance position and raise living standards with high-wage jobs. Our objective remains to expand U.S. exports to over \$1.2 trillion by the year 2000, which will mean over 2.5 million new American jobs and a total of over 14.6 million jobs supported by exports.

Enhanced Export Control

The United States is a world leader in high technology exports, including satellites, cellular phones, computers and commercial aircraft. Some of this

technology has direct or indirect military applications. For that reason, the United States government carefully controls high technology exports through a licensing process involving the Department of Defense, the Department of State, the Commerce Department and other agencies. Changes to U.S. export controls over the last decade have allowed America's most important growth industries to compete effectively overseas and create good jobs at home while ensuring that proper safeguards are in place to protect important national security interests.

The cornerstone of our export control policy is protection of our national security; but imposing the tightest possible restrictions on high technology exports is not always the best way to protect our security. In an increasingly competitive global economy, the United States retains a monopoly over very few technologies. As a result, rigid export controls increasingly would not protect our national security because the same products can be obtained readily from foreign sources. Rigid controls would make U.S. high technology companies less competitive globally, thus losing market share and becoming less able to produce the innovative, cutting-edge products for the U.S. military and our allies.

Our current policy-developed in the Reagan and Bush Administrations and continued by President Clinton-recognizes that we must balance a variety of factors. In the wake of the Cold War, the Bush Administration accelerated the process of moving the licensing of essentially commercial items from the State Department's Munitions List to the Commerce-administered Commodity Control List in order to promote high technology exports by making license decisions more predictable and timely. In 1995, by Executive Order, President Clinton expanded the right of the Departments of Defense, State and Energy and the Arms Control and Disarmament

Agency to fully participate in the decision-making process. Previously, these agencies reviewed only certain dual-use applications; as a result of the Executive Order, they have the right to review every dual-use application. If any of these agencies disagree with a proposed export, it can block the license and put the issue into a dispute resolution process that can ultimately rise to the President. As a result, reviews of dual-use licenses are today more thorough and broadly based than ever before.

While our export controls and the regulations that implement them have become easier for American exporters to follow, we have also enhanced our ability to identify, stop and prosecute those who attempt to evade them. For example, in fiscal year 1997 efforts of the Commerce Department's criminal investigators led to over \$1 million in criminal fines and over \$16 million in civil penalties. We have significant enforcement weapons to use against those who would evade our export controls, and we are using them vigorously.

Finally, U.S. efforts to stem proliferation cannot be effective without the cooperation of other countries. To that end, we have strengthened multilateral cooperation through the Nuclear Suppliers Group, the Missile Technology Control Regime, the Australia Group (for the control of chemical and biological weapons-related items), the Chemical Weapons Convention, and the Wassenaar Arrangement, which through U.S. leadership is shaping multilateral export controls for the next century. These multilateral efforts enlist the world community in the battle against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, advanced conventional weapons and sensitive technologies, while at the same time producing a level playing field for U.S. business by ensuring that our competitors face corresponding export controls.

Providing for Energy Security

The United States depends on oil for about 40 percent of its primary energy needs and roughly half of our oil needs are met with imports. Although we import less than 10% of Persian Gulf exports, our allies in Europe and Japan account for about 85% of these exports, thus underscoring the continued strategic importance of the region. We are undergoing a fundamental shift away from reliance on Middle East oil. Venezuela is our number one foreign supplier and Africa supplies 15% of our imported oil. Canada, Mexico and Venezuela combined supply more than twice as much oil to the United States as the Arab OPEC countries.

The Caspian Basin, with potential oil reserves of 160 billion barrels, promises to play an increasingly important role in meeting rising world energy demand in coming decades. We have made it a priority to work with the countries of the region to develop multiple pipeline ventures that will ensure access to the oil. We are also working on several fronts to enhance the stability and safeguard the independence of these nations. While these developments are significant, we must remember that the vast majority of proven oil reserves lie in the Middle East and that the global oil market is largely interdependent.

Conservation measures and research leading to greater energy efficiency and alternative fuels are a critical element of the U.S. strategy for energy security. The U.S. economy has grown roughly 75 percent since the first oil shock in 1973. During that time U.S. oil consumption remained virtually stable, reflecting conservation efforts and increased energy efficiency. Our research must continue to focus on developing highly efficient transportation systems and to shift them to alternative fuels, such as hydrogen, ethanol or methanol from biomass, and others. This research will also help address concerns

about climate change by providing new approaches for meeting guidelines on emission of greenhouse gases. Over the longer term, U.S. dependence on access to foreign oil sources may be increasingly important as domestic resources are depleted. Although U.S. oil consumption has been essentially level since 1973, our reliance on imported oil has increased due to a decline in domestic production. Domestic oil production declined during that period because oil prices were not high enough to generate new oil exploration sufficient to sustain production levels from our depleted resource base. Conservation and energy research notwithstanding, the United States will continue to have a vital interest in ensuring access to foreign oil sources. We must continue to be mindful of the need for regional stability and security in key producing areas to ensure our access to and the free flow of these resources.

Promoting Sustainable Development Abroad

Environmental and natural resource issues can impede sustainable development efforts and promote regional instability. Many nations are struggling to provide jobs, education and other services to their citizens. The continuing poverty of a quarter of the world's people leads to hunger, malnutrition, economic migration and political unrest. Malaria, AIDS and other epidemics, including some that can spread through environmental damage, threaten to overwhelm the health facilities of developing countries, disrupt societies and stop economic growth.

Sustainable development improves the prospects for democracy in developing countries and expands the demand for U.S. exports. It alleviates pressure on the global environment, reduces the attraction of the illegal drug trade and other illicit commerce, and improves health and economic productivity. U.S. foreign

assistance focuses on four key elements of sustainable development: broad-based economic growth, environmental security, population and health, and democracy.

We will continue to advocate environmentally sound private investment and responsible approaches by international lenders. The multilateral development banks are now placing increased emphasis upon sustainable development in their funding decisions, including assisting borrowing countries to better manage their economies. The U.S. Initiative on Joint Implementation, part of the Administration's Climate Change Action Plan, encourages U.S. businesses and non-governmental organizations to apply innovative technologies and practices to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and promote sustainable development abroad. The initiative, which includes 32 projects in 12 countries, has proven effective in transferring technology for environmentally sound, sustainable development. The Global Environmental Facility provides a source of financial assistance to the developing world for climate change, biodiversity and oceans initiatives that will benefit all the world's citizens. Environmental damage in countries of the NIS and Central and Eastern Europe continues to impede their ability to emerge as

prosperous, independent countries. We are focusing technical assistance and encouraging non-governmental environmental groups to provide expertise to the NIS and Central and Eastern European nations that have suffered the most acute environmental crises.

Promoting Democracy

The third core objective of our national security strategy is to promote democracy and human rights. The number of states moving away from repressive governance toward democratic and publicly accountable institutions is impressive. Since the success of many of those changes is by no means assured,

our strategy must focus on strengthening their commitment and institutional capacity to implement democratic reforms.

Emerging Democracies

We seek international support in helping strengthen democratic and free market institutions and norms in countries making the transition from closed to open societies. This commitment to see freedom and respect for human rights take hold is not only just, but pragmatic, for strengthened democratic institutions benefit the United States and the world.

The United States is helping consolidate democratic and market reforms in Central and Eastern Europe and the NIS. Integrating the Central and Eastern European nations into European security and economic organizations, such as NATO and the EU, will help lock in and preserve the impressive progress these nations have made in instituting democratic and market-economic reforms. Our intensified interaction with Ukraine has helped move that country onto the path of economic reform, which is critical to its long-term stability. In addition, our efforts in Russia, Ukraine and the other NIS facilitate our goal of achieving continued reductions in nuclear arms and compliance with international nonproliferation accords.

Continuing advances in democracy and free markets in our own hemisphere remain a priority, as reflected by the President's 1997 trips to Latin America and the Caribbean and the Summit of the Americas in Santiago this year. In the Asia Pacific region, economic dynamism is increasingly associated with political modernization, democratic evolution and the widening of the rule of law-and it has global impacts. We are particularly attentive to states whose entry into the camp of market democracies may influence the future direction of an

entire region; South Africa now holds that potential with regard to sub-Saharan Africa.

The methods for assisting emerging democracies are as varied as the nations involved. We must continue leading efforts to mobilize international economic and political resources, as we have with Russia, Ukraine and the other NIS. We must take firm action to help counter attempts to reverse democracy, as we have in Haiti and Paraguay. We must give democratic nations the fullest benefits of integration into foreign markets, which is part of the reason NAFTA and the Uruguay Round of GATT ranked so high on our agenda and why we are now working to forge the FTAA. We must help these nations strengthen the pillars of civil society, supporting administration of justice and rule of law programs, assisting the development of democratic civil-military relations, and training foreign police and security forces to solve crimes and maintain order without violating the basic rights of their citizens. And we must seek to improve their market institutions and fight corruption and political discontent by encouraging good governance practices.

Adherence to Universal Human Rights and Democratic Principles

We must sustain our efforts to press for political liberalization and respect for basic human rights worldwide, including in countries that continue to defy democratic advances. Working bilaterally and through multilateral institutions, the United States promotes universal adherence to international human rights and democratic principles. Our efforts in the United Nations and other organizations are helping to make these principles the governing standards for acceptable international behavior.

We will also continue to work-bilaterally and with multilateral institutions-to

ensure that international human rights principles protect the most vulnerable or traditionally oppressed groups in the world-women, children, workers, refugees and persons persecuted on the basis of their religious beliefs or ethnic descent.

To this end, we will seek to strength-en and improve the UN Human Rights Commission and other international mechanisms that promote human rights and address violations of international humanitarian law, such as the international war crimes tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda.

To focus additional attention on the more vulnerable or traditionally oppressed people, we seek to spearhead new international initiatives to combat the sexual exploitation of minors, child labor, homelessness among children, violence against women and children, and female genital mutilation. We will continue to work with individual nations, such as Russia and China, and with international institutions to combat religious persecution. We are encouraging governments to not return people to countries where they face persecution. We ask that they provide asylum or offer temporary protection to persons fleeing situations of conflict or generalized human rights abuses. We seek to ensure that such persons are not returned without due consideration of their need for permanent protection.

Violence against women and trafficking in women and girls is are international problem with national implications. We have seen cases of trafficking in the United States for purposes of forced prostitution, sweatshop labor and domestic servitude. The United States is committed to combating trafficking in women and girls with a focus on the areas of prevention, victim assistance and protection, and enforcement. On March 11, 1998, President Clinton directed a wide range of expanded efforts to combat violence against women in the United States and around the world, including efforts to

increase national and international awareness of trafficking in women and girls. The President called for continued efforts to fully implement the 1994 Violence Against Women Act and restore its protection for immigrant victims of domestic violence in the United States so that they will not be forced to choose between deportation and abuse. He also called upon the Senate to give its advice and consent to ratification to the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women, which will enhance our efforts to combat violence against women, reform unfair inheritance and property rights, and strengthen women's access to fair employment and economic opportunity.

The United States will continue to speak out against human rights abuses and carry on human rights dialogues with countries willing to engage us constructively. Because police and internal security services can be a source of human rights violations, we use training and contacts between U.S. law enforcement and their foreign counterparts to help address these problems. Federal law enforcement agents can serve as role models for investigators in countries where the police have been instruments of oppression and at the same time reduce international crime and terrorism that affects U.S. interests. In appropriate circumstances, we must be prepared to take strong measures against human rights violators. These include economic sanctions, as have been maintained against Nigeria, Iraq, Burma, North Korea and Cuba, visa restrictions and restricting sales of arms and police equipment that may be used to commit human rights abuses.

Humanitarian Activities

Our efforts to promote democracy and human rights are complemented by our humanitarian programs,

which are designed to alleviate human suffering, help establish democratic regimes that respect human rights and pursue appropriate strategies for economic development. These efforts also enable the United States to help prevent humanitarian disasters with far more significant resource implications.

We also must seek to promote reconciliation in states experiencing civil conflict and to address migration and refugee crises. To this end, the United States will provide appropriate financial support and work with other nations and international bodies, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. We also will assist efforts to protect the rights of refugees and displaced persons and to address the economic and social root causes of internal displacement and international flight. Finally, we will cooperate with other states to curb illegal immigration into this country.

Private firms and associations are natural allies in activities and efforts intended to bolster market economies. We have natural partners in labor unions, human rights groups, environmental advocates, chambers of commerce and election monitors in promoting democracy and respect for human rights and in providing international humanitarian assistance; thus, we should promote democratization efforts through private and non-governmental groups as well as foreign governments.

Supporting the global movement toward democracy requires a pragmatic, long-term effort focused on both values and institutions. Our goal is a broadening of the community of free-market democracies and stronger international non-governmental movements committed to human rights and democratization.

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III. Integrated Regional Approaches

Our policies toward different regions reflect our overall strategy tailored to unique challenges and opportunities.

Europe and Eurasia

European stability is vital to our own security. The United States has two strategic goals in Europe. The first is to build a Europe that is truly integrated, democratic, prosperous and at peace. This would complete the mission the United States launched 50 years ago with the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

Our second goal is to work with our allies and partners across the Atlantic to meet the global challenges no nation can meet alone. This means working together to support peace efforts in troubled regions, to counter global threats such as the spread of weapons of mass destruction and dual-use technology, and to build a more open world economy and without barriers to transatlantic trade and investment. We will continue to strengthen the OSCE's role in conflict prevention and crisis management and seek closer cooperation with our European partners in dealing with non-military security threats through our New Transatlantic Agenda with the European Union (EU).

Enhancing Security

NATO remains the anchor of American engagement in Europe and the linchpin of transatlantic security. As a guarantor of European security and a force for European stability, NATO must play a leading role in promoting a more integrated and secure Europe, prepared to respond to new challenges. We will maintain

approximately 100,000 military personnel in Europe to fulfill our commitments to NATO, provide a visible deterrent against aggression and coercion, contribute to regional stability, respond to crises, sustain our vital transatlantic ties and preserve U.S. leadership in NATO.

NATO enlargement is a crucial element of the U.S. and Allied strategy to build an undivided, peaceful Europe. The end of the Cold War changed the nature of the threats to this region, but not the fact that Europe's stability is vital to our own national security. The addition of well-qualified democracies, which have demonstrated their commitment to the values of freedom and the security of the broader region, will help deter potential threats to Europe, deepen the continent's stability, bolster its democratic advances, erase its artificial divisions, and strengthen an Alliance that has proven its effectiveness both during and since the Cold War.

