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OUTLINE

PRESIDENTIAL INTRODUCTION: President’s vision for what he wanted to do, why he has stuck with it, what he has accomplished and what he is proposing going forward. This section will include accomplishments lists (major legislation and budget priorities).

SECTION 1: MAKING THE ECONOMY WORK FOR WORKING FAMILIES: MIDDLE CLASS BILL OF RIGHTS

The Economy:
What we inherited
Deficit reduction that lowered interest rates
Deficit reduction that relied on shrinking government and federal workers
Better confidence from lower trade and world leadership position
What is still missing in the economy: wage stagnation, income inequality.

Four Part Response: Middle Class Bill of Rights.
Child Tax Credit
IRA
Education Tax cut
Skill Grants

CHAPTER 2: REINVENTING GOVERNMENT: REINVENTING GOVERNMENT AND MAKING IT RESPONSIVE TO THE MIDDLE CLASS NOT SPECIAL INTERESTS

A. Reinventing Government
B. Campaign and Lobbying Reform

CHAPTER 3: REWARDING WORK FOR WORKING FAMILIES

A. EITC
B. Welfare
C. Child Support
D. Family and Medical Leave

CHAPTER 4: LIFELONG LEARNING

A. Pre-school and Parenting
B. GOALS 2000
C. School to Work
D. National Service
E. Individual Education Accounts/College Loans
F. Skill Grants
CHAPTER 5: INTERNATIONAL TRADE

A. Tearing Down Trade Barriers
B. Helping American Business Do Business

SECTION 6: BUILDING STRONGER, SAFER COMMUNITIES

(Efforts to Build, Strengthen Protection)
A. Empowerment Zones
B. Community Development Banks
C. 100,000 Cops
D. National Police Corps

(Efforts to Stiffen Penalties)
E. Brady Bill
F. Assault Weapon Ban
G. Stiff Penalties for Violent Offenders
H. Violence Against Women

SECTION 7: HEALTH CARE

A. Health reform
B. WIC
C. Immunizations
D. AIDS

SECTION 8: ENVIRONMENT

A. Protecting Public Health
B. Taking Responsibility for Our Land and Water
C. International Leadership

SECTION 9: REMOVING BARRIERS AND ENCOURAGING INVESTMENT FOR BUSINESS

A. Defense Reinvestment
B. Infrastructure
C. Information Highway
D. Technology Investment
E. Interstate Banking
F. Intrastate Trucking
G. Small Business

SECTION 10: NATIONAL SECURITY

A. Promoting Democracy
B. Promoting Peace
Chapter Format: Each chapter will start with a summary of accomplishments and our future agenda -- what has been accomplished and what is still to be done. These will be followed by subchapters on different elements. The summary will help emphasize all that we have done and will provide a road map for the reader as they go through the sub-elements. It should be direct, using bullet points to convey the main ideas.

Subchapter/Length and Format: After a chapter summary, each topic will be discussed in depth in subchapters. The length of the subchapters will vary depending upon the topic -- the page lengths listed below are recommendations.

Each subchapter should be structured as following:

1) box on "Actions to Date" -- (recommended length: 1 single-spaced page or less);
   In bullet-point format, list the key Administration accomplishments, using as much concrete information (statistics, data, etc.) as possible. This should be no more than 1 page long.

2) "Background" -- (recommended length: 1/2-1 1/2 single-spaced pages);
   This section will combine the "History" and "Vision" portions of some current chapters. This is designed to be flexible, depending upon what you think is most important and interesting. Some potential areas to cover -- background the reader needs to know to understand the Administration’s initiatives; interesting/important aspects of the President’s or the Vice President’s history with the issue; frameworks guiding the Administration’s efforts. While we’re leaving a lot of discretion as to what to include, the section should be concise and well-focused.

3) "Initiative" -- (recommended length: 1 to 2 single-spaced pages);
   This section will present what the Administration has done and what needs to be done. It will be probably be the longest section, but again, we’re trying to keep everything focused and to the point. It should add more detail to the "Actions to Date" section and include other accomplishments that don’t quite warrant being highlighted up front. It should include numbers as appropriate and available -- i.e. appropriations (with increase over past), people affected, etc. It should also describe what the Administration plans to do.

4) "Case Studies" -- (recommended length: 1/2 - 3/4 single-spaced page each);
   The case studies should be short descriptions of how real people are affected by the Administration’s accomplishments. The idea is to present an example that demonstrates, in ways that can be easily visualized, the progress we’ve made. We’re looking for no more than 2 case studies per subchapter.

5) "POTUS quotes" -- 2-4 per subchapter
   We’re going to wrap text around POTUS quotes. Please include any eloquent quotes that help to describe his vision of the accomplishment or otherwise bring him into the chapter.

Language/style/tone: We’ve decided to go with language that is fairly direct and descriptive, reducing the rhetoric. The School-to-Work subchapter that accompanies this should give you an idea of the style we’re looking for. The language should be written for a non-technical layperson -- any technical words should be defined or explained. We’re looking for something a typical high school senior could understand.
"School-to-work is central to our efforts to guarantee lifetime learning for every citizen. In a rapidly changing world economy, what you earn increasingly depends on what you learn."

### Actions to Date

In 1994, President Clinton's School-to-Work Opportunities Act passed Congress with bipartisan support, fulfilling his pledge to create a school-to-work system. With $250 million appropriated in 1995, the new initiative:

- Allows states and communities to design diverse programs.
- Ensures that all participants have a work-based learning experience, an integrated curriculum of academic and job skills, a high school diploma, and an occupational skills certificate that paves the way for a first job with a future.
- Has made planning grants to every state and implementation grants to 8 states to overhaul their systems to create better and broader school-to-work opportunities.
- Will offer support for every state to create school-to-work opportunities by 1997.
- Will end in 1997 -- because President Clinton wanted the is program to provide a catalyst for local initiative and not a new federal bureaucracy.
Background

"By creating this national network of school to work programs, we address the greatest challenge of our times: how to make the dramatic economic changes that are shaking and remaking our world, work for our people."