In December 1997, the NATO foreign ministers signed the three protocols of accession for Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic, making them full members of the Alliance subject to ratification by all current and incoming NATO members. On May 21, 1998, the President signed the instruments of ratification for the three protocols following a strong, bipartisan 80-19 vote of approval in the U.S. Senate. Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic will make the Alliance stronger while helping to enlarge Europe's zone of democratic stability. They have been leaders in Central Europe's dramatic transformation over the past decade and have helped make Central Europe the continent's most robust zone of economic growth. They will strengthen NATO through the addition of military resources, strategic depth and the prospect of greater stability in Europe's central region. Our Alliance with them will improve our ability to protect and advance our interests in the transatlantic area and contribute to our security in the years to

come.

At the same time, we have vigorously pursued efforts to help other countries that aspire to membership become the best possible candidates. Together with our Allies we are enhancing the Partnership for Peace and continuing political contacts with aspiring states. We are also continuing bilateral programs to advance this agenda, such as the President's Warsaw Initiative, which is playing a critical role in helping the militaries of Central and Eastern Europe and Eurasia become more interoperable with NATO. Building on the increasing links between NATO and the Partnership for Peace nations, Partners will increasingly contribute to real-world NATO missions, as many are doing in the NATO-led operation in Bosnia.

Some European nations do not desire NATO membership, but do desire strengthened ties with the Alliance. The Partnership for Peace provides an ideal venue for such relationships. It formalizes relations, provides a mechanism for mutual beneficial interaction and establishes a sound basis for combined action should that be desired. For all these reasons, Partnership for Peace will remain a central and permanent part of the European security architecture.

NATO also is pursuing several other initiatives to enhance its ability to respond to new challenges and deepen ties between the Alliance and Partner countries. NATO has launched the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council to strengthen political dialogue and practical cooperation with all Partners, and established a NATO-Ukraine Charter, which provides a framework for enhanced relations. As a result of the 1997 NATO-Russia Founding Act, NATO and Russia developed the Permanent Joint Council to enhance political consultation and practical cooperation, while retaining NATO's decision-making authority. Our shared goal remains constructive Russian participation in the European security

system.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization will hold its Fiftieth Anniversary summit meeting in Washington on April 24-25, 1999. This summit will mark NATO's extraordinary record of success over the past fifty years in protecting the security of the United States and our European allies. As agreed at the 1997 Madrid summit, we hope to use the upcoming summit meeting in Washington to welcome the entry of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic as new members of the alliance. Looking to the future, the summit will advance the common work of NATO allies and partners to build an undivided Europe that is peaceful, prosperous, and democratic. As we help build a comprehensive European security architecture, we must continue to focus on regional security challenges.

Southeastern Europe and the Balkans: There are significant security challenges in Southeastern Europe. Instability in this region could threaten the consolidation of reforms, disrupt commerce and undermine our efforts to bring peace to Bosnia and other parts of the former Yugoslavia.

The United States has an abiding interest in peace and stability in Bosnia because continued war in that region threatens all of Europe's stability. Implementation of the Dayton Accords is the best hope for creating a self-sustaining peace in Bosnia. NATO-led forces are contributing to a secure environment in Bosnia and providing essential support for the broader progress we are making in implementing the Dayton Accords. Further progress is necessary, however, to create conditions that will allow implementation to continue without a large military presence. We are committed to full implementation of the Dayton Accords and success in Bosnia. We support the efforts of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and broader efforts to promote

justice and reconciliation in Bosnia.

We are deeply concerned about the ongoing bloodshed in Kosovo, which threatens security and stability throughout the Balkan region. We are firmly convinced that the problems in Kosovo can best be resolved through a process of open and unconditional dialogue between authorities in Belgrade and the Kosovar Albanian leadership. We seek a peaceful resolution of the crisis that guarantees restoration of human and political rights which have been systematically denied the Kosovar Albanian population since Belgrade withdrew autonomy in 1989. In support of that objective, NATO is reviewing options for deterring further violence against the civilian population in Kosovo and stabilizing the military situation in the region.

We are redoubling our efforts to advance the integration of several new democracies in Southeastern Europe (Bulgaria, Romania, Slovenia and the Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia) into the European mainstream. More specifically, the President's Action Plan for Southeast Europe seeks to promote further democratic, economic, and military

reforms in these countries, to encourage greater regional cooperation, and to advance common interests, such as closer contact with NATO, and increased law enforcement training and exchanges to assist in the fight against organized crime.

Tensions on Cyprus, Greek-Turkish disagreements in the Aegean and Turkey's relationship with the EU have serious implications for regional stability and the evolution of European political and security structures. Our goals are to stabilize the region by reducing long-standing Greek-Turkish tensions and pursuing a comprehensive settlement on Cyprus. A democratic, secular, stable and Western-oriented Turkey is critical to these efforts and has supported broader

U.S. efforts to enhance stability in Bosnia, the NIS and the Middle East, as well as to contain Iran and Iraq.

The Baltic States: For over fifty years, the United States has recognized the sovereignty and independence of the republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. During this period, we never acknowledged their forced incorporation into the Soviet Union. The special nature of our relationship with the Baltic States is recognized in the Charter of Partnership signed on January 16, 1998, which clarifies the principles upon which U.S. relations with the Baltic states are based and provides a framework for strengthening ties and pursuing common goals. These goals include integration of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia into the transatlantic community and development of close, cooperative relationships among all the states in Northeastern Europe. The Charter also establishes mechanisms for high-level review and adjustment of this cooperation.

Northern Ireland: After a 30-year winter of sectarian violence, Northern Ireland has the promise of a springtime of peace. The agreement that emerged from the Northern Ireland peace talks on April 10, 1998 opened the way to build a society based on enduring peace, justice and equality. On May 22, 1998, the people of Ireland and Northern Ireland seized this opportunity to turn the common tragedy of Northern Ireland's past into a shared triumph for the future by strongly endorsing the peace accord. In so doing, they have written a new chapter in the rich history of their island by creating the best chance for peace in a generation.

The United States actively promoted this peace process and will continue to stand with those who seek to build lasting peace and enduring prosperity in Ireland and Northern Ireland. They can count on the continuing aid, support and encouragement of the

United States. The task of making the peace endure will be difficult. Some may seek to undermine this agreement by returning to violence. Anyone who does so, from whatever side and whatever faction, will have no friends in America. We will work closely with British and Irish law enforcement and intelligence officials to prevent outrages before they happen by identifying terrorists and their sources of financial and material support.

We will continue to work with Northern Ireland's leaders as they seek to transform the promise of the Accord into a reality-with new democratic institutions and new economic opportunities for all of Northern Ireland's people. Working through the International Fund for Ireland and the private sector, we will help the people seize the opportunities that peace will bring to attract new investment to create new factories, workplaces and jobs, and establish new centers of learning to prepare for the 21st Century.

Newly Independent States (NIS): The United States is pursuing a wide range of security objectives in the NIS. We seek to bring Russia, Ukraine and the other NIS into a new, cooperative European security order, which includes strengthening their participation in NATO Partnership for Peace activities and building effective NATO-Russia and NATO-Ukraine partnerships. We seek to reduce the threat of nuclear war and the spread of nuclear weapons and materials, as well as other weapons of mass destruction and their delivery systems, especially to outlaw states.

The United States has vital security interests in the evolution of Russia, Ukraine and the other NIS into democratic market economies, peacefully and prosperously integrated into the world community. The governmental and financial sectors in this region appear especially susceptible to penetration by organized

criminal groups, who have the ability to subvert and destroy these nascent institutions. Further democratic and economic reforms and integration into the WTO and other international economic institutions will strengthen the rule of law and respect for human rights, foster growth by expanding private sector activity, and encourage open and cooperative policies toward the global community.

Promoting Prosperity

Europe is a key element in America's global commercial engagement. Europe and the United States produce over half of all global goods and services. More than 60% of total U.S. investment abroad is in Europe and fourteen million workers on both sides of the Atlantic earn their livelihoods directly from transatlantic commerce. As part of the New Transatlantic Agenda launched at the 1995 U.S.-EU Summit in Madrid, the United States and the EU agreed to take concrete steps to reduce barriers to trade and investment through the creation of an open New Transatlantic Marketplace. We have concluded Mutual Recognition Agreements eliminating redundant testing and certification requirements covering \$50 billion in two-way trade. Our governments are also cooperating closely with the Transatlantic Business Dialogue, a U.S.-European business partnership, to address a wide range of trade barriers.

Building on the New Transatlantic Agenda, the United States and the EU launched the Transatlantic Economic Partnership on May 18, 1998. This is a major new initiative to deepen our economic relations, reinforce our political ties and reduce trade frictions that have plagued our bilateral relationship. The first element of the initiative is reducing barriers that affect manufacturing, agriculture and services. In the manufacturing area we will focus on standards and technical barriers that American businesses have identified as the

most significant obstacle to expanding trade. In the agricultural area we will focus on regulatory barriers that have inhibited the expansion of agriculture trade, particularly in the biotechnology area. In the area of services we will seek to open our markets further and to create new opportunities for the number of service industries that are so active in the European market.

The second element of the Transatlantic Economic Partnership is a broader, cooperative approach to addressing a wide range of trade issues. We agreed to maintain current practices, and will continue not imposing duties on electronic transmissions and develop a work program in the WTO for electronic commerce. We will seek to adopt common positions and effective strategies for accelerating compliance with WTO commitments on intellectual property. We will seek to promote government procurement opportunities, including promoting compatibility of electronic procurement information and government contracting systems. We will seek innovative ways to promote our shared labor and environmental values around the world. To promote fair competition, we will seek to enhance the compatibility of our procedures with potentially significant reductions in cost for American companies.

The United States strongly supports the process of European integration embodied in the EU. We are also encouraging bilateral trade and investment in non-EU countries and supporting enlargement of the EU. We recognize that EU nations face significant economic challenges with nearly 20 million people unemployed, and that economic stagnation has eroded public support for funding outward-looking foreign policies and greater integration. We are working closely with our European partners to expand employment, promote long-term growth and support the New Transatlantic Agenda.

By supporting historic market reforms in Central and Eastern Europe and in the NIS, we both strengthen our own economy and help new democracies take root. Poland, economically troubled as recently as 1989, now symbolizes the new dynamism and rapid growth that extensive, free-market reforms make possible. Recent economic turbulence in Russia demonstrates that the transition to a more prosperous, market-based economy will be a long-term process characterized by promise and disappointment. In Ukraine, reinvigorating economic reform remains a key challenge to strengthening national security and independence. Much remains to be done throughout the region to assure sustainable economic recoveries and adequate social protection.

The United States will continue helping the NIS economies integrate into international economic and other institutions and develop healthy business climates. We will continue to mobilize the international community to provide assistance to support reform. The United States is working closely with Russia and Ukraine in priority areas, including defense conversion, the environment, trade and investment, and scientific and technological cooperation. We are also encouraging investment, especially by U.S. companies, in NIS energy resources and their export to world markets, thereby expanding and diversifying world energy supplies and promoting prosperity in the NIS.

Ultimately, the success of economic and financial reforms in the countries recently emerged from communism will depend more on private investment than official aid. One of our priorities, therefore, is to help countries stimulate foreign and domestic investment. At the Helsinki Summit, Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin defined an ambitious reform agenda covering key tax, energy and commercial laws crucial for Russia to realize its potential for attracting

foreign investment. Further, the Presidents outlined steps to accelerate Russian membership on commercial terms in key economic organizations such as the WTO. It is in both Russia's interest and ours that we work with Russian leaders on passage of key economic and commercial legislation. We are cooperating with Russia to facilitate oil and gas exports to and through Russia from neighboring Caspian countries. We also support development of new East-West oil and gas export routes across the Caspian Sea and through the Transcaucasus and Turkey.

Ukraine is at an important point in its economic transition-one that will affect its integration with Europe and domestic prosperity. The United States has mobilized the international community's support for Ukrainian economic reform, pushed to improve Ukraine's investment climate, and championed its integration into key European, transatlantic and global economic institutions. Two other challenges stand out: first, to instill respect for the rule of law so that a more transparent, level economic playing field is established and democratic governance prevails; and, second, to gain international support as it seeks to close down Chernobyl and reform its energy sector. The U.S.-Ukraine Binational Commission, chaired by Vice President Gore and President Kuchma, serves as a focal point to coordinate bilateral relations and to invigorate Ukrainian reform efforts.

A stable and prosperous Caucasus and Central Asia will help promote stability and security from the Mediterranean to China and facilitate rapid development and transport to international markets of the large Caspian oil and gas resources, with substantial U.S. commercial participation. While the new states in the region have made progress in their quest for sovereignty and a secure place in the international arena, much remains to be done in democratic and

economic reform and in settling regional conflicts, such as Nagorno-Karabakh and Abkhazia.

Promoting Democracy

Thoroughgoing democratic and economic reforms in the NIS and Europe's former communist states are the best measures to avert conditions which could foster aggressive nationalism and ethnic hatreds. Already, the prospect of joining or rejoining the Western democratic family has dampened the forces of nationalism and strengthened the forces of democracy and reform in many countries of the region.

The independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and democratic and economic reform of the NIS are important to American interests. To advance these goals, we are utilizing our bilateral relationships, our leadership of international institutions, and billions of dollars in private and multilateral resources. But the circumstances affecting the smaller countries depend in significant measure on the fate of reform in the largest and most powerful—Russia. The United States will continue vigorously to promote Russian reform and international integration, and discourage any reversal in the progress that has been made. Our economic and political support for the Russian government depends on its commitment to internal reform and a responsible foreign policy.

East Asia and the Pacific

President Clinton's vision of a new Pacific community links security interests with economic growth and our commitment to democracy and human rights. We continue to build on that vision, cementing America's role as a stabilizing force in a more integrated Asia Pacific region.

Enhancing Security

Our military presence has been essential to maintaining the stability

that has enabled most nations in the Asia Pacific region to build thriving economies for the benefit of all. To deter aggression and secure our own interests, we will maintain approximately 100,000 U.S. military personnel in the region. Our commitment to maintaining an active military presence in the region and our treaty alliances with Japan, South Korea, Australia, Thailand and the Philippines serve as the foundation for America's continuing security role.