Too many American high school students have few options today. Not every young person wants to go straight to college after high school. The education offered to the vast majority of young Americans (both "general" and "vocational") provides neither access to jobs nor solid grounding in academic fundamentals. The wage gap between workers with and without college degrees has literally doubled. For young people without four-year degrees, this means frustration and anxiety; good jobs have become more scarce. For the national economy, it means a tragic waste of talent and potential.

In America, many skilled trades have long been passed on from master to youth through a structured system of apprentices. A range of models for combining meaningful education and career paths for young people flourish throughout western Europe and other industrialized nations. The President's school-to-work legislation not only launches new innovation in work and learning, but also reaffirms the tradition of "work-based learning."

The Initiative

"This legislation [the School-to-Work Opportunities Act] will help millions of our young people enter the middle class and secure the American dream for themselves and their families."

The culmination of a national dialogue involving leaders from business, labor, and education as well as students, parents and Administration officials, the School-to-Work Opportunities Act will renew for millions of Americans our nation's promise that anyone who works hard and plays by the rules can enjoy economic security.

During the last two years of high school, and for at least one year beyond, young people participating in school-to-work programs receive classroom instruction and structured work experience that relates to what they learn in school. They may not know at any one moment whether they are in "schooling," "training," or "higher education" -- but it doesn't matter. What matters is that they are following well-marked pathways between school and careers and are developing the confidence, competence and connections required to succeed
in the global economy.

The school-to-work legislation is remarkable for what it contains: the framework for a national system of community work and learning partnerships. But the legislation is nearly as remarkable for what it leaves out. Rather than attempting to force change with a flood of money from Washington, or dictating a single design for all schools to follow, the Act lets states and communities take the lead. The federal role in School-to-Work is crucial, but limited. A joint enterprise by the Labor and Education Departments manages a pool of "venture capital" that empowers state and local innovators.

The Act builds on a common-sense, three-part consensus: First, young Americans need paths to prosperity that don't require a conventional four-year degree, but do meet the need for practical post-secondary training to prepare for new middle-class careers. Second, almost all students, college-bound or not, learn better when their studies are linked to the working world. Third, no single path suits every student--there must be a range of school-to-work opportunities, with plenty of room for local diversity and experimentation. There are many valid models, including youth apprenticeships, innovative vocational education programs, career academies, and cooperative education.

The legislation ensures, however, that all school-to-work programs share four key elements. Every participant receives:

- A **Work-based learning experience**;
- An **integrated curriculum** of academic and occupational skills;
- A **high school diploma** that keeps the door open to college;
- An **occupational skills certificate** offering access to a first job with a real future.

Small planning grants have already gone to every state. Reform is now moving forward in "waves" as individual states complete their own blueprints for change. Eight states won implementation grants in the first year -- 1994, and in the second year, Congress approved funding for no fewer than 16 more states to implement reform plans. By 1997, every state in America will have a chance to implement school-to-work reforms. Then, having achieved its goal of sparking local change and creating new programs, the School-to-Work Opportunities Act will be phased out.

In its early stages, the school-to-work movement has yielded impressive results. At Roosevelt High School in Oregon, students choose from among six "career majors" which serve as themes for applying academic learning and open opportunities for work-based learning. The freshman dropout rate has plummeted by 62%. At the Rindge School of Technical Arts in Cambridge, Massachusetts, 85% of the youth apprentices are entering college -- compared with the district's average college placement rate of 67%. In Boston, all 38 seniors from Project ProTech who graduated at the end of the 1992-93 school year
enrolled in postsecondary programs.

But the power and promise of school-to-work programs is best expressed by the students themselves, who testify to its impact in changing their lives. Said one graduate of the Oakland Health and Bioscience Academy, now a professional RN: "The best thing about this program is learning through high school the hands-on experience that I needed in terms of focusing on what I really wanted to do in the nursing field. It gave me exposure and clinical experience and networking with the professionals and I was able to project myself in five years -- that this was how I wanted to be and who I wanted to associate with." Or as another school-to-work participant has said, "This program taught me responsibility -- you can do anything you put your mind to."

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**Case Study: Siemens Stromberg-Carlson Electronics Technicians Apprenticeship Program**

Siemens Stromberg-Carlson, an international company based in Germany, has years of experience training young people for high-skill, high-wage jobs. Their Electronics Technicians project in Florida translates some of the best features of the famed German youth apprenticeship model -- such as master teachers at the company, high academic standards, and employer involvement in curriculum -- to create a school-to-work opportunity that works for young Americans and their communities. The program is a partnership between local high schools and community colleges, government and industry.

The results so far have not only equaled, but have actually exceeded those of the German model. For two years in a row, Siemens students in the U.S. have scored the highest of all Siemens apprentices worldwide. In fact, despite having five months less training, American Siemens apprentices outscored their German counterparts on the same exam.
Case Study: Chris Brady

When Chris Brady decided to drop out of school, it seemed like a logical step. The South Boston native was so turned off by school he rarely made it to any classes. But he saw that his friends who had dropped out were sweeping floors and stocking grocery shelves -- and not making enough money to pay the rent. He wanted something better.

So instead of leaving school for good, Chris found his way into the Project ProTech school-to-work program in financial services. For the first four months, he learned the basics of banking and what work was all about. Then he started to work part-time in the "large currency" department at Fleet Financial Group, one of the nation's largest banks. The job required him to pay close attention to detail, communicate with other branch offices, use a computer to enter data and retrieve information. In the afternoon, he would attend classes that were set up to relate to his job -- learning math and English with lessons on word processing, data bases, and spreadsheets.