We are maintaining healthy relations with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), which now includes Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, the Philippines, Brunei, Vietnam, Laos and Burma. We are also supporting regional dialogue-such as in the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF)-on the full range of common security challenges. By meeting on confidence-building measures such as search and rescue cooperation and peacekeeping, the ARF can help enhance regional security and understanding.

Japan

The United States and Japan reaffirmed our bilateral security relationship in the April 1996 Joint Security Declaration. The alliance continues to be the cornerstone for achieving common security objectives and for maintaining a stable and prosperous environment for the Asia Pacific region as we enter the twenty-first century. In September 1997, both Governments issued the revised Guidelines for U.S.-Japan Defense Cooperation which will result in greater bilateral cooperation in peacekeeping and humanitarian relief operations, in situations in areas surrounding Japan, and in the defense of Japan itself. The revised Guidelines, like the U.S.-Japan security relationship itself, are not directed against any other country.

In April 1998, in order to support the new Guidelines, both

governments agreed to a revised Acquisition and Cross-Servicing Agreement (ACSA) which expands the exchange of provision of supplies and services to include reciprocal provision of logistics support during situations surrounding Japan that have an important influence on Japan's peace and security. While the guidelines and its related efforts have specifically focused on regional security, both countries have continued to cooperate in the implementation of the Special Action Committee on Okinawa (SACO) Final report. This effort initiated plans and measures to realign, consolidate, and reduce U.S. facilities and areas in Okinawa in order to ease the impact of U.S. Forces' presence on the people of Okinawa. Implementation of SACO will ultimately aid in ensuring the maintenance of U.S. operational capabilities and force presence in the Asia-Pacific region.

U.S.-Japan security cooperation extends to promoting regional peace and stability, seeking universal adherence to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, and addressing the dangers posed by transfers of destabilizing conventional arms and sensitive dual-use goods and technologies. Our continued progress in assisting open trade between our countries and our broad-ranging international cooperation, exemplified by the Common Agenda, provide a sound basis for our relations into the next century.

Korean Peninsula

Tensions on the Korean Peninsula remain the principal threat to peace and stability in East Asia. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) has publicly stated a preference for peaceful reunification, but continues to dedicate a large portion of dwindling resources to enhance the combat capability of its huge military forces. Renewed conflict has been prevented since 1953 by a combination of the Armistice Agreement, which brought an end to open hostilities;

the United Nations Command, which has visibly represented the will of the UN Security Council to secure peace; and the physical presence of U.S. and ROK troops in the Combined Forces Command, which has demonstrated the alliance's resolve.

The inauguration of Kim Dae-jung as President of the Republic of Korea on February 25, 1998 marked an important turning point on the Korean Peninsula. It marked the triumph of democracy in South Korea and the first peaceful transition of power from the ruling party to an opposition party. It was also a remarkable triumph for President Kim, who had been denied the Presidency in 1971 by voter intimidation and fraud, kidnapped and almost murdered by government agents, sentenced to death in 1991, imprisoned for six years and in exile or under house arrest for over ten years. President Kim personifies the victory of democracy over dictatorship in South Korea.

President Kim has set a new course toward peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula by opening new channels for dialogue and seeking areas for cooperation between North and South. During their summit meeting in June 1998, President Clinton and President Kim discussed the situation on the Korean Peninsula, reaffirming South Korea's role as lead interlocutor with the North Koreans and the importance of our strong defense alliance. President Clinton expressed strong support for President Kim's vision of engagement and efforts toward reconciliation with the North. The United States is working to create conditions of stability by maintaining solidarity with our South Korean ally, emphasizing America's commitment to shaping a peaceful and prosperous Korean Peninsula and ensuring that an isolated and struggling North Korea does not opt for a military solution to its political and economic problems.

Peaceful resolution of the Korean conflict with a non-nuclear, reunified peninsula will enhance stability in the East Asian region and is clearly in our strategic interest. We are willing to improve bilateral political and economic ties with North Korea-consistent with the objectives of our alliance with the ROK-to draw the North into more normal relations with the region and the rest of the world. Our willingness to improve bilateral relations will continue to be commensurate with the North's cooperation in efforts to reduce tensions on the peninsula. South Korea has set a shining example for nonproliferation by forswearing nuclear weapons, accepting safeguards, and developing a peaceful nuclear program that brings benefits to the region. We are firm that North Korea must freeze and dismantle its graphite-moderated reactors and related facilities and fully comply with its NPT obligations under the Agreed Framework. We also seek to cease North Korea's chemical and biological weapon programs and ballistic missile proliferation activities. The United States, too, must fulfill its obligations under the Agreed Framework and the Administration will work with the Congress to ensure the success of our efforts to address the North Korean nuclear threat. The North must also engage in a productive dialogue with South Korea; continue the recently revived United Nations Command-Korean People's Army General Officer Dialogue talks at Panmunjon; participate constructively in the Four Party Talks among the United States, China, and North and South Korea to reduce tensions and negotiate a peace agreement; and support our efforts to recover the remains of American servicemen missing since the Korean War.

China

A stable, open, prosperous People's Republic of China (PRC) that assumes its responsibilities for building a more peaceful world is clearly and profoundly in our interests. The prospects for peace and prosperity in Asia depend

heavily on
China's role as a responsible member of the international community.
China's
integration into the international system of rules and norms will
influence its
own political and economic development, as well as its relations with
the rest of
the world. Our relationship with China will in large measure help to
determine
whether the 21st century is one of security, peace, and prosperity for
the
American people. Our success in working with China as a partner in
building a
stable international order depends on establishing a productive
relationship that
will build sustained domestic support.

Our policy toward China is both principled and pragmatic: expanding
our areas of
cooperation while dealing forthrightly with our differences. Seeking
to isolate
China is clearly unworkable. Even our friends and allies around the
world would
not support us; we would succeed only in isolating ourselves and our
own policy.
More importantly, choosing isolation over engagement would not
make the world
safer. It would make it more dangerous. It would undermine rather
than
strengthen our efforts to foster stability in Asia and halt the
proliferation of
weapons of mass destruction. It would hinder the cause of democracy
and human
rights in China, set back worldwide efforts to protect the environment,
and cut
off one of the world's most important markets.

President Jiang Zemin's visit to the United States in October 1997-the
first
state visit by the President of China to the United States in twelve
years-marked
significant progress in the development of U.S.-PRC relations.
President
Clinton's reciprocal visit to Beijing in June 1998-the first state visit by
an
American president to China in this decade-further expanded and
strengthened our
relations. The two summits were important milestones toward
building a
constructive U.S.-China strategic partnership.

In their 1997 summit, the two Presidents agreed on a number of steps to strengthen cooperation in international affairs: establishing a Washington-Beijing presidential communications link to facilitate direct contact, regular presidential visits to each other's capitals, and regular exchanges of visits by cabinet and sub-cabinet officials to consult on political, military, security and arms control issues. They agreed to establish a consultation mechanism to strengthen military maritime safety-which will enable their maritime and air forces to avoid accidents, misunderstandings or miscalculations-and to hold discussions on humanitarian assistance and disaster relief. In their June 1998 meeting, they agreed to continue their regular summit meetings and to intensify the bilateral dialogue on security issues.

Arms control and non-proliferation issues were high on the agenda for 1998 summit, which expanded and strengthened the series of agreements that were reached at the 1997 summit. In Beijing, Presidents Clinton and Jiang announced that the United States and China will not target their strategic nuclear weapons at each other. They confirmed their common goal to halt the spread of weapons of mass destruction. We welcomed China's statement that it attaches importance to issues related to the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) and missile nonproliferation and that it has begun to actively study joining the MTCR. Our two nations will continue consultations on MTCR issues in 1998. Both sides agreed to further strengthen controls on the export of dual-use chemicals and related production equipment and technology to assure they are not used for production of chemical weapons, and China announced that it has expanded the list of chemical precursors which it controls. The two Presidents issued a joint statement calling for strengthening of the Biological Weapons Convention and

early conclusion of a protocol establishing a practical and effective compliance mechanism and improving transparency. They issued a joint statement affirming their commitment to ending the export and indiscriminate use of anti-personnel landmines and to accelerating global humanitarian demining. We also reached agreement with China on practices for end-use visits on U.S. high technology exports to China, which will establish a framework for such exports to China.

China is working with the United States on important regional security issues. In June 1998, China chaired a meeting of the permanent members of the UN Security Council to forge a common strategy for moving India and Pakistan away from a nuclear arms race. China condemned both countries for conducting nuclear tests and joined us in urging them to conduct no more tests, to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, to avoid deploying or testing missiles, and to work to resolve their differences through dialogue. At the 1998 summit, Presidents Clinton and Jiang issued a joint statement on their shared interest in a peaceful and stable South Asia and agreed to continue to coordinate their efforts to strengthen peace and stability in that region. On the Korean Peninsula, China has become a force for peace and stability, helping us to convince North Korea to freeze its dangerous nuclear program, playing a constructive role in the four-party peace talks.

The United States and China are working to strengthen cooperation in the field of law enforcement and mutual legal assistance, including efforts to combat international organized crime, narcotics trafficking, alien smuggling, illegal immigration, counterfeiting and money laundering. We have established a joint liaison group for law enforcement cooperation and assigned counternarcotics officers to each other's embassies in 1998.

Our key security objectives for the future include:

- * sustaining the strategic dialogue begun by the recent summits and other high-level exchanges;
- * enhancing stability in the Taiwan Strait through peaceful approaches to cross-Strait issues and encouraging dialogue between Beijing and Taipei;
- * strengthening China's adherence to international nonproliferation norms, particularly in its export controls on ballistic missile and dual use technologies;
- * achieving greater openness and transparency in China's military;
- * encouraging a constructive PRC role in international affairs through active cooperation in ARF, the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum (APEC) and the Northeast Asia Security Dialogue; and
- * improving law enforcement cooperation with PRC officials through increased liaison and training.

Southeast Asia

Our strategic interest in Southeast Asia centers on developing regional and bilateral security and economic relationships that assist in conflict prevention and resolution and expand U.S. participation in the region's economies. U.S. security objectives in the region are to maintain our security alliances with Australia, Thailand and the Philippines, to sustain security access arrangements with Singapore and other ASEAN countries, and to encourage the emergence of a strong, cohesive ASEAN capable of enhancing regional stability and prosperity.

Our policy combines two approaches: First, maintaining our increasingly productive relationship with ASEAN-especially our security dialogue under the

ARF. Second, pursuing bilateral initiatives with individual Southeast Asian nations to promote political stability, foster market-oriented economic reforms, and reduce or contain the effects of Asian organized crime, particularly the flow of heroin from Burma and other countries in the region.

Promoting Prosperity

A prosperous and open Asia Pacific is key to the economic health of the United States. On the eve of the recent financial problems in Asia, the 18 members of APEC contributed about one-half of total global gross domestic product and exports. Thirty percent of U.S. exports go to Asia, supporting millions of U.S. jobs, and we export more to Asia than Europe. In states like California, Oregon and Washington, exports to Asia account for more than half of each state's total exports. U.S. direct investments in Asia represent about one-fifth of total U.S. direct foreign investment.

Our economic objectives in East Asia include recovery from the recent financial crisis, continued progress within APEC toward liberalizing trade and investment, increased U.S. exports to Asian countries through market-opening measures and leveling the playing field for U.S. business, and WTO accession for China and Taiwan on satisfactory commercial terms. Opportunities for economic growth abound in Asia and underlie our strong commitment to multilateral economic cooperation, such as via the annual APEC leaders meetings.

Promoting sustainable development, protecting the environment and coping with the global problem of climate change are important for ensuring long-term prosperity in the Asia Pacific region. The Kyoto Agreement was a major step forward in controlling the greenhouse gases that are causing climate change, but its success depends on meaningful participation by key developing nations as well as the

industrialized nations of the world. Rapid economic growth in China and India make their participation essential to the global effort to control greenhouse gases.

The Asian Financial Crisis

Over the last decade, the global economy has entered a new era—an era of interdependence and opportunity. Americans have benefited greatly from the worldwide increase of trade and capital flows. This development has contributed to steady GNP growth, improvements in standards of living, more high paying jobs (particularly in export-oriented industries), and low inflation.

The United States has enormously important economic and national security interests at stake in East Asia. Prolonged economic distress and financial instability will have an adverse effect on U.S. exports to the region, the competitiveness of American companies, and the well being of American workers. There also is a risk that if the current crisis is left unchecked its effects could spread beyond East Asia. Simply put, we cannot afford to stand back in hopes that the crisis will resolve itself. When we act to help resolve the Asian financial crisis, we act to protect the well-being of the American people.

In the face of this challenge, our primary objective is to help stabilize the current financial situation. Our strategy has four key elements: support for economic reforms; working with international financial institutions to provide structural and humanitarian assistance; providing bilateral humanitarian aid and contingency bilateral financial assistance if needed; and urging strong policy actions by Japan and the other major economic powers to promote global growth.

We will continue to support South Korea, Thailand and Indonesia as they implement

economic reforms designed to foster financial stability and investor confidence in order to attract the capital flows required to restore economic growth. These reform programs have at their core restructuring the financial sector, promoting greater transparency in trade and investment laws and regulations, and ending policy-directed lending practices. All three nations face a difficult road ahead that will test their political will. The international community can continue to help ameliorate adverse consequences of the crisis, but only resolute action to keep to the agreed policy course will bring a resumption of sustained growth.

Although the Asian financial crisis is having a crippling effect, we believe the underlying fundamentals for economic recovery are good and are confident that full and vigorous implementation of economic reforms combined with the efforts of the international community will lead to the restoration of economic growth to the countries of the region. U.S. initiatives in APEC will open new opportunities for economic cooperation and permit U.S. companies to expand their involvement in substantial infrastructure planning and construction throughout the region. While our progress in APEC has been gratifying, we will explore options to encourage all Asia Pacific nations to pursue open markets.

The United States will continue to work with the IMF, the World Bank, other international financial institutions, the governments in East Asia and the private sector to help stabilize financial markets, restore investor confidence and achieve much-needed reforms in the troubled East Asian economies. Our goal is to help the region recover quickly and to build a solid, resilient foundation for future economic growth in the region.

China

Bringing the PRC more fully into the global trading system is manifestly in our

national interest. China is one of the fastest growing markets for our goods and services. As we look into the next century, our exports to China will support hundreds of thousands of jobs across our country. For this reason, we must continue our normal trade treatment for China, as every President has done since 1980, strengthening instead of undermining our economic relationship.