In the process, Chris started to see the connection between work and school and, as he says, once he "got a taste of the business world, something just clicked" for him. He is now in college, where he is studying business administration.
INTRODUCTION

The President has no more important responsibility than to safeguard the security of all Americans from foreign threats — today, and for generations to come. This challenge was self-evident during the Cold War, when we faced massive Soviet forces and nuclear missiles targeted at our citizens and cities. With the disintegration of the Soviet Union, some argue the time has come to claim victory and quietly withdraw from our engagement around the world. We must resist this temptation. The end of the Cold War has not lessened our nation’s security needs — protecting the lives and personal safety of Americans, maintaining our freedom and independence, providing for the well-being of all our citizens. Rather, it has changed the ways we must go about meeting them.

The situation created by the collapse of the Soviet empire has created new challenges. Direct threats to our security are posed by states such as Iraq or Iran, by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, like nuclear or chemical weapons, and by terrorists who strike at the heart of New York. Local conflicts that risk spilling over across borders represent another kind of threat, as do international narcotics trafficking, large scale environmental degradation, rapid population growth, or massive refugee flows onto our shores.

At the same time, the post-Cold War world offers tremendous new opportunities to enhance the security of all Americans. America stands as the preeminent world power. Our values of democracy and free markets captured the imagination and inspired historic actions of people around the globe. Hundreds of millions of people have cast aside communism, dictatorship, or apartheid. And former adversaries are now cooperating with us on global problems. We have seized these opportunities by forging new international partnerships, dramatically reducing the threat of nuclear war, and enlarging the community of nations with which America trades, and in which America invests.

We face a choice. We can retreat, leaving our nation unprepared to face the new challenges and to seize the new opportunities. Or we can remain engaged and help shape a world more conducive to our interests, more consistent with our values, more secure for our children.
The decision we make will have concrete and far-reaching consequences. It will determine whether future generations will live in a world where nuclear, biological and chemical weapons have fallen into dangerous hands; whether our country will continue to have unimpeded access to oil; whether American citizens will be targets of terrorist groups; and whether our children will enjoy uncontaminated air, arable land, fisheries, and water.

For President Clinton, the choice is clear. From the day he took office, he has exerted America’s leadership abroad to make the world safer and Americans more prosperous. These goals lie at the heart of his national security strategy. To promote them, and in addition to the efforts to open markets discussed in the previous chapter, he has taken bold actions on six critical fronts.

**Keeping our military strong and ready to fight**, so that we are able to defend American interests whenever necessary.

**Reducing the threat of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction** to increase our safety and the safety of our children.

**Advancing European security** to enhance stability in an area vital to our safety.

**Being an effective peacemaker and mediator** in order to defuse conflicts before they become significant crises.

**Promoting democracy** to check global threats before they threaten our territory and interests and to enhance economic opportunities.

**Confronting transnational threats** to preserve America’s way of life and protect its future.

President Clinton and his Administration already have made substantial progress in all six areas. These accomplishments are improving the lives of every American.
XA. KEEPING OUR MILITARY STRONG AND READY TO FIGHT

"I want to say this to all the American people: While the Cold War has ended, the world is not free of danger. And I am determined to take the steps necessary to keep our nation secure. We will keep our forces ready to fight. We will work to head off emerging threats and we will take action when action is required."

[President Clinton’s address to the nation on attack on Iraq, May 16, 1993]

| Actions to Date |
|-----------------
| From the day he took office, President Clinton has fought hard to keep the military strong, and to use it effectively when necessary. In this spirit, the Administration has: |

- Obtained congressional passage of defense budgets that reflect the President’s strong commitment to military readiness and proposed a $25 billion increase to our military spending plans over the next 6 years.

- Implemented a strategy and maintained sufficient forces for our military to fight two major regional conflicts nearly simultaneously.

- Reversed an Iraqi military threat to Kuwait and the Persian Gulf.

- Removed Haiti’s military rulers by threatening to use U.S. military power.

Background

“Our forces are the finest military our nation has ever had. And I have pledged that as long as I am President, they will remain the best equipped, the best trained and the best prepared fighting force on the face of the Earth.”
The foremost safeguard of our country's security is the strength of its defense. Whatever else we do to enhance our nation's well-being will be jeopardized if we do not have the military capability to defend our vital interests when they are at stake. Our military must deter our adversaries and reassure our friends and allies that America is prepared to put force behind the defense of its interests. Our military forces must prevail decisively when committed to combat. That is why we devote 90% of all our expenditures for defense and foreign policy to our armed forces.

In today's world of diverse dangers, our armed forces must be prepared and trained for new threats, such as confronting regional powers with inimical interests, deterring and countering the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and responding to urgent humanitarian needs. President Clinton's actions guarantee our readiness to meet the challenges of the post-Cold War era. Our successful military operations of the past two years have demonstrated both the President's commitment to our national security and the unsurpassed ability of our armed forces to protect it.

The Initiative

The President's actions to strengthen our national defense build on clear principles: We must invest all necessary resources to defend our security; we must adapt our armed forces to the challenges of the post-Cold War era; and we must be willing to use force decisively where our vital interests are at stake. The President's persistent efforts to put resources into readiness, and the exceptional performance of our armed forces around the world meet these objectives.

Keeping our forces ready to fight wherever and whenever necessary is the President's first priority. The Administration's original defense budget was increased by $13 billion in 1993 to cover funding shortfalls that were inherited from the prior Administration. In 1994, the President added $11.4 billion to the defense spending plan. And last December, the President proposed a "Defense Funding Initiative" that will provide for an additional increase of more than $25 billion for the defense program over the next six years. These funds will ensure that we maintain the readiness of our armed forces at the highest level, implement important quality of life improvements, sustain our nuclear and conventional force postures, and provide robust resources to equip our forces with the next generation of defense hardware.
The Clinton Administration recognizes that the men and women who serve under the American flag are the backbone of our defense. The Defense Funding Initiative will improve the quality of life for our troops, support pay raises to the maximum extent possible under the law, providing military personnel with compensation levels that are competitive with the private sector, and increase military community and family support, including more child care and family counselors. Providing resources to bolster our armed forces is a price the President is committed to pay to protect the physical and economic safety of all Americans, today and for generations to come.

"I directed that our Armed Forces be ready to face two major regional conflicts occurring almost simultaneously. Since then, I have repeatedly resisted calls to cut our forces further, to cut our budget below the levels recommended in that bottom-up review, and I have drawn the line against further defense cuts."

[President Clinton’s Statement on Readiness, December 1, 1994]

An effective defense also means one that is suited to today’s strategic environment. At the President’s direction, the Department of Defense carried out the Bottom-Up and Nuclear Posture Reviews to take a hard look at the structures and strategies of our conventional and nuclear forces and adapt our military to the challenges of the post-Cold War era. In particular, the Bottom-Up Review developed a strategy to deter and, if necessary, fight and defeat aggression by potentially hostile regional powers, such as Iran or Iraq. To do this, we must have forces that can deploy quickly and supplement existing U.S. forward bases and forward deployed forces to halt an invasion and defeat an aggressor. We do. Today, our forces are prepared for two conflicts of the size of the Gulf War that might happen almost simultaneously.

To adapt our military to current conditions also means closing unneeded military bases. President Clinton is determined to assist the economic redevelopment of communities affected by these closures. The President directed the Administration to speed the transfer of base property for economic development, provide transition assistance, and invest necessary resources for the environmental clean-up of defense sites. Overall, the Clinton Administration has adopted a $20 billion defense reinvestment and conversion plan to assist workers, communities, and businesses impacted by defense cuts.

"From the first days of our revolution, America’s security has depended on the clarity of this message: Don’t tread on us. A form and commensurate response was essential to protect our
sovereignty; to send a message to those who engage in state-sponsored terrorism; to deter further violence against our people; and to affirm the expectation of civilized behavior among nations. . . . There should be no mistake about the message we intend these actions to convey to Saddam Hussein, to the rest of the Iraqi leadership, and to any nation, group or person who would harm our leader or our citizens. We will combat terrorism. We will deter aggression. We will protect our people."

[President Clinton’s Address to the nation on attack on Iraq, May 26, 1993].

In the end, our national security is only as strong as our ability to back persistent diplomacy with the credible threat of force, and to act decisively when necessary to defend our interests. The President’s willingness to use force and the performance of our military in the past two years have made our country safer and stronger.

In the Middle East, the immediate dispatch of troops to Kuwait stopped renewed Iraqi aggression dead in its tracks, safeguarding vital U.S. interests in the region. Haiti’s military rulers, who had long defied the will of the Haitian people and of the international community, backed down in the face of the threat of U.S. power. It was only when Haiti’s military rulers learned that the 82nd Airborne was enroute that we achieved peacefully what we were prepared to do under fire. Since then, our forces have successfully led an international coalition to restore democracy in that country. In Haiti, but also in Cuba vigorous responses to crises in Haiti and Cuba met both our humanitarian and our immigration control objectives. U.S. actions both provided safe haven protection to migrants fleeing repression and, by preventing access to our country, stemmed the flow of migrants, thereby sparing American taxpayers the cost of dealing with massive immigration.
XB. REDUCING THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND OTHER WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

"More than a score of nations likely possess [weapons of mass destruction], and their numbers threaten to grow. These weapons destabilize entire regions. They could turn a local conflict into a global human and environmental catastrophe. We simply have to find ways to control these weapons and to reduce the number of states that possess them [...]"

[President Clinton's address to the United Nations General Assembly, September, 1993]

**Actions to Date**

Ending the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction is critical to our security. The Administration has made significant strides in reducing the threat posed by present and potential nuclear weapons states, and in curbing the development of chemical and biological weapons. Over the past two years, it:

- Concluded agreements that will eliminate nuclear weapons in Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan.

- Reached an agreement with Russia that detargetted missiles trained on U.S. citizens and cities.

- Brought START I into force, which will eliminate bombers and missile launchers that carried over 9,000 Russian and U.S. strategic nuclear weapons (a reduction of 40%) and opened the door for ratification of START II which will make even more drastic cuts.

- Achieved agreement with North Korea that will lead to the eventual elimination of its threatening nuclear program.

- Worked to safely dispose of nuclear materials from the former Soviet republics.

- Secured commitments from Russia, Ukraine, China, and South Africa to control the transfer of missiles and related technology.
• Submitted the Chemical Weapons Convention to the Senate and promoted new measures to strengthen the Biological and Toxin Weapons Conventions.

Background

With the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the end of the East-West confrontation that marked much of the post-World War II period, the proliferation of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons and of their delivery means now constitutes the most pressing threat to our national security. These weapons can destabilize entire regions. They could turn a local conflict into a global human and environmental catastrophe. Advances in technology and the diffusion of expertise have put them within reach of a growing number of nations. The breakup of the Soviet Union also increases the chances that nuclear material can fall into the wrong hands. To enhance America's safety, we must reduce or eliminate the capabilities of countries that possess such weapons, and prevent additional countries from acquiring them.

Achieving this goal requires patient, persistent, and firm diplomacy. The President's efforts have been remarkably successful in diminishing this ominous security threat. Now is no time to relax our vigilance.

The Initiative

"Because of the agreements we reached with Russia, with Belarus, with Kazakhstan, with Ukraine, for the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age, Americans can go to bed at night knowing that nuclear weapons from the former Soviet Union are no longer pointed at our children."

The President launched a comprehensive policy to combat the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and of the missiles that deliver them. The United States secured landmark commitments to eliminate all nuclear weapons from Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus. With Ukraine's December 1994 accession to the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), all three of these countries have now joined the NPT as non-nuclear weapon states.