An important part of integrating China into the market-based world economic system is opening China's highly protected market through lower border barriers and removal of distorting restraints on economic activity. We have negotiated landmark agreements to combat piracy of intellectual property and advance the interests of our creative industries. We have also negotiated-and vigorously enforced-agreements on textile trade. At their 1997 and 1998 summits, President Clinton and President Jiang agreed to take a number of positive measures to expand U.S.-China trade and economic ties. We will continue to press China to open its markets (in goods, services and agriculture) as it engages in sweeping economic reform.

It is in our interest that China become a member of the WTO; however, we have been steadfast in leading the effort to ensure that China's accession to the WTO occurs on a commercial basis. China maintains many barriers that must be eliminated, and we need to ensure that necessary reforms are agreed to before accession occurs. At the 1997 summit, the two leaders agreed that China's full participation in the multilateral trading system is in their mutual interest. They agreed to intensify negotiations on market access, including tariffs, non-tariff measures, services, standards and agriculture, and on implementation of WTO principles so that China can accede to the WTO on a commercial basis at the earliest possible date. They reiterated their commitment to this

process in
their 1998 summit.

China has been a helpful partner in international efforts to stabilize the Asian financial crisis. In resisting the temptation to devalue its currency, China has seen that its own interests lie in preventing another round of competitive devaluations that would have severely damaged prospects for regional recovery. It has also contributed to the rescue packages for affected economies.

Japan

The Administration continues to make progress on increasing market access in Asia's largest economy. Since the beginning of the first Clinton Administration, the United States and Japan have reached 35 trade agreements designed to open Japanese markets in key sectors, including autos and auto parts, telecommunication s, civil aviation, insurance and glass. The Administration also has intensified efforts to monitor and enforce trade agreements with Japan to ensure that they are fully implemented. The United States also uses multilateral venues, such as WTO dispute settlement and negotiation of new multilateral agreements, to further open markets and accomplish our trade objectives with Japan.

During the period from 1993 to 1996, U.S. exports to Japan increased from \$47.9 billion to \$67.6 billion, and the bilateral trade deficit fell from \$59.4 billion to \$47.6 billion. The recent economic downturn in Japan, however, has reversed this positive trend with the bilateral trade deficit for the first four months 1998 already at \$20.8 billion, up 32 percent from the same period in 1996. Sustained global expansion and recovery in Asia cannot be achieved when the second largest economy in the world, accounting for more than half of Asian output, is in recession and has a weakened financial system.

Japan has a crucial role to play in Asia's economic recovery. Japan

must generate substantial growth to help maintain a growing world economy and absorb a growing share of imports from emerging markets. To do this Japan must reform its financial sector, stimulate domestic demand, deregulate its economy, and further open its markets to foreign goods and services. We look forward to substantial and effective actions to achieve a domestic demand-led recovery, to restore health to the financial sector and to make progress on deregulation and opening markets. Strong, immediate, tangible actions by the Japanese Government are vital to make Japan again an engine of growth and to help spur a broader economic recovery in Asia, as well as reinvigorate a critical market for U.S. goods and services.

South Korea

At their summit meeting in June 1998, President Clinton reaffirmed to President Kim that the United States will continue its strong support for his efforts to reform the Korean economy, liberalize trade and investment, strengthen the banking system and implement the IMF program. President Clinton reiterated our commitment to provide bilateral finance if needed under appropriate conditions. The two presidents discussed a number of concrete steps to promote growth in both our countries and explored ways to more fully open our markets and to further integrate the Republic of Korea into the global economy, including new discussions on a bilateral investment treaty. They also signed an Open Skies agreement which permits unrestricted air service between our two countries.

Thailand

Thailand, a key U.S. security partner in the region, also faces serious economic difficulties. The U.S. government continues to work with Thailand to ease

the strain of the financial crisis. We are taking concrete steps to lessen the financial burden of military programs, including decreasing the scope of military contacts such as visits and exercises, and looking for ways to reduce the impact of the crisis on security assistance programs. The Royal Thai armed forces have earned high marks for their stabilizing influence.

Promoting Democracy

Some have argued that democracy is unsuited for Asia or at least for some Asian nations-that human rights are relative and that Western support for international human rights standards simply mask a form of cultural imperialism. The democratic aspirations and achievements of the Asian peoples prove these arguments incorrect. We will continue to support those aspirations and to promote respect for human rights in all nations. Each nation must find its own form of democracy, and we respect the variety of democratic institutions that have emerged in Asia. But there is no cultural justification for tyranny, torture or denial of fundamental freedoms. Our strategy includes efforts to:

- * pursue a constructive, goal-oriented approach to achieving progress on human rights and rule of law issues with China;
- * foster a meaningful political dialogue between the ruling authorities in Burma and the democratic opposition;
- * work with the new government of Indonesia to promote improved respect for human rights, strengthened democratic processes and an internationally acceptable political solution in East Timor;
- * work with ASEAN to restore democracy to Cambodia and encourage greater respect for human rights; and

* achieve the fullest possible accounting of missing U.S. service members, promote greater respect for human rights in Vietnam, and press for full Vietnamese implementation of the Resettlement Opportunity for Vietnamese Returnees (ROVR) program.

The Western Hemisphere

Our hemisphere enters the twenty-first century with an unprecedented opportunity to secure a future of stability and prosperity-building on the fact that every nation in the hemisphere except Cuba is democratic and committed to free market economies. The end of armed conflict in Central America and other improvements in regional security have coincided with remarkable political and economic progress throughout the Americas. The people of the Americas are already taking advantage of the vast opportunities being created as emerging markets are connected through electronic commerce and as robust democracies allow individuals to more fully express their preferences. Sub-regional political, economic and security cooperation in North America, the Caribbean, Central America, the Andean region and the Southern Cone have contributed positively to peace and prosperity throughout the hemisphere. Equally important, the people of the Americas have reaffirmed their commitment to combat together the difficult new threats of narcotics and corruption. U.S. strategy is to secure the benefits of the new climate in the hemisphere while safeguarding the United States and our friends against these threats.

The 1994 Summit of the Americas in Miami produced hemispheric agreement to negotiate the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) and agreements on measures that included continued economic reform and enhanced cooperation on issues such as the environment, counternarcotics, money laundering and corruption.

Celebrating the region's embrace of democracy and free markets, that historic meeting committed the United States to a more cooperative relationship with the hemisphere. U.S. agencies have used the Miami Summit Action Plan to establish productive relationships and strengthen cooperation with their Latin American and Caribbean counterparts in a host of areas.

Our engagement with the hemisphere reached unprecedented levels in 1997 and 1998. In May 1997, President Clinton traveled to Mexico for a summit meeting with President Zedillo, then held summits with Central American leaders in Costa Rica and Caribbean leaders in Barbados, highlighting the importance of working with our neighbors to solve problems of great concern to Americans such as drugs, immigration and transnational crime. In October 1997, in Venezuela, Brazil and Argentina, the President underscored opportunities for cooperation with vibrant democracies and their fast growing markets.

This substantial engagement with the hemisphere at the beginning of the President's second term continued at the Second Summit of the Americas in Santiago, Chile in April 1998. At the Summit, the leaders of the hemisphere focused on the areas needed to prepare our citizens for the 21st century: education, democracy, economic integration and poverty relief.

Enhancing Security

The principal security concerns in the hemisphere are transnational in nature, such as drug trafficking, organized crime, money laundering, illegal immigration, and terrorism. In addition, our hemisphere is leading the way in recognizing the dangers to democracy produced by corruption and rule of law issues. These threats, especially narcotics, produce adverse social effects that undermine the sovereignty, democracy and national security of nations in the hemisphere.

We are striving to eliminate the scourge of drug trafficking in our hemisphere.

At the Santiago Summit, the assembled leaders launched a Multilateral Counterdrug

Alliance to better organize and coordinate efforts in the hemisphere to stem the

production and distribution of drugs. The centerpiece of this alliance will be a

mechanism to evaluate each member country's progress in achieving their agreed

counternarcotics goals. Summit leaders also agreed to improve cooperation on

extraditing and prosecuting individuals charged with narcotics trafficking and

related crimes; strengthen efforts against money laundering and forfeiture of

assets used in criminal activity; reinforce international and national mechanisms

to halt illicit traffic and diversion of chemical precursors; enhance national

programs for fostering greater awareness of the dangers of drug abuse, preventing

illicit drug consumption and providing treatment, rehabilitation and reintegration; and eliminate illicit crops through national alternative development programs, eradication and interdiction.

We are also pursuing a number of bilateral and regional counternarcotics

initiatives. As part of our partnership with Mexico, we are striving to increase

counterdrug and law enforcement cooperation, while in the Caribbean we are

intensifying a coordinated effort on counternarcotics and law enforcement. The

reduction in trade barriers resulting from the North American Free Trade

Agreement (NAFTA) allows more inspection resources to be directed to thwarting

attempts by organized crime to exploit the expanding volume of trade for

increased drug smuggling.

The Santiago Summit addressed other transnational security concerns as well.

Summit leaders called for the rapid ratification and entry into force of the 1997

Inter-American Convention to Combat the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking

in Firearms, Ammunition Explosives and Related Material. They also

agreed to encourage states to accede to the international conventions related to terrorism and convene, under the auspices of the OAS, the Second Specialized Inter-American Conference to evaluate the progress attained and to define future courses of action for the prevention, combat and elimination of terrorism.

We are advancing regional security cooperation through bilateral security dialogues, multilateral efforts in the Organization of American States (OAS) and Summit of the Americas on transparency and regional confidence and security building measures, exercises and exchanges with key militaries (principally focused on peacekeeping), and regular Defense Ministerials. Working with Argentina, Brazil and Chile, the other three guarantor nations of the Peru-Ecuador peace process, the United States has brought the parties closer to a permanent solution to this decades-old border dispute, the resolution of which is important to regional stability. The Military Observer Mission, Ecuador-Peru (MOMEPE), composed of the four guarantor nations, successfully separated the warring factions, created the mutual confidence and security among the guarantor nations. The U.S. sponsored multilateral military exercise focused on combating drug trafficking, supporting disaster relief (particularly important because of the El Nino phenomenon) and participation in international peacekeeping. It has spurred unprecedented exercises among neighboring countries in Central America and the Southern Cone. Additionally, the Southern Cone has increasingly shared the burden of international peacekeeping operations. The Santiago Summit tasked the OAS to expand topics relating to confidence and security building measures with the goal of convening a Special Conference on Security by the beginning of the next decade. Several countries in the region have joined our call to promote transparency by publishing white papers on defense. Our efforts to encourage

multilateral cooperation are enhancing confidence and security within the region and will help expand our cooperative efforts to combat the transnational threats to the Western Hemisphere, particularly in Columbia where social, political and criminal violence is spilling across borders. We are also working to ensure successful transfer of stewardship of the Panama Canal to the Panamanian people.

In light of the advances in democratic stability throughout Latin America and mindful of the need for restraint, the Administration has moved to case-by-case consideration of requests for advanced conventional arms transfers, on par with other areas of the world. Such requests will be reviewed in a way that will serve our objectives of promoting defense cooperation, restraint in arms acquisition and military budgets, and an increased focus on peacekeeping, counternarcotics efforts and disaster relief.

Promoting Prosperity

Economic growth and integration in the Americas will profoundly affect the prosperity of the United States in the 21st century. Latin America has become the fastest growing economic region in the world and our fastest growing export market. In 1998, our exports to Latin America and the Caribbean are expected to exceed those to the EU.

Building on the vision articulated at Miami in 1994 and the groundwork laid by trade ministers over the last four years, the Santiago Summit launched formal negotiations to initiate the FTAA by 2005. The negotiations will cover a broad range of important issues, including market access, investment, services, government procurement, dispute settlement, agriculture, intellectual property rights, competition policy, subsidies, anti-dumping and countervailing duties. A Committee on Electronic Commerce will explore the implications of

electronic commerce for the design of the FTAA, and a Committee on Civil Society will provide a formal mechanism for labor, business, consumer, environmental and other non-government organizations to make recommendations on the negotiations so that all citizens can benefit from trade. Governments also will cooperate on promoting core labor standards recognized by the International Labor Organization. We seek to advance the goal of an integrated hemisphere of free market democracies by consolidating NAFTA's gains and obtaining Congressional Fast Track trade agreement implementing authority. Since the creation of NAFTA, our exports to Mexico have risen significantly while the Agreement helped stabilize Mexico through its worst financial crisis in modern history. Considering that Mexico has now become our second-largest export market, it is imperative that its economy remain open to the United States and NAFTA helps to ensure that. We will continue working with Mexico and interested private parties to continue the mutually beneficial trade with our largest trading partner and neighbor to the north, Canada. We are also committed to delivering on the President's promise to negotiate a comprehensive free trade agreement with Chile because of its extraordinary economic performance and its active role in promoting hemispheric economic integration.

While we support the freer flow of goods and investment, there is also reason to be sensitive to the concerns of smaller economies during the period of transition to the global economy of the 21st century. To address this problem, and in light of the increased competition NAFTA presents to Caribbean trade, we will seek Congressional approval to provide enhanced trade benefits under the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI) to help prepare that region for participation in the FTAA. With the assistance of institutions such as OPIC, we will encourage

the private sector to take the lead in developing small and medium-sized businesses in the Caribbean through the increased flow of investment capital. We must also encourage Caribbean countries and territories to implement programs to attract foreign and domestic investment.

At the Santiago Summit, the hemisphere's leaders reaffirmed that all citizens must participate in the opportunities and prosperity created by free market democracy. They pledged to ensure access to financial services for a significant number of the 50 million micro, small and medium size enterprises in the hemisphere by the year 2000, to work with multilateral institutions and regional organizations to invest about \$400-500 million over the next three years, and to streamline and decentralize property registration and titling procedures and assure access to justice for the poor. Governments will enhance participation by promoting core labor standards recognized by the ILO, strengthening gender equity, working to eliminate exploitative child labor, negotiating a new Declaration of Principles on Fundamental Rights of Workers, and promoting education and training for indigenous populations. To improve quality of life, Summit leaders pledged to pursue elimination of measles by the year 2000 and reduce the incidence of diseases such as pneumonia and mumps by the year 2002, to strengthen regional networks of health information such as through telemedicine, to give highest priority to reducing infant malnutrition, and to strengthen cooperation to implement Santa Cruz Sustainable Development Plan of Action.