A year ago, as many as 8,000 Russian nuclear warheads were aimed at cities and military sites across our nation. Today, for
the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age, not a single Russian nuclear weapon targets our homes and our children. And we will go even further. Culminating two years of intensive diplomacy, the United States has brought the START I treaty into force and the President will ask the Senate to approve START II. START I will remove over 9,000 warheads from deployed forces; START II will retire another 5,000 warheads currently deployed by the United States and Russia. Together, these actions mean that the United States and the former Soviet Union will deploy only a third of the strategic warheads they fielded at the height of the Cold War.

"President Kennedy warned . . . that humanity lives under a nuclear sword of Damocles that hung by the slenderest of threads. Now the United States is working with Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and others to take that sword down, to lock it away in a secure vault where we hope and pray it will remain forever."

[President Clinton's address to the United Nations General Assembly, September, 1993]

With the dismantling of nuclear warheads and the loosening of central control in the former Soviet Union, nuclear materials risks falling into dangerous hands. To minimize this danger, the United States has helped Russia and other states of the former Soviet Union improve security over their nuclear material. The Clinton Administration committed funds in Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus to eliminate strategic nuclear weapons, convert defense industries to civilian production, and provide useful, non-military projects for scientists whose knowledge of weapons of mass destruction would make attractive targets for recruitment by potential proliferators. It arranged for the conversion of 500 tons of Russian highly-enriched uranium from dismantled weapons to civil reactor fuel. It safely disposed of more than 600 kilograms of highly-enriched uranium from Kazakhstan. These were smart investments in our future, for tightened control over nuclear materials and weapons greatly enhances the security of America's citizens.

"Our patient but hardheaded diplomacy has secured an agreement with North Korea on nuclear issues that is clearly and profoundly in our interest. The critics of that agreement are wrong. The deal stops North Korea's nuclear program in its tracks. It will roll it back in years to come."

[President Clinton, January, 1995].

For at least the past ten years, the world has known that North Korea had an active nuclear program. Without the President's persistent and tough diplomacy, North Korea would be
completing reactors designed to produce dozens of weapons' worth of plutonium annually. Instead, North Korea has halted and will eventually eliminate its potentially deadly plutonium production program. International inspectors confirm that the program is frozen and they will continue to monitor it. Some have criticized the Framework, but the only alternative they have to offer is a nuclearized North Korea, rising tensions on the Korean peninsula, and the risk of war with the potential for countless American and Korean lost lives.

Iraq's SCUD missile attacks on Israel and Saudi Arabia during the Gulf War brought home to all Americans the real threat posed by the spread of ballistic missiles in regions of tension. The United States has responded to this threat by securing commitments from four key potential missile suppliers -- Russia, Ukraine, China and South Africa -- to control the transfer of ballistic missiles and related technology.

The Gulf War also underscored the dangers to American forces of the proliferation of chemical and biological weapons. A new international treaty prohibiting all activities related to the acquisition and use of chemical weapons -- the Chemical Weapons Convention -- has been completed. President Clinton has submitted this treaty to the Senate and has called upon all countries to ratify quickly so that it can enter into force at the earliest possible date. The President also has directed that the U.S. promote new measures to strengthen the international treaty outlawing biological weapons -- the 1972 Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention.

In the years ahead, the President will continue to build on these accomplishments. The United States will lead the effort in support of those agreements that can best stop the spread of weapons of mass destruction: Achieving the indefinite and unconditional extension of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, attaining full Russian compliance with the Biological and Toxic Weapons Convention, and concluding at the earliest possible date a treaty banning all nuclear tests and the production of nuclear materials for weapons. The United States also will remain vigilant in monitoring Saddam Hussein's weapons program and will continue to press other states to stop assisting Iran's efforts to acquire nuclear arms and other weapons of mass destruction.

In the post-Cold War world, when the nuclear arms race seems a relic of the past, it is tempting to neglect these broader efforts. But doing so would be irresponsible. The actions taken by the President today offer future generations of Americans the best and most concrete form of protection.
X. ADVANCING EUROPEAN SECURITY

**Actions to Date**

Europe is central to America's security and to its prosperity. President Clinton's goal is an integrated democratic Europe cooperating with the United States to keep the peace and promote prosperity. The President has taken decisive action on this front:

- Initiated the process of bringing Europe's new democracies into NATO
- Proposed and helped create the Partnership for Peace in Europe.
- Undertook actions with NATO allies and the United Nations to contain the conflict in Bosnia, alleviate suffering, tighten sanctions against Serbia and the Bosnian Serbs, and enforced a no-fly zone.

**Background**

European stability is vital to our own safety, a lesson we have learned twice at great cost this century. A stable Europe and vibrant European economies also mean more jobs for Americans at home and investment opportunities abroad. Success on this fronts largely depends on America's ability to forge durable security structures with nations in the region.

With the collapse of the Soviet empire and the emergence of new democracies in its wake, the United States has an unparalleled opportunity to contribute to a stable, free and undivided Europe. President Clinton is determined to seize it.

**The Initiative**

"Over time, [European and transatlantic institutions], working in close cooperation with the United Nations can support and extend the democracy, stability and prosperity that Western Europe and North America have enjoyed for 50 years. This is the future we are working to build."

[President Clinton, December 5, 1994].
In the last two years, the Clinton Administration has made considerable progress in building and adapting institutions of European security. At the President's initiative, the January 1994 NATO Summit approved the Partnership for Peace - the first security arrangement that can encompass all countries of the continent. To date, 23 countries (including Russia) have joined the Partnership, paving the way for a growing program of military cooperation and political consultation, and increasing our own security.

President Clinton also has taken important steps to strengthen NATO, the historic guarantor of peace and stability in Europe. During his trip to Europe in July, the President reaffirmed his commitment to NATO's future expansion. Expanding NATO will promote our interests by reducing the chance of conflict in Europe's eastern half - the starting point of two world wars and of the Cold War. The prospect of membership will build confidence in the new democracies and provide them with a powerful incentive to consolidate their reforms. During 1995, under our leadership, NATO allies will agree on the process and objectives of NATO's gradual expansion.