Promoting Democracy

Many Latin American nations have made tremendous advances in democracy and economic progress over the last several years. But our ability to sustain the

hemispheric agenda depends in part on meeting the challenges posed by weak democratic institutions, persistently high unemployment and crime rates, and serious income disparities. In some Latin American countries, citizens will not fully realize the benefits of political liberalization and economic growth without regulatory, judicial, law enforcement and educational reforms, as well as increased efforts to integrate all members of society into the formal economy.

At the Santiago Summit, the hemisphere's leaders reaffirmed their commitment to strengthening democracy, justice and human rights. They agreed to intensify efforts to promote democratic reforms at the regional and local level, protect the rights of migrant workers and their families, improve the capabilities and competence of civil and criminal justice systems, and encourage a strong and active civil society. They pledged to promptly ratify the Inter-American Convention Against Corruption to strengthen the integrity of governmental institutions. They supported the creation of a Special Rapporteur for Freedom of Expression as part of the Inter-American Commission for Human Rights. The Rapporteur will help resolve human rights cases involving the press and focus international attention on attacks against the hemisphere's emerging Fourth Estate, as their investigative reporting provokes increasing threats from drug traffickers and other criminal elements. Summit leaders also agreed to establish an Inter-American Justice Studies Center to facilitate training of personnel, to exchange of information and other forms of technical cooperation to improve judicial systems, to end impunity, combat corruption and provide protection from rising domestic and international crime, and to create a secure legal environment for trade and investment.

The hemisphere's leaders agreed at the Santiago Summit that

education is the centerpiece of reforms aimed at making democracy work for all the people of the Americas. The Summit Action Plan adopted at Santiago will build on the achievements of the 1994 Miami Summit. It will advance numerous cooperative efforts based on the guiding principles of equity, quality, relevance and efficiency. The Santiago Plan's targets are to ensure by the year 2010 primary education for 100% of children and access to quality secondary education for at least 75% of young people. The plan also includes solid commitments to finance schools, textbooks, teacher training, technology for education, to create education partnerships between the public and private sectors, to use technology to link schools across national boundaries and to increase international exchanges of students.

We are also seeking to strengthen norms for defense establishments that are supportive of democracy, transparency, respect for human rights and civilian control in defense matters. Through continued engagement with regional armed forces, facilitated by our own modest military activities and presence in the region, we are helping to transform civil-military relations. Through initiatives such as the Defense Ministerial of the Americas and the Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies, we are increasing civilian expertise in defense affairs and reinforcing the positive trend in civilian control.

Haiti and Cuba are of special concern to the United States. The restoration of democracy in Haiti remains a positive example for the hemisphere. In Haiti we continue to support respect for human rights and economic growth by a Haitian government capable of managing its own security and paving the way for a fair presidential election in 2000. Our efforts to train law enforcement officers in Haiti have transformed the police from a despised and feared instrument of

repression to an accountable public safety agency. We are committed to working with our partners in the region and in the international community to meet the challenge of institutionalizing Haiti's economic and political development. Haiti will benefit from a Caribbean-wide acceleration of growth and investment,

stimulated in part by enhancement of CBI benefits. The United States remains committed to promoting a peaceful transition to democracy in Cuba and forestalling a mass exodus that would endanger the lives of migrants and the security of our borders. While maintaining pressure on the regime to make political and economic reforms, we continue to encourage the emergence of a civil society to assist the transition to democracy when the change comes. In March 1998, President Clinton announced a number of measures designed to build on the success of the Pope's January 1998 visit to Cuba, expand the role of the Catholic Church and other elements of civil society, and increase humanitarian assistance. As the Cuban people feel greater incentive to take charge of their own future, they are more likely to stay at home and build the informal and formal structures that will make transition easier. Meanwhile, we remain firmly committed to bilateral migration accords that ensure migration in safe, legal and orderly channels.

The Middle East, Southwest and South Asia

The May 1998 Indian and Pakistani nuclear tests clearly illustrate that a wide range of events in this region can have a significant impact on key U.S. security objectives. Choices made in the Middle East, Southwest and South Asia will determine whether terrorists operating in and from the region are denied the support they need to perpetrate their crimes, whether weapons of mass destruction will imperil the region and the world, whether the oil and gas fields of the

Caucasus and Central Asia become reliable energy sources, whether the opium harvest in Afghanistan is eliminated, and whether a just and lasting peace can be established between Israel and the Arab countries.

Enhancing Security

The United States has enduring interests in pursuing a just, lasting and comprehensive Middle East peace, ensuring the security and well-being of Israel, helping our Arab friends provide for their security, and maintaining the free flow of oil at reasonable prices. Our strategy reflects those interests and the unique characteristics of the region as we work to extend the range of peace and stability.

The Middle East Peace Process

An historic transformation has taken place in the political landscape of the Middle East: peace agreements are taking hold, requiring concerted implementation efforts. The United States-as an architect and sponsor of the peace process-has a clear national interest in seeing the process deepen and widen to include all Israel's neighbors. We will continue our steady, determined leadership-standing with those who take risks for peace, standing against those who would destroy it, lending our good offices where we can make a difference and helping bring the concrete benefits of peace to people's daily lives. Future progress will require movement in the following areas:

- * continued Israeli-Palestinian engagement on remaining issues in the Interim Agreement, and negotiation of permanent status issues;
- * resuming Israeli-Syrian and Israeli-Lebanese negotiations with the objective of achieving peace treaties; and
- * normalization of relations between Arab states and Israel.

Southwest Asia

In Southwest Asia, the United States remains focused on deterring threats to regional stability, countering threats posed by WMD and protecting the security of our regional partners, particularly from Iraq and Iran. We will continue to encourage members of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) to work closely on collective defense and security arrangements, help individual GCC states meet their appropriate defense requirements and maintain our bilateral defense agreements.

We will maintain an appropriate military presence in Southwest Asia using a combination of ground, air and naval forces. As a result of the confrontation with Iraq in late 1997 and early 1998 over to Iraqi interference with UN inspection teams, we increased our continuous military presence in the Gulf to back our on-going efforts to bring Iraq into compliance with UN Security Council resolutions. Our forces in the Gulf are backed by our ability to rapidly reinforce the region in time of crisis, which we demonstrated convincingly in late 1997 and early 1998. We remain committed to enforcing the no-fly zones over northern and southern Iraq, which are essential for implementing the UN resolutions and preventing Saddam from taking large scale military action against Kuwait or the Kurd and Shia minorities in Iraq.

We would like to see Iraq's reintegration into the international community; however, we have made clear that Iraq must comply with all relevant UN Security Council resolutions. Saddam Hussein must cease the cynical manipulation of UN humanitarian programs and cooperate with Security Council Resolution 1153, which authorizes increased humanitarian assistance to the people of Iraq. Iraq must also move from its posture of deny, delay and obscure to a posture of cooperation and compliance with the UN Security Council resolutions designed to

rid Iraq of WMD and their delivery systems. Iraq must also comply with the memorandum of understanding reached with UN Secretary General Kofi Annan in February 1998. Our policy is directed not against the people of Iraq but against the aggressive behavior of the government. Until that behavior changes, our goal is containing the threat Saddam Hussein poses to Iraq's neighbors, the free flow of Gulf oil and broader U.S. interests in the Middle East.

Our policy toward Iran is aimed at changing the behavior of the Iranian government in several key areas, including its efforts to obtain weapons of mass destruction and long-range missiles, its support for terrorism and groups that violently oppose the peace process, its attempts to undermine friendly governments in the region, and its development of offensive military capabilities that threaten our GCC partners and the flow of oil.

There are signs of change in Iranian policies. In December 1997, Iranian officials welcomed Chairman Arafat to the Islamic Summit in Tehran and said that, although they did not agree with the peace process, they would not seek to impose their views and would accept what the Palestinians could accept. In January 1998, President Khatemi publicly denounced terrorism and condemned the killing of innocent Israelis. Iran's record in the war against drugs has greatly improved and it has received high marks from the UN for its treatment of more than two million Iraqi and Afghan refugees. Iran is participating in diplomatic efforts to bring peace and stability to Afghanistan and is making a welcome effort to improve relations with its neighbors in the Gulf. We view these developments with interest, both with regard to the possibility of Iran assuming its rightful place in the world community and the chance for better bilateral ties. We also welcome statements by President Khatemi that suggest a possibility of dialogue with the United States, and are taking concrete

steps in that direction. This month, we implemented a new, more streamlined procedure for issuing visas to Iranians who travel to the United States frequently. We also revised our Consular Travel Warning for Iran so that it better reflects current attitudes in Iran towards American visitors. We have supported cultural and academic exchanges, and facilitated travel to the United States by many Iranians.

However, these positive signs must be balanced against the reality that Iran's support for terrorism has not yet ceased, serious violations of human rights persist, its efforts to develop long range missiles, including the 1,300 kilometer-range Shahab-3 it flight tested in July 1998, and its efforts to acquire WMD continue. The United States will continue to oppose any country selling or transferring to Iran materials and technologies that could be used to develop long-range missiles or weapons of mass destruction. Similarly, we oppose Iranian efforts to sponsor terror.

We are ready to explore further ways to build mutual confidence and avoid misunderstandings with Iran. We will strengthen our cooperation with allies to encourage positive changes in Iranian behavior. If a dialogue can be initiated and sustained in a way that addresses the concerns of both sides, then the United States would be willing to develop with the Islamic Republic a road map leading to normal relations.

South Asia

South Asia has experienced an important expansion of democracy and economic reform. Our strategy is designed to help the peoples of that region enjoy the fruits of democracy and greater stability by helping resolve long-standing conflict and implementing confidence-building measures. Regional stability and

improved bilateral ties are also important for U.S. economic interests in a region that contains a fifth of the world's population and one of its most important emerging markets. We seek to establish relationships with India and Pakistan that are defined in terms of their own individual merits and reflect the full weight and range of U.S. strategic, political and economic interests in each country. In addition, we seek to work closely with regional countries to stem the flow of illegal drugs from South Asia, most notably from Afghanistan.

The United States has long urged India and Pakistan to take steps to reduce the risk of conflict and to bring their nuclear and missile programs into conformity with international standards. The Indian and Pakistani nuclear test explosions were unjustified and threaten to spark a dangerous nuclear arms race in Asia. As a result of those tests and in accordance with our laws the United States imposed sanctions against India and Pakistan. The sanctions include termination of assistance except for humanitarian assistance for food or other agricultural commodities; termination of sales of defense articles or services; termination of foreign military financing; denial of non-agricultural credit, credit guarantees or other financial assistance by any agency of the U.S. Government; prohibiting U.S. banks from making any loan or providing any credit to the governments of India and Pakistan except for the purpose of purchasing food or other agricultural commodities; and prohibiting export of specific goods and technology subject to export licensing by the Commerce Department.

India and Pakistan are contributing to a self-defeating cycle of escalation that does not add to the security of either country. They have put themselves at odds with the international community over these nuclear tests. In concert with the other permanent members of the UN Security Council and the G-8 nations, the

United States has called on both nations to renounce further nuclear tests, to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty immediately and without conditions, and to resume their direct dialogue and take decisive steps to reduce tensions in South Asia. We also strongly urge these states to refrain from any actions, such as testing, deployment or weaponization of ballistic missiles, that would further undermine regional and global stability. And we urge them to join the clear international consensus in support of nonproliferation and to join in negotiations in Geneva for a cut off of fissile material production.

Promoting Prosperity

The United States has two principle economic objectives in the region: to promote regional economic cooperation and development, and to ensure unrestricted flow of oil from the region. We seek to promote regional trade and cooperation on infrastructure through the multilateral track of the peace process, including revitalization of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) economic summits.

The United States depends on oil for about 40 percent of its primary energy needs and roughly half of our oil needs are met with imports. Although we import less than 10% of Persian Gulf exports, our allies in Europe and Japan account for about 85% of these exports. Previous oil shocks and the Gulf War underscore the strategic importance of the region and show the impact that an interruption of oil supplies can have on the world's economy. Appropriate responses to events such as Iraq's invasion of Kuwait can limit the magnitude of the crisis. Over the longer term, U.S. dependence on access to these and other foreign oil sources will remain important as our reserves are depleted. The United States must remain vigilant to ensure unrestricted access to this critical resource. Thus, we will continue to demonstrate U.S. commitment and resolve in the Persian

Gulf.

Promoting Democracy

We encourage the spread of democratic values throughout the Middle East and

Southwest and South Asia and will pursue this objective by a constructive

dialogue with countries in the region. In Iran, for example, we hope the

nation's leaders will carry out the people's mandate for a government that

respects and protects the rule of law, both in its internal and external affairs.

We will promote responsible indigenous moves toward increasing political

participation and enhancing the quality of governance and will continue to

vigorously challenge many governments in the region to improve their human rights

records. Respect for human rights also requires rejection of terrorism. If the

nations in the region are to safeguard their own citizens from the threat of

terror, they cannot tolerate acts of indiscriminate violence against civilians,

nor can they offer refuge to those who commit such acts.

U.S. policies in the Middle East and Southwest Asia are not anti-Islamic-an

allegation made by some opponents of our efforts to help bring lasting peace and

stability to the region. Islam is the fastest-growing religious faith in the

United States. We respect deeply its moral teachings and its role as a source of

inspiration and instruction for hundreds of millions of people around the world.

U.S. policy in the region is directed at the actions of governments and terrorist

groups, not peoples or faiths. The standards we would like all the nations in

the region to observe are not merely Western, but universal.

Africa

In recent years, the United States has supported significant change in Africa

with considerable success: multi-party democracies are more common and elections

are more frequent and open, human rights are more widely respected, the press is more free, U.S.-Africa trade is expanding, and a pragmatic consensus on the need for economic reform is emerging. A new, post-colonial generation of leadership is reaching maturity in Africa, with more democratic and pragmatic approaches to solving their countries' problems and developing their human and natural resources.

To further those successes, President Clinton made an unprecedented 12-day trip to Africa in March-April 1998. With President Museveni of Uganda, he co-hosted the Entebbe Summit for Peace and Prosperity to advance cooperation on conflict prevention, human rights and economic integration. The summit was attended by Prime Minister Meles of Ethiopia, Presidents Moi of Kenya, Mkapa of Tanzania, Bizimungu of Rwanda and Kabila of Congo. During the trip, the President unveiled a number of new programs to support democracy, prosperity and opportunity, including initiatives on education, rule of law, food security, trade and investment, aviation, and conflict resolution. President Clinton directly addressed the violent conflicts that have threatened African democracy and prosperity.

Sustaining our success in Africa will require that we identify those issues that most directly affect our interests and where we can make a difference through efficient targeting of our resources. A key challenge is to engage the remaining autocratic regimes to encourage those countries to follow the example of other African countries that are success-fully implementing political and economic reforms.

Enhancing Security

Serious transnational security threats emanate from pockets of Africa, including

state-sponsored terrorism, narcotics trafficking, international crime, environmental damage and disease. These threats can only be addressed through effective, sustained engagement in Africa. We have already made significant progress in countering some of these threats-investing in efforts to combat environmental damage and disease, leading international efforts to halt the proliferation of land mines and the demining of Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Rwanda, Ethiopia and Eritrea. We continue efforts to reduce the flow of narcotics through Africa and to curtail international criminal activity based in Africa. We seek to keep Africa free of weapons of mass destruction by supporting South Africa's nuclear disarmament and accession to the NPT as a non-nuclear weapon state, securing the indefinite and unconditional extension of the NPT, and promoting establishment of the African Nuclear Weapons Free Zone.

Libya and Sudan continue to pose a threat to regional stability and the national security and foreign policy interests of the United States. Our policy toward Libya is designed to block its efforts to obtain weapons of mass destruction and development of conventional military capabilities that threaten its neighbors, and to compel Libya to cease its support for terrorism and its attempts to undermine other governments in the region. The government of Libya has continued these activities despite calls by the Security Council that it demonstrate by concrete actions its renunciation of terrorism. Libya also continues to defy the United Nations by refusing to turn over the two defendants in the terrorist bombing of Pan Am 103. We remain determined that the perpetrators of this act and the attack on UTA 772 be brought to justice. We have moved to counter Sudan's support for international terrorism and regional destabilization by imposing comprehensive sanctions on the Khartoum regime, continuing to press for the regime's isolation through the UN Security Council, and

enhancing the ability of Sudan's neighbors to resist Khartoum-backed insurgencies in their countries through our Frontline States initiative.

Persistent conflict and continuing political instability in some African countries remain chronic obstacles to Africa's development and to U.S. interests there, including unhampered access to oil and other vital natural resources. Our efforts to resolve conflict include working to fully implement the Lusaka Accords in Angola, sustaining the fragile new government in Liberia, supporting the recently restored democratic government in Sierra Leone and the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) efforts to ensure security there, and achieving a peaceful, credible transition to democratic government in Nigeria, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Congo-Brazzaville.

To foster regional efforts to promote prosperity, stability and peace in Africa, the United States in 1996 launched the African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI) to work with Africans to enhance their capacity to conduct effective peacekeeping and humanitarian operations. We are coordinating with the French, British, other donor countries and African governments in developing a sustainable plan of action. The United States has already trained battalions from Uganda, Senegal, Malawi, Mali and Ghana, and is planning to train troops in Benin and Cote D'Ivoire later this year. We are consulting closely on ACRI activity with the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and its Crisis Management Center, and African sub-regional organizations already pursuing similar capacity enhancements. We hope and expect that other African countries will also participate in the effort in the future, building a well-trained, interoperable, local capacity for peacekeeping and humanitarian operations in a region that has been fraught with turbulence and crisis

and all
too dependent upon outside assistance to deal with these problems.

On April 1, 1998, President Clinton announced that the United States will be establishing the African Center for Security Studies (ACSS). The ACSS will be a regional center modeled after the George C. Marshall Center in Germany, designed in consultation with African nations and intended to promote the exchange of ideas and information tailored specifically for African concerns. The goal is for ACSS to be a source of academic yet practical instruction in promoting the skills necessary to make effective national security decisions in democratic governments, and engage African military and civilian defense leaders in a substantive dialogue about defense policy planning in democracies.

Promoting Prosperity

A stable, democratic, prosperous Africa will be a better economic partner, a better partner for security and peace, and a better partner in the fights against drug trafficking, crime, terrorism, disease and environmental degradation. An economically dynamic Africa will be possible only when Africa is fully integrated into the global economy. Our aim, therefore, is to assist African nations to implement economic reforms, create favorable climates for trade and investment, and achieve sustainable development. A majority of sub-Saharan Africa's 48 countries have adopted market-oriented economic and political reforms in the past seven years.

To support this positive trend, the President has proposed the Partnership for Economic Growth and Opportunity in Africa to support the economic transformation underway in Africa. The Administration is working closely with Congress to implement key elements of this initiative through rapid passage of the African Growth and Opportunity Act. By significantly broadening market

access, spurring growth in Africa and helping the poorest nations eliminate or reduce their bilateral debt, this bill will better enable us to help African nations undertake difficult economic reforms and build better lives for their people through sustainable growth and development.

Further integrating Africa into the global economy has obvious political and economic benefits. It will also directly serve U.S. interests by continuing to expand an already important new market for U.S. exports. The more than 700 million people of sub-Saharan Africa represent one of the world's largest largely untapped markets. Although the United States enjoys only a seven percent market share in Africa, already 100,000 American jobs depend on our exports there. Increasing both the U.S. market share and the size of the African market will bring tangible benefits to U.S. workers and increase prosperity and economic opportunity in Africa. To encourage U.S. trade with and investment in Africa, we are pursuing several new initiatives and enhancements to the Partnership for Economic Growth and Opportunity, including greater market access, targeted technical assistance, enhanced bilateral and World Bank debt relief, and increased bilateral trade ties.

To further our trade objectives in Africa, the President inaugurated the Ron Brown Commercial Center in Johannesburg, South Africa on March 28, 1998. The Center, which is operated and funded by the Department of Commerce, provides support for American companies looking to enter or expand into the sub-Saharan African market. It promotes U.S. exports through a range of support programs and facilitates business contacts and partnerships between African and American businesses. The Center also serves as a base for other agencies such as the Export-Import Bank, the Trade Development Agency and USTR to

expand their
assistance to business.

Because safe air travel and secure airports are necessary for increasing trade, attracting investment, and expanding tourism, the President on April 1, 1998 announced the "Safe Skies for Africa" initiative. The goals of this \$1.2 million program-funded by the Departments of State and Transportation-are to work in partnership with Africa to increase the number of sub-Saharan African countries that meet ICAO standards for aviation safety, improve security at 8-12 airports in the region within 3 years, and improve regional air navigation services in Africa by using modern satellite-based navigation aids and communications technology. The initiative focuses on safety assessments and security surveys in selected countries and formulating action plans together with Africa civil aviation authorities to bring aviation safety and security practices in Africa up to accepted world standards.

To support the desire of African nations to invest in a better and healthier future for their children, the President on March 24, 1998 announced three new initiatives to improve educational standards, ensure adequate food and agricultural production, and fight the deadly infectious diseases that claim the lives of too many African children.

* The Education for Development and Democracy Initiative seeks to boost African integration into the global community by improving the quality of, and technology for, education in Africa. The initiative is centered on community resource centers, public-private partnerships, and educating and empowering girls. We plan on spending approximately \$120 million over two years in support of this initiative.

* The Africa Food Security Initiative will assist African nations in

strengthening agriculture and food security in a number of key areas, including production of healthy and alternative crops, better market efficiency and distribution of existing crops, increased trade and investment in agricultural industries, attacking crop diseases, and increasing access to agricultural technology systems to assist with increased crop production and distribution.

Our pilot budget for the first two years of the initiative will be \$61 million, which complements USAID's current investments in these efforts.

* The third initiative is combating the infectious diseases that claim many young lives. To help combat malaria, we will provide an additional \$1 million grant to provide further assistance to the Multilateral Initiative on Malaria. The grant will focus on continuing educational seminars and will support the Regional Malaria Lab in Mali to reinforce its position as a regional center of excellence in Africa. This effort will complement our ongoing Infectious Disease Initiative for Africa that focuses on surveillance, response, prevention and building local resistance to infectious diseases.

Promoting Democracy

In Africa as elsewhere, democracies have proved more peaceful, stable and reliable partners with which we can work and are more likely to pursue sound economic policies. We will continue to work to sustain the important progress Africans have achieved to date and to broaden the growing circle of African democracies.

Restoration of democracy and respect for human rights in Nigeria has long been one of our major objectives in Africa. In June 1998, President Clinton reaffirmed to Nigeria's new leadership the friendship of the United States for the people of Nigeria and underscored our desire for improved bilateral relations in the context of Nigeria taking swift and

significant steps toward a successful transition to a democratically elected civilian government that respects the human rights of its citizens. The release

of some political prisoners by the Nigerian government is an encouraging sign, but much more needs to be done and the United States will continue to press for a credible transition to a democratic, civilian government.

Through President Clinton's \$30 million Great Lakes Justice Initiative, the United States will work with both the people and governments of the Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda and Burundi to support judicial systems which are impartial, credible, effective and inclusive. This initiative seeks to strengthen judicial bodies, such as relevant Ministries of Justice and Interior; improve the functioning of court systems, prosecutors, police and prison systems; work with national officials on specific problem areas such as creation of civilian police forces and legal assistance programs; support training programs for police and judiciary officials; develop improved court administration systems; provide human rights training for military personnel and support prosecution of abuses perpetrated by military personnel; demobilize irregular elements of standing armies and reintegrate them into society and programs; and demobilize child soldiers.

In addition, we will work with our allies to find an effective formula for promoting stability, democracy and respect for human rights in the Democratic Republic of Congo so that it and a democratic Nigeria can become the regional centers for economic growth, and democratic empowerment that they can and should be. In order to help post-apartheid South Africa achieve its economic, political, democratic and security goals for all its citizens, we will continue to provide substantial bilateral assistance, vigorously promote U.S. trade and investment, and pursue close cooperation and support for our mutual

interests and
goals through the versatile Binational Commission chaired by the
Vice Presidents
of each country.

Ultimately, the prosperity and security of Africa depends on extensive
political
and economic reform, and it is in the U.S. interest to support and
promote such
reforms.

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IV. Conclusions

Today, on the brink of the twenty-first century, we are building new
frameworks,
partnerships and institutions-and adapting existing ones-to strengthen
America's
security and prosperity. We are working to construct new cooperative
security
arrangements, rid the world of weapons that target whole populations,
build a
truly global economy, and promote democratic values and economic
reform. Because
diplomatic and military responses alone may not deter threats to our
national
security from non-state actors such as criminals and terrorist groups,
we must
promote increased cooperation among law enforcement officials and
improved
methods for dealing with international crime and terrorism. Ours is a
moment of
historic opportunity to create a safer, more prosperous tomorrow-to
make a
difference in the lives of our citizens.

This promising state of affairs did not just happen, and there is no guarantee that it will endure. The contemporary era was forged by steadfast American leadership over the last half century-through efforts such as the Marshall Plan, NATO, the United Nations and the World Bank. The clear dangers of the past made the need for national security commitments and expenditures obvious to the American people. Today, the task of mobilizing public support for national security priorities is more complicated. The complex array of unique dangers, opportunities and responsibilities outlined in this strategy are not always readily apparent as we go about our daily lives focused on immediate concerns. Yet, in a more integrated and interdependent world, we must remain actively engaged in world affairs to successfully advance our national interests. To be secure and prosperous, America must continue to lead.

Our international leadership focuses on President Clinton's strategic priorities: to foster regional efforts led by the community of democratic nations to promote peace and prosperity in key regions of the world, to create more jobs and opportunities for Americans through a more open and competitive trading system that also benefits others around the world, to increase cooperation in confronting new security threats that defy borders and unilateral solutions, and to strengthen the intelligence, military, diplomatic and law enforcement tools necessary to meet these challenges. Our international leadership is ultimately founded upon the power of our democratic ideals and values. The spread of democracy supports American values and enhances our security and prosperity. The United States will continue to support the trend toward democracy and free markets by remaining actively engaged in the world.

Our engagement abroad requires the active, sustained support of the American

people and the bipartisan support of the U.S. Congress. This Administration remains committed to explaining our security interests, objectives and priorities to the nation and seeking the broadest possible public and congressional support for our security programs and investments. We will continue to exercise our leadership in the world in a manner that reflects our national values and protects the security of this great nation.

59

DRAFT

Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 12/10/98 8:50:51 AM
FROM Widmer, Edward L. (Ted)
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT UDHR--final [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Bernard, Kenneth W.
Busby, Scott W.
Denniston, Richard L.
Guarnieri, Valerie N.
Hawley, Leonard R.
Hill, Roseanne M.
Kale, Dora A.
Malley, Robert
Moller, Catherine A.
Naplan, Steven J.
Schwartz, Eric P.
Wippman, David

CARBON_COPY @SPEECH - NSC Speechwriters
Blinken, Antony J.
Gobush, Matthew N.
Gray, Wendy E.
Halperin, David E.
Malinowski, Tomasz P.
Widmer, Edward L. (Ted)
Rudman, Mara E.
Bader, Jeffrey A.

TEXT_BODY

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT UDHRbig.doc
12/10/98 8:40 am Widmer

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS AT 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF
UNIVERSAL DECLARATION
OF HUMAN RIGHTS
THE WHITE HOUSE
DECEMBER 10, 1998

[acknowledgments: First Lady; National Security Adviser Berger; Undersecretary Loy; Assistant Secretary Koh; members of Congress, members of the Roosevelt family; Amb. Nancy Rubin (Amb. to UN Commission on Human Rights), Theresa Loar (Sr. Coordinator for Intl. Women's Issues); members of the human rights community; distinguished guests]

Fifty years ago, at a meeting in Paris, the United Nations General Assembly voted to approve the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It signaled a watershed moment for the young UN ... and a new chapter in a much older story ... the story of humanity striving to realize its great potential.

The Universal Declaration was bold for its time, and it is bold for our time. Like all great breakthroughs, it was an act of imagination and courage, an opening of the heart and the mind. With spare elegance, it served notice that for all our differences, we share a common birthright of freedom. It was not easy to affirm faith in mankind's future in 1948 ... three years after a cataclysmic war and holocaust ... as a Cold War was beginning to blight the postwar landscape. But this document - the Magna Carta of Humankind - did just that.