The United States worked closely with Russia, Latvia, and Estonia to facilitate agreements on the complete withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltics. This, coupled with the final withdrawal of Russian forces from Germany, means that for the first time since the end of World War II no Russian troops remain in Central and Eastern Europe.

The United States also has led efforts by NATO and the United Nations to prevent the conflict in the former Yugoslavia from spreading into a broader European war, alleviate human suffering, and encourage the parties to negotiate. Of course, we remain frustrated by the intractability of the Bosnian war. Yet, while we have not succeeded in achieving a political settlement, the Clinton Administration led the fight to tighten international economic sanctions against Serbia and the Bosnian Serbs and established the United Nations War Crimes Tribunal, which is beginning to prosecute its first cases. American leadership also paved the way for NATO's decision to enforce a no-fly zone and for its ultimatum ending Serb shelling of Sarajevo.
XD. BEING AN EFFECTIVE PEACEMAKER AND MEDIATOR

"The United States has been proud to serve as a full partner in the search for peace [in the Middle East]. Not by imposing peace or making life and death decisions for others. That must be the responsibility of the leaders and people of the region. Rather, America's role is to facilitate negotiated compromise and to underwrite reasonable risk-taking. And that is why we have done."

[President Clinton, August, 1994].

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**Actions to Date**

Because of its moral leadership and stature, the United States enjoys a unique position to broker peace, thereby preventing regional conflicts from threatening our security. President Clinton has played a key role in resolving long-standing international disputes. Since taking office, he:

- Helped Israel and the Palestinians implement their historic accord.
- Helped Israel and Jordan achieve a peace treaty.
- Contributed to a historic cease-fire and negotiations for peace in Northern Ireland.
- Helped Muslims and Croats end their war in Bosnia and helped establish a bicommunal Bosnian-Croat Federation.
- Encouraged peaceful resolution of crises in Africa - including South Africa, Liberia, Angola, and Mozambique.
- Developed a comprehensive framework for U.S. policy on peacekeeping and peace-enforcement in the post-Cold War era.

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**Background**

Too often, regional conflicts persist until they develop into crises with serious security implications for the United States or its allies. The best examples are in the Middle East, where enduring conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbors has brought us to the brink of direct military engagement and where
Americans have had to pay a heavy price for other regional disputes.

That is why our presidents historically have been involved in efforts to mediate between entrenched adversaries. President Clinton stands firmly in that tradition. Through his personal engagement, he has helped resolve and mediate some of the most intractable and significant regional problems of our time.

The Initiative

For almost half a century, administrations of both parties have understood America's vital interests in the Middle East: To ensure Israel's security and to guarantee unimpeded access to oil. We know from experience how events in the region can have a direct impact on our well-being - by raising the price of oil and strangling our economy, or by fueling the kind of terrorist extremism witnessed in New York. This is why on more than one occasion - for instance during Operation Desert Storm - American soldiers have risked their lives to defend our vital national interests in this region. It also is why the United States has worked tirelessly to achieve a comprehensive peace between Arabs and Israelis. Never before have we been closer to that goal.

Patient American diplomacy and President Clinton's personal involvement helped bring about many historic firsts in the Middle East peace progress: The handshake of peace between Israeli Prime Minister Rabin and Chairman Arafat on the White House lawn; the historic peace treaty between Israel and Jordan; progress on ending the Arab boycott of Israel; a package of international assistance to help finance the difficult task of peace-building; and new ties between Israel and a growing number of Arab states. The United States also facilitated serious negotiations between Israel and Syria and between Israel and Lebanon. In each case, credit belongs to those nations' leaders and their courageous people. But in each of these instances, countries of the region have looked to America's leadership to help move them towards a peaceful settlement. And with each of these steps, our country and our economy grow safer and more secure.

The same farsighted commitment to peace guided the United States efforts to bring about a settlement in another region with close historic ties to our nation. In Northern Ireland, the President helped achieve a historic cease-fire by both the Irish Republican Army and loyalist paramilitaries. To support the Irish people as they move towards reconciliation, he also
announced a White House Conference on Trade and Investment in Ireland which will be held next May.

In other contexts during the past two years, the United States has played a major, and in some cases decisive, role in facilitating negotiated compromise. America played a leading role in bringing an end to two decades of civil war and promoting national reconciliation in Angola and Mozambique. Elsewhere in Africa - in Burundi, Liberia, and Sudan - the United States encouraged peaceful resolution of internal disputes. We helped South Africans rid themselves of apartheid, and Haitians of their repressive military regime. In Bosnia, United States diplomacy helped Muslims and Croats end their war and negotiate a Federation between the two communities. Throughout, the President has been an effective peacemaker whose actions already have had an impact in changing the lives of millions of individuals in Africa, Europe, and the Middle East.

"The reason we have supported [peacekeeping] missions is not, as some critics in the United States have charged, to subcontract American foreign policy, but to strengthen our security, protect our interests, and to share among nations the costs and effort of pursuing peace. Peacekeeping cannot be a substitute for our own national defense efforts, but it can strongly supplement them."

[President Clinton's address to the UN General Assembly, September, 1993].

Most of our efforts to broker peace or mediate conflict do not involve U.S. forces. However, there are times where our forces, along with others in the international community, are needed to keep the peace. This is a tool every President from Truman and Eisenhower to Reagan and Bush has used to advance America's interests. Under President Clinton's leadership, the United States has deployed over 500 peacekeepers in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to prevent an expansion of the Bosnian conflict that could imperil stability in Europe. There as elsewhere, peacekeeping operations can be an important means to support our national security interests.