Article One states "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood." There are no commas or parentheses in these sentences - no qualifications or exceptions - just the power of affirmation. Other articles assert the freedom to worship, to work, to assemble, to participate in a life of meaning and purpose. These are still words to stand by. They have been translated into every language of the United Nations. They

resonate everywhere on Earth that human dignity is under siege.

The Declaration owed a great deal to the remarkable woman who presided over its drafting. Eleanor Roosevelt rose to every challenge, defending American idealism ... honestly admitting our own imperfections ... and always calling on the best each delegate had to offer. A delegate from Panama grew so exhausted by the pace Mrs. Roosevelt was setting that she had to be reminded that delegates have human rights, too.

Today, we celebrate the life of this document and lives it has saved and enhanced. For fifty years, we have been trying to catch up to the Universal Declaration. Mrs. Roosevelt worried that it was hard to translate ideas on paper into real places - kitchens, factories, ghettos, prisons. But words have power. Ideas have power. And the march for human rights has steadily gained ground. Since 1948, the UN has adopted legal instruments against torture, genocide, slavery, apartheid and discrimination against women and children. As nations grow more interdependent, the idea of a unified standard of human rights becomes easier to define... and more important than ever to maintain.

Obviously, all nations have more work to do on human rights. The United States is no exception. We are trying hard to learn from our own mistakes - and we reserve the right - the obligation -- to frankly call for improvement in other nations. In totalitarian states like North Korea. In military dictatorships like Burma. In countries where leaders practice the politics of ethnic hatred, like Serbia and Iraq. In nations where people of tolerance and faith must struggle against intolerant fundamentalism, like Afghanistan and Sudan. In Cuba, where persons who struggle for peaceful democratic change are repressed and imprisoned. In China, where important change has come, but where freedom is still not respected universally.

I reject the idea that there are "Asian values," or "African values," or "Western values" that would divide the human race into so many subcategories. We are one species. Each of us is molded in the divine image. The Declaration applies to all of us. The word "universal" was put there for a reason. President Kennedy, standing at the Berlin Wall, said "freedom is indivisible." The end of the Cold War is all the more reason to deepen the meaning of freedom.

As the Vice President said recently in Asia, he and I strongly share the belief that peaceful democratic progress is essential as nations prepare to greet the new century.

Throughout 1998, old fears and hatreds crumbled before the healing power of honest communication, faith in the future, and the strong will of the people. Today in Oslo, two leaders from Northern Ireland, David Trimble and John Hume, are receiving the Nobel Peace Prize for their efforts toward the Good Friday Accord. In the Middle East, where I go in two days, Palestinians and Israelis are talking about how to protect peace and security. In Kosovo, a serious humanitarian crisis was averted. All these breakthroughs were triumphs for peace and for human rights.

A day like today gives us a chance to reflect on how far we have come, and even better, to recommit ourselves to a course for the future. Today, I'd like to announce some new initiatives that reflect our never-ending commitment to the pursuit of human rights at home and abroad. Each is an important step toward reaching the promise outlined in Paris fifty years ago.

First, we are taking steps to respond quickly to genocidal conditions, through

the International Coalition Against Genocide I announced during my visit to Africa, and a new Genocide Early Warning Center sponsored by the Department of State and the Central Intelligence Agency. We will provide additional support to the UN Torture Victims Fund and genocide survivors in Bosnia, Rwanda and Cambodia. We will expand assistance to women suffering under the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. I am also announcing today that USAID will provide up to \$8 million to NGOs to enhance their ability to respond rapidly to human rights emergencies.

Second, children have always been especially vulnerable to human rights violations. Last year I sought, and Congress provided dramatic new support for the fight against child labor with a tenfold increase in US assistance to the International Labor Organization, from \$3 million to \$30 million. On a different but related front, I am also pleased that today the Immigration and Naturalization Service is issuing new guidelines for the evaluation of asylum claims by children, making the process better serve our youngest and most vulnerable asylum seekers.

Third, we must practice at home what we preach abroad. This morning I signed an Executive Order that strengthens our ability to implement human rights treaties, and creates an interagency group to hold us accountable for progress.

Fourth, I am concerned about aliens who suffer abuses at the hands of smugglers and sweatshop owners. These victims have a built-in disincentive - their unlawful status - that discourages them from complaining to US authorities. I am asking the Department of Justice to provide legislative options to address this problem.

Finally, I would like to repeat my support for two top legislative priorities ... an Employment Non-Discrimination Act that would ban discrimination against gays and lesbians in the workplace, and a Hate Crimes Prevention Act. Last

year, the entire nation was outraged by the brutal killings of Matthew Shepard, a young gay student in Wyoming, and James Byrd, an African-American in Texas. All Americans are entitled to the same respect and legal protection, no matter what their race, gender or sexual orientation. I agree with something President Truman once said ... "when I say all Americans, I mean all Americans." My administration will never relinquish the fight to move forward in the continuing struggle for human rights. And I am also aware that much of the best work in human rights has been done by those working outside of government - by students and activists ... by NGOs ... by brave religious leaders ... by people from all backgrounds who simply want their children to grow up safer and happier. Many have done so in the face of great adversity ... like the imprisoned members of the Internal Dissidents Working Group in Cuba ... the political prisoners of the National League for Democracy in Burma ... the imprisoned dissidents in China. Today, it is my privilege to present the first Eleanor Roosevelt Award for Human Rights to four outstanding Americans. From different backgrounds and generations, they all stand in the great tradition of Mrs. Roosevelt, pioneers in the fight to expand the frontiers of freedom. Robert Bernstein, a pathbreaker for freedom of expression and the protection of rights at home and abroad. Bette Bao Lord, the head of Freedom House, a prolific author and campaigner. Dorothy Thomas, a champion of women's rights, the voice of a new generation committed to human rights.

And John Lewis, a veteran of the civil rights struggle, now serving his country in the House of Representatives. The military aide will read the citations.

[CITATIONS READ FOR BERNSTEIN, LORD, THOMAS, LEWIS]

On behalf of the American people, I thank all four of you for your hard work and your heroism.

The day the UN delegates voted to approve the Universal Declaration, Eleanor Roosevelt wrote, "long job over." It was one of her few hasty judgments. The long job of protecting human rights continues everywhere people suffer discrimination ... every time they are punished for speaking the truth.

Fifty years is only a blink of the eye for a document that contains an eternal promise of renewal. We must stay the course - and stay true to our nation's most generous instincts.

America's destiny is to use our strength to help others help themselves. That destiny was conceived in our founding moment, with these five words from the Declaration of Independence: "all men are created equal." Today, we include all people in that thought, but it remains the same sublime idea expressed in 1776. And our rights only grow stronger as millions around the world see what they have freed Americans to do.

Every generation reaffirms this destiny in a different way ... Lincoln's struggle against slavery, FDR's Four Freedoms, the unfinished work of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Robert Kennedy, the ongoing work of the people in this room. Our work may never be finished. But we are still a young nation.

Those we honor today show that we will always find new sources of strength in the battle for human rights ... rights that will flourish as long as there are

human
beings to claim them.
#

21

Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 12/10/98 6:34:00 PM

FROM Wozniak, Natalie S.

CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED

SUBJECT RBTP at Human Rights Day Presentation of Eleanor Roosevelt Human Rights Award
[UNCLASSIFIED]

TO Crowley, Philip J.
Leavy, David C.
Wozniak, Natalie S.
@SPEECH - NSC Speechwriters
Blinken, Antony J.
Gobush, Matthew N.
Gray, Wendy E.
Halperin, David E.
Malinowski, Tomasz P.
Widmer, Edward L. (Ted)

CARBON_COPY

TEXT_BODY Remarks by the President
RBTP at Human Rights Day Presentation of
Eleanor Roosevelt Human Rights Award

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT Human Rights Award.doc
THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release December 10, 1998

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT HUMAN RIGHTS DAY PRESENTATION
OF ELEANOR ROOSEVELT HUMAN RIGHTS AWARD

Room 450
Old Executive Office Building

10:39 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. I want to welcome all of you here, the members of Congress, the members of our foreign policy team who have worked on this -- National Security Advisor Berger, Under Secretary Loy, Assistant Secretary Koh. I welcome Ambassador Nancy Rubin, the Ambassador of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights; Theresa Loar, the Senior Coordinator for International Women's Issues; members of the Roosevelt family and other distinguished guests.

I would like to say also before getting into my prepared remarks that someday when I write the memoirs of these last several years, one of the proudest moments of our administration for me will be the work the First Lady has done to advance the cause of human rights. (Applause.) I remember the speech she gave in Beijing on a rainy day, when people were struggling through the mud to get into that remote facility; the talk she gave just a few days ago at Gaston Hall at Georgetown University about Eleanor Roosevelt, I think one of the finest speeches she ever gave. But more important, the concrete work, the Vital Voices work in Northern Ireland and Latin America, and all the little villages she visited in Latin America and Africa and Asia, on the Indian Subcontinent to try to advance the condition of women and children, experience young girls.

And I think that every person who has ever been the parent of a daughter could identify strongly with the remarks she just made and the brave women who were just introduced.

You know, most of us at least who have reached a certain age, we look forward to the holidays when our daughters come home from college and they have the human right to decide whether they want to come home or not. (Laughter.) When our daughters are married and they have our grandchildren, we hope they'll find a way to come home. Imagine -- I just wish there were some way for every American citizen to imagine how they would feel if the people Hillary just discussed were their daughters. I hope we can do more.

We are sponsoring these awards today and announcing them because, as all of you know so well, 50 years ago in Paris the U.N. General Assembly voted to approve the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It was a watershed moment for what was then a very young United Nations; a new chapter, however, in a much, much older story -- the unending striving of humanity to realize its potential in the life of every person.

For its time, the Universal Declaration was quite bold. If you look at the way the world is going today, it's still quite a bold document. Like all great breakthroughs, it was an act of imagination and courage, an opening of the heart and the mind with spare elegance. It served notice that for all our differences we share a common birthright.

You know, it's easy for us to forget, but if you think back to 1948, it might not have been particularly easy to affirm faith in mankind's future. After all, it was just three years after a cataclysmic war and the Holocaust; the Cold War was beginning to blight the postwar landscape; millions and millions more would die just in the Soviet Union under the terror of Stalin.

But this document did reaffirm faith in human kind -- it is really the Magna Carter of our humanity. Article I states that: All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act toward one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

There are no commas or parenthesis in this sentence, no qualifications or exceptions -- just the power of affirmation.

Other articles assert the freedom to worship, to work, to assemble, to

participate in a life of meaning and purpose. Those words have now been translated into every language of the United Nations. Though 50 years old, they still ring free, fresh and powerful, don't they? They resonate today because today human dignity is still under siege, not something that can be taken for granted anywhere.

We all know how much the Declaration owed to the remarkable leadership of Eleanor Roosevelt. She rose to every challenge; she defended American idealism she honestly admitted our own imperfections; she always called on the best from each delegate -- and she called on it again and again and again. Indeed, a delegate from Panama grew so exhausted by the pace that he had to remind Mrs. Roosevelt that the delegates had human rights, too. (Laughter).

Today we celebrate the life of this document and the lives it has saved and enhanced. Mrs. Roosevelt worried that it would be hard to translate ideas on paper into real places -- into kitchens and factories and ghettos and prisons. But words have power, ideas have power, and the march for human rights has steadily gained ground.

Since 1948, the United Nations has adopted legal instruments against torture, genocide, slavery, apartheid, and discrimination against women and children. As nations grow more interdependent, the idea of a unified standard of human rights becomes easier to define and, more important than ever, to maintain.

Obviously, all nations have more work to do, and the United States is no exception. We must improve our own record, we must correct our own mistakes, even as we fulfill our responsibility to assist on improvement in other nations -- in totalitarian states, like North Korea; in military dictatorships, like Burma; in countries where leaders practice the politics of ethnic hatred, like Serbia and Iraq; in African nations where tribal differences have led to unimaginable slaughter; in nations where tolerance and faith must struggle against intolerant fundamentalism, like Afghanistan and Sudan; in Cuba, where persons who strive for peaceful democratic change still are repressed and imprisoned; in China, where change has come to people's daily lives, but where basic political rights are still denied to too many.

Some suggest today that it is sheer arrogance for the President or for the

United States to discuss such matters in other countries. Some say it is because we are not perfect here at home. If we had to wait for perfection, none of us would ever advance in any way. Some say it is because there are Asian values or African values or Western values dividing the human race into various sub-categories. Well, let's be honest -- there are. There are genuine cultural differences, which inevitably lead to different political and social structures. And that can be all to the good, because no one has the corner on the truth. It makes life more interesting.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights does not say there are no differences among people -- it says what we have in common is more fundamental than our differences, and therefore, all the differences must be expressed in certain limits beyond which we dare not go without violating our common humanity.

This is a phony attack on those of you who fight every day for human rights. None of us want everyone to be the same; none of us want to have all the same religious practices; none of us want to have all the same social and political structures; none of us say we know exactly how life should be organized everywhere under all circumstances and how every problem should be solved. We say we have a common humanity and whatever you think should be done differently must be done within the limits that respects our common humanity.

Now, that means a lot to us on the verge of a new century, where freedom and knowledge and flexibility will mean more to people than ever before. Where people in the poorest villages on every continent on this Earth will have a chance to leapfrog years and years and years of the development process simply because of the communications revolution -- if we respect universal human rights.

The Vice President said so well recently, in Asia, that we believe the peaceful democratic process that we have strongly endorsed will be even more essential to the world on the threshold of this new millennium. Throughout 1998, old fears and hatreds crumbled before the healing power of honest communication, faith in the future, a strong will for a better future.

Today in Oslo -- I'm happy about this -- today in Oslo, two leaders from Northern Ireland, John Hume and David Trimble, are receiving the Nobel Peace Prize for their efforts on the Good Friday Accord. In the Middle East, where I

will go in two days, Palestinian and Israelis are struggling to bridge mutual distrust to implement the Wye Accords. In Kosovo, a serious humanitarian crisis has been averted, and the process toward reconciliation continues in Bosnia. All these breakthroughs were triumphs for human rights.

Today we commit ourselves to the ideas of the Universal Declaration, to keep moving toward the promise outlined in Paris 50 years ago.

First, we're taking steps to respond quickly to genocidal conditions, through the International Coalition Against Genocide I announced during my visit to Africa, and a new genocide early warning center sponsored by the Department of State and the CIA. We will provide additional support to the U.N. Torture Victims Fund and genocide survivors in Bosnia, Rwanda and Cambodia. We will continue assistance to women suffering under the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. And USAID will provide up to \$8 million to NGOs to enhance their ability to respond more rapidly to human rights emergencies.

Second, we must do more for children who have always been especially vulnerable to human rights violations. This year I sought, and Congress provided, dramatic new support for the fight against child labor with a tenfold increase in United States assistance to the International Labor Organization. Today, the Immigration and Naturalization Service is issuing new guidelines for the evaluation of asylum claims by children, making the process better serve our youngest and most vulnerable asylum seekers.

Third, we must practice at home what we preach abroad. Just this morning I signed an executive order that strengthens our ability to implement human rights treaties and creates an interagency group to hold us accountable for progress in honoring those commitments.

Fourth, I am concerned about aliens who suffer abuses at the hands of smugglers and sweatshop owners. These victims actually have a built-in disincentive -- their unlawful status here -- that discourages them from complaining to U.S. authorities. So I'm asking the Department of Justice to provide legislative options to address this problem. And I know the Deputy Attorney General, Eric Holder, and the Deputy Secretary of Labor, Kitty Higgins, are here, and I trust they will work on this because I know they care as much about it as I do.

Finally, I'd like to repeat my support for two top legislative priorities -- an employment nondiscrimination act that would ban discrimination against gays and lesbians in the workplace, and a hate crimes prevention act. Last year, the entire nation was outraged by the brutal killings of Matthew Shepard, a young gay student in Wyoming; and James Byrd, and African American in Texas. All Americans are entitled to the same respect and legal protection, no matter their race, their gender, their sexual orientation. I agree with something President Truman once said, "When I say Americans, I mean all Americans."

We will never relinquish the fight to move forward in the continuing struggle for human rights. I am aware that much of the best work in human rights has been done by those outside government -- students and activists, NGOs, brave religious leaders -- people from all backgrounds who simply want a better, safer world for their children. Many have done so in the face of great adversity -- the imprisoned members of the Internal Dissidents Working Group in Cuba, the political prisoners of the National League for Democracy in Burma, the imprisoned dissidents in China. We make common cause with them all.

That is why, today, we are presenting the first Eleanor Roosevelt Award for Human Rights to four outstanding Americans -- not only for their own efforts, but because we know that, by working together, we can do more. From different backgrounds and generations they stand, all, in the great tradition of Eleanor Roosevelt, pioneers in the fight to expand the frontiers of freedom:

Robert Bernstein, a pathbreaker for freedom of expression and the protection of rights at home and abroad. Bette Bao Lord, the head of Freedom House, a prolific author and campaigner. Dorothy Thomas, a champion of women's rights, the voice of a new generation committed to human rights. And John Lewis, a veteran in the civil rights struggle, now serving his Congress with great distinction in the House of Representatives.

I would like to ask the military aide to read the citations

(The citations are read.)

I'd like to ask the members of the Roosevelt family who are here to stand.

Thank you. (Applause.)

The day the U.N. delegates voted to approve the Declaration, Eleanor Roosevelt wrote, "Long job over." (Laughter.) One of the few mistakes she ever made. (Laughter.) She left us and all our successors a big job that will never be over, for the Universal Declaration contains an eternal promise, one embraced by our founders in 1776, one that has to be reaffirmed every day in every way.

In our country, each generation of Americans has had to do it -- in the struggle against slavery led by President Lincoln, in FDR's Four Freedoms, in the unfinished work of Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy, in the ongoing work here in this room.

I have learned in ways large and small in the last six years that there is within every person a scale of justice and that people can too easily be herded into hatred and extremism, often out of a belief that they have absolute truth and, therefore, are entitled to absolute power, that they can ignore any constitution, any laws, override any facts. There will always be work to be done.

And again, I would say to you that this award we gave to these four richly deserving people is also for all of you who labor for human rights.

In the prologue of John Lewis's magnificent autobiography, "Walking With The Wind," he tells a stunning story that has become a metaphor for his life and is a metaphor for your work, about being a little boy with his brothers and sisters and cousins in the house of a relative that was a very fragile house, when an enormous wind came up. And he said he was told that all the children had to hold hands, and one corner of the house would blow up in the wind and all the children would walk, holding hands, to the corner and it would go down. And then another would come up, and all the children would hold hands again and go to the other corner until the house came down. And by walking with the wind, hand-in-hand, they saved the house and the family and the children.

John says that that walk is a struggle to find the beloved community. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights applies to individuals, but it can only be achieved by our common community.

Thank you, and God bless you all. (Applause.)

END

11:03 A.M. EST

7

Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 12/10/98 7:14:17 PM
FROM Wozniak, Natalie S.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT Fact Sheet on U.S. Efforts to Promote Human Rights and Democracy [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Crowley, Philip J.
Leavy, David C.
Wozniak, Natalie S.
@SPEECH - NSC Speechwriters
Blinken, Antony J.
Gobush, Matthew N.
Gray, Wendy E.
Halperin, David E.
Malinowski, Tomasz P.
Widmer, Edward L. (Ted)

CARBON_COPY

TEXT_BODY Fact Sheet
Fact Sheet on U.S. Efforts to Promote Human Rights and
Democracy

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT

Human Rights and Democracy Fact sheet #2.doc
THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release
December 10, 1998

FACT SHEET

U.S. Efforts to Promote Human Rights and Democracy

The Clinton Administration works to promote human rights and democracy because they are integral to American values and because a world in which governments respect the rule of law will be freer, safer, and more prosperous. On the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, our challenge is to promote the universality of human rights and to ensure their implementation around the globe.

From Haiti to the Balkans, Northern Ireland to the Middle East, the U.S. has led international efforts to resolve conflicts which give rise to human rights abuses, and we continue to provide vital support to build democratic institutions to ensure human rights abuses are not repeated. In Africa we have supported the successful end to conflicts from Mozambique to Mali, provided assistance to South Africa's efforts to build an equitable, multi-cultural democracy, and are supporting the development and consolidation of democracy in Nigeria and across the continent. In China, we continue to press vigorously for progress on prisoner releases, political rights, religious freedom and the rule of law. And throughout central Europe and the former Soviet Union we are contributing substantial resources to build democratic institutions and strengthen political participation.

Bilateral U.S. Government Efforts

Funding and Programs: In addition to our diplomatic advocacy, we devote some \$400 million per year to democracy assistance and human rights programs implemented by the Agency for International Development (AID), as well as more than \$40 million for the National Endowment for Democracy and other publicly supported efforts to promote human rights and democracy activities overseas. The United States Information Agency (USIA) also works to strengthen the culture of democracy worldwide, both as a contributor to the free flow of information and ideas and by activities designed to sustain the democratic dialogue across

national boundaries. USIA spends more than \$300 million per year on democracy and human rights promotion programs.

Increased reporting and advocacy: We have expanded our annual Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, and have substantially increased our reporting and advocacy on religious freedom issues. On October 27, the President signed into law the International Religious Freedom Act and, prior to that, announced the appointment of the Special Representative of the Secretary of State for International Religious Freedom. In addition, the Administration, in 1996, created an Advisory Committee on Religious Freedom Abroad, which has helped to raise the prominence and the profile of this critical issue.

Support for Democratic Transitions: Through a wide range of programs, AID has promoted peaceful democratic transitions. For example, AID has supported democracy through development of independent judiciary systems, and support to elections and conflict prevention and mediation mechanisms in South Africa and Nigeria; information dissemination programs for the Cuban people; and a free media in Bosnia. Many of these projects are funded through the AID Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI), established by the Clinton Administration in 1993. To help the Cuban people prepare for democracy, AID administers grants to non-governmental organizations that undertake programs to broaden information dissemination and support the emergence of civil society in Cuba. Separately, President Clinton and President Kim Dae Jung of South Korea recently announced the creation of a joint Institute on Democracy and Free Markets in Asia, to be located in Seoul. The counterpart organizations are the Saejoong Institute in Seoul Korea and the National Endowment for Democracy in the United States.

Support for Local NGOs: From assistance to women's literacy and democracy groups in Senegal to the Kiev Press Club in Ukraine, the Administration has kept faith with those who share a commitment to human rights and are working to promote those values within their own societies.

Supporting Accountability: Through our support for truth commissions in Guatemala, El Salvador and South Africa, we promote the accountability and justice that is a key to political reconciliation in post-conflict societies.

Supporting the rights of the disenfranchised: Through our "No Sweat" initiative, the Administration, corporations and non-governmental organizations are developing voluntary ethical codes of conduct to prevent the importation of products made by child labor, to end sweatshop conditions both in the U.S. and abroad, and to ensure that women and children share equally the basic rights they have been denied in so many parts of the world.

Practicing domestically what we preach abroad: We recognize that human rights issues do not begin at the water's edge. For example, as we have urged other governments to provide assistance and protection to refugees, we have maintained our commitment as the world's leader in refugee resettlement.

Support for International Human Rights Institutions:

UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCHR): We led the effort to create the Office of the UNHCHR, and have provided critical support, such as for human rights monitoring programs in Rwanda, Burundi and Cambodia, and for assistance to victims of torture around the world.

UN Voluntary Fund for Victims of Torture: We continue to be the world's largest contributor to this fund and will be increasing our contribution from \$1.8 million in FY 1998 to \$3.0 million in FY 1999.

International Tribunals: We are the leading supporter of the International Criminal Tribunals relating to the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, providing approximately \$33.5 million in financial support during 1998.

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Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 12/10/98 7:24:56 PM
FROM Wozniak, Natalie S.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT Fact Sheet on Human Rights Day 1998 and Eleanor Roosevelt Human Rights Award
[UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Crowley, Philip J.
Leavy, David C.
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Human Rights Award

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT

Human Rights Fact Sheet.doc
THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release December 10, 1998

FACT SHEET

Human Rights Day 1998 and Eleanor Roosevelt Human Rights Award

President Clinton today commemorates Human Rights Day and marks the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the U.N. General Assembly declaration affirming fundamental freedoms and human rights for all people. On the historic anniversary of the UDHR, President Clinton announces several policy initiatives to advance human rights at home and abroad. He also honors four distinguished American human rights leaders as the inaugural recipients of the newly-created Eleanor Roosevelt Award for Human Rights.

Human Rights Policy Initiatives

- Signing of a Human Rights Executive Order, that strengthens our efforts to implement human rights treaties, and creates an Administration working group to coordinate these efforts.
- Establishment of a genocide early warning center, jointly run by the State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency, to focus intelligence resources on situations that could potentially lead to genocide.
- Enhancing our response to human rights emergencies. The U.S. Agency for International Development will provide up to \$8 million over the next five years to non-governmental organizations to enhance their rapid response capacities. Organizations can use these funds for a variety of purposes, including the creation of assessment teams, monitoring units or other means of addressing situations where human rights may be imminently threatened.
- Providing increased assistance to victims of human rights abuse. The Department of State will significantly increase our annual contribution to the U.N. Voluntary Fund for Torture Victims (from \$1.8 million in FY 1998 to \$3 million in FY 1999). This Fund distributes money to organizations around the world that rehabilitate those who have suffered torture. In addition, the

Department of State is initiating a program to address the needs of genocide survivors in Rwanda, Bosnia and Cambodia. This program will primarily target women, providing training and counseling.

- Combating child labor by contributing \$30 million this year to the International Labor Organization's International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor, a ten-fold increase over last year's \$3 million contribution. This program works with governments, businesses and non-governmental organizations to discourage the use of child labor around the world.

- Issuing new guidelines for the adjudication of asylum claims by children in the U.S. The U.S. is the second country after Canada to adopt such guidelines. The guidelines will sensitize immigration officials to the special needs of our youngest and most vulnerable asylum seekers.

- Preventing youth hate crime through publication in January of a guide for schools entitled "Protecting Students from Harassment and Hate Crimes", developed jointly by the Department of Education and the National Association of Attorneys General. The guide provides suggestions to school systems for addressing the issue of school violence.

- Protecting victims of smugglers, traffickers and sweatshop owners. The Department of Justice will explore legislative options to address the immigration situation of illegal aliens in the U.S. who are the victims of serious abuses such as forced labor and forced prostitution. The aim is to encourage greater reporting to and cooperation with U.S. authorities in targeting abusers of human rights.

Eleanor Roosevelt Human Rights Award

Eleanor Roosevelt was the driving force behind the adoption in 1948 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. To honor her commitment to the principles of the Declaration the President established the Eleanor Roosevelt Award for Human Rights.

For the inaugural recipients of this new award, the Secretary of State

recommended, and the President approved, four distinguished American human rights leaders.

* Robert L. Bernstein, founder of the Fund for Free Expression and well as Human Rights Watch and retired chairman of Random House.

* Representative John Lewis, life-long civil rights leader.

* Bette Bao Lord, human rights activist, China scholar and novelist.

* Dorothy Q. Thomas, women's rights activist responsible for groundbreaking research and advocacy on human rights violations against women around the world.

1998 Eleanor Roosevelt Award Citations

ROBERT L. BERNSTEIN

Robert Bernstein has dedicated his life to giving voice to the voiceless, from publishing banned books to founding the groups that led to the creation of Human Rights Watch. His ceaseless efforts have increased both our determination and ability to oppose human rights violations wherever they occur. We honor him today for a life devoted to the active defense of freedom and dignity throughout the world.

JOHN LEWIS

For 40 years John Lewis has been at the vanguard of the civil rights struggle. From Freedom Rides to the House of Representatives, he has educated and mobilized generations of Americans in the crusade against injustice. He often did so at great personal risk, yet he never deviated from his commitment to peaceful change through nonviolent means. We honor him today for his uncompromising heroism in the face of bigotry and his unswerving commitment to the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

BETTE BAO LORD

Born in China, raised in the United States, Bette Bao Lord has dedicated her life to the defense of liberty, particularly through her inspired leadership of Freedom House. One of her books on China includes the story of a boy who flies a kite each day outside a prison so that his captive father will see the kite and not lose hope. Her work has similarly sustained hope in countless others. We honor her today for her own activism and for setting a high standard for human rights and democracy activists around the world.

DOROTHY Q. THOMAS

Dorothy Thomas has played a leading role in efforts to define and defend women's rights around the world. Through her work at Human Rights Watch, she has raised global awareness of state-sponsored violence and discrimination against women and helped reshape international law to fight these abuses. We honor her today for her courageous advocacy of women's rights as basic human rights.

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