But President Clinton is determined to improve the way these international efforts are conducted. His policy on Reforming Multilateral Peace Operations is a comprehensive framework to address peacekeeping issues in the post-Cold War age. The President will not hand a blank check to the United Nations; rather, his policy review requires the U.S. to make disciplined choices about whether we will support multilateral peace operations. President Clinton will ensure that our engagement abroad remains selective, focused on the challenges that are most relevant to our interests, and that United Nations peace
operations are carried out with clear objectives and with a clear endpoint in mind. The President also will reduce our share of UN peacekeeping payment from 31 to 25% this year, and get other countries to assume their fair share.

Overall, America’s willingness to facilitate negotiated compromise and to underwrite reasonable risk-taking builds on a common-sense principle: It is a wise investment in our national security to help resolve potentially dangerous conflicts at minimal human and material cost.
XE. PROMOTING DEMOCRACY

"A coalition for democracy -- it's good for America. . . . Our efforts to help build more democracies will make us all more secure, more prosperous, and more successful, as we try to make this era of terrific change our friend and not our enemy."

[President Clinton's address to the UN General Assembly, September 26, 1994].

Actions to Date

Securing and expanding the community of democratic nations is consistent with American ideals and advances our national interests. During the past two years, the United States has:

- Assisted the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union such as Russia and Ukraine make progress toward democracy and market reforms.

- Supported the democratic and free market transformation of formerly communist states in Central and Eastern Europe.

- Restored democracy and created a secure and stable environment in Haiti.

- Assisted in South Africa's transition to democracy by providing support for elections and development.

- Hosted the Summit of the Americas, the first gathering in nearly 30 years of the democratic nations of our hemisphere.

Background

All of America's strategic interests - from promoting prosperity at home to checking global threats before they threaten our territory - are served by enlarging the community of democratic and free market nations. Democratic nations are less likely to wage war; they are more likely to promote open markets and free trade; and they are more likely to provide people with the economic and political tools to build their futures in their countries, not to flee their home. Expanding the community of democratic nations is thus directly related to the physical and economic security of all Americans: It reduces the risk that the United States will have to use its military forces to defend
itself or is allies, increases opportunities for U.S. exports, and stems the flow of refugees to our shores.

In other words, there is no dichotomy between America's interests and America's values. America's efforts to help build more democracies will make us all more secure, more prosperous, and more successful.

In the past few years, we have witnessed a rising tide of states moving away from repressive governance and toward democracy. The Clinton Administration's policy of enlargement aims at consolidating those regimes and broadening their commitment to democracy. The core of the President's strategy is to help democracy and markets expand and survive in countries where we have the strongest security concerns and where we can make the greatest difference: In states with large economies, nuclear weapons, critical locations, or the potential to generate refugee flows into our nation.

This is not a democratic crusade; it is a pragmatic commitment to help freedom take hold where that will help us most. Over the past two years, President Clinton has taken decisive steps to defend democracy where it most counts—in Russia, in other states of the former Soviet Union, in Central and Eastern Europe, and in our own hemisphere.

The Initiative

"Democracy is rooted in compromise not conquest. It rewards tolerance, not hatred. Democracies rarely wage war on one another. They make more reliable partners in trade, in diplomacy and in the stewardship of our global environment. In democracies with the rule of law and respect for political, religious and cultural minorities are more responsive to their own people and to the protection of human rights."

[President Clinton's address to the UN General Assembly, September, 1993].

Supporting the democratic and free market transformation of the nations emerging from the former Soviet bloc—Central and Eastern Europe, Russia, Ukraine, and other newly independent states—is a priority for the Clinton Administration, for America has a tremendous stake in the success of this historic process. Like its past, Russia's future will have a critical impact on our nation. If reform succeeds, we can turn a former threat into a valued diplomatic and economic partner, secure compliance with international non-proliferation accords, and be able to devote a greater share of our resources to creating jobs.
or educating our children. The President -- recognizing that Russia's historic transformation will experience ups and downs -- has not wavered from the course of patient, responsible support for Russian reform.

Two World Wars and a Cold War bear witness to our enduring commitment to -- and stake in -- Central and Eastern Europe. The Clinton Administration recognized that the successful transformation of this region into one of democratic states would enhance our security and create new opportunities for trade. These nations have already made significant progress in their transformation; their successful integration into an expanding democratic community would show the way for other nations of the post-communist world.

To strengthen democracy, market economic reform, and security in the entire post-Soviet and Central Europe, the Clinton Administration:

- Intensified our economic, security and political cooperation with Central and Eastern European democracies, beginning with the President's Prague Summit in January 1994 and continuing through the Riga and Warsaw trips in July and the Budapest trip in December;

- Created a commission (led by Vice-President Gore and Russian Prime Minister Chernomydin) to expand economic and commercial ties with Russia and promote mutually advantageous cooperation in science, space, and the environment;

- Greatly expanded relations with Ukraine, Kazakhstan and other newly independent states;

- Secured a comprehensive assistance package for the new independent states to help them develop into market economies and become attractive partners for American trade and investment;

- Launched an intensified effort to promote job-creating and wealth-generating trade and investment with Central and Eastern Europe, through the Trade and Investment Conference for Central and Eastern Europe held in Cleveland in January.

Closer to home, the President has taken steps to consolidate the transition to democracy and free markets in our hemisphere. As a result, regional stability has increased and trade opportunities multiplied.
When then-Governor Clinton ran for the Presidency, he promised to toughen sanctions against the military rulers of Haiti until democracy was restored. On October 15, 1994, using a combination of vigorous diplomatic pressure and the threat of overwhelming U.S. military power, the United States led a multinational coalition that peacefully restored President Aristide and his constitutionally established government. American and other troops have now created an environment in which Haitians can live in security rather than flee to our shores at great risk to themselves. At the same time, the United States and others are working with Haitians to train a new police force, build judicial institutions, and hold free and fair elections.

President Clinton also brought together all 34 democratically elected leaders of the Western hemisphere at the Summit of the Americas. The gathering both symbolized and accelerated the historic move towards a democratic hemisphere, with the prospect of genuine political stability and expanding markets.

The President has been steadfast in his support for democracy in other critical locations. Convinced that South Africa has the potential to alter the world trend toward greater ethnic division and establish a powerful model for democratic reform, the Clinton Administration played an aggressive role in helping South Africa shape its democratic future. The United States supported the country's first free, multiracial elections with $435 million in aid. Following President Mandela's election, the Administration reaffirmed its commitment with a $600 million trade and investment package. This support will benefit not only South Africans but Americans as well, for it will generate increased trade and export opportunities in a dynamic market.
XF. CONFRONTING TRANSNATIONAL THREATS

"There are still dangers in the world -- rampant arms proliferation, bitter regional conflicts, ethnic and nationalist tensions in many new democracies, severe environmental degradation the world over, and fanatics who seek to cripple the world's cities with terror. As the world's greatest power, we must, therefore, maintain our defenses and responsibilities."

[President Clinton's State of the Union address, January, 1994]

Actions to Date

We live in a world in which the security of Americans is tied to the security of others in countless ways. We need to take these transnational threats head on, lest they jeopardize our immediate safety and the well-being of future generations. Since taking office, the Clinton Administration:

- Blocked the assets in the United States of terrorist organizations that threaten to disrupt the Middle East peace process and prohibited financial transactions with these groups.

- Carried out a massive humanitarian mission in Rwanda that saved several thousand lives.

- Negotiated and Signed the Desertification Convention that will help preserve the world's drylands.

- Asserted world leadership on environmental and population issues, playing a key role at the International Conference on Population and Development.

Background

In today's world, we face a number of transnational problems that jeopardize international stability, America's security, and the long-term well-being of our citizens. These threats might not appear as immediate as direct military challenges. But they can be just as significant.

Transnational phenomena such as terrorism, international crime, alien smuggling, humanitarian catastrophes, environmental degradation, natural resource depletion, and or unsustainable
population growth, have both short and long-term security implications for every American. If our generation does not resolutely tackle these problems, they will threaten America's way of life and prosperity. That fundamental principle governs President Clinton's strategy.

The Initiative

"This year, I'll submit to Congress comprehensive legislation to strengthen our hand in combating terrorists -- whether they strike at home or abroad. As the cowards who bombed the World Trade Center found out, this country will hunt down terrorists and bring them to justice. ... We cannot permit the future to be marred by terror and fear and paralysis"

[President Clinton's State of the Union address, January 23, 1995].

As the World Trade Center bombing and repeated terrorist actions in the Middle East remind us, international terrorism threatens our national security interests and the physical safety of our citizens. President Clinton is committed to punish and deter terrorists. Following a determination that Iraq plotted an assassination attempt against former President Bush, President Clinton ordered a cruise missile attack against the headquarters of Iraq's intelligence service. At the same time, America is increasing international pressure against states that sponsor terrorists, and sharing intelligence and coordinating anti-terrorist efforts with friends and allies. And the United States obtained convictions against defendants in the bombing of the World Trade Center.

This year, the President will send to the Congress comprehensive anti-terrorism legislation that will strengthen our ability to prevent terrorist acts, identify those who carry them out and bring them to justice. As part of that effort, the President signed an executive order to block terrorist organizations' assets in the United States. The President's action provides the Administration with a new tool to combat fundraising in this country on behalf of organizations that use terror to undermine the Middle East peace process.

Under President Clinton's leadership, the United States is confronting similar transnational problems head on - international crime, drug trafficking, and alien smuggling. The United States is insisting that other countries extradite or prosecute international fugitives and ensure that convicted criminals serve tough sentences. The United States also is mobilizing global law enforcement against the drug cartels and
using foreign aid to back legal alternatives to opium poppy and cocoa cultivation. The Clinton Administration's resolute response to the smuggling of large numbers of aliens by criminal syndicates has saved American citizens millions of dollars.

Humanitarian tragedies are yet another global issue that threaten to spill over across borders, result in massive population transfers, and ultimately destabilize entire regions. While the United States cannot and will not intervene in all circumstances, the President will take appropriate steps to contain these crises and alleviate their impact. In Rwanda, the humanitarian catastrophe dwarfed the ability of civilian relief agencies to respond, and the need for relief was urgent. The action of our troops saved hundreds of thousands of lives. We delivered more than 1,300 tons of equipment, food, water and medicine. We increased safe water production and distribution from nothing to 100,000 gallons a day. Likewise, our forces came to the help of the people in Bosnia, carrying out the longest humanitarian air lift in history.

"Let us also work far more ambitiously to fulfill our obligations as custodians of this planet, not only to improve the quality of life for our citizens and the quality of our air and water and the Earth itself, but also because the roots of conflict are so often entangled with the roots of environmental neglect and the calamity of famine and disease."

[President Clinton's address to the UN General Assembly, September, 1993].

The range of environmental risks serious enough to jeopardize our security includes deforestation, uncontrolled population growth, industrial pollution, loss of biodiversity, ozone depletion, and global climate change. To confront these challenges requires forging partnerships among governments and exercising forceful international leadership. The Clinton Administration has done both. In the past two years, the United States negotiated and signed the Desertification Convention, which will protect long-term use of inhabited drylands. Combating desertification is of critical importance to the world's future - to the health of our environment, the availability of resources, the elimination of famine and malnutrition. The Administration also concluded negotiations on the Law of the Sea Treaty, protecting U.S. interests in access to the mineral resources of the deep seabed, and signed the Biodiversity Convention.

America has taken a leading international role to phase out the production of the most ozone-depleting substances. And the U.S. asserted world leadership on population issues, playing a
key role during the Cairo conference on Population and Development to achieve a broad international consensus. The Program of Action will result in increased availability of voluntary family planning and reproductive health services, strengthening of family ties, the empowerment of women, and a reduction in infant and child mortality through immunizations and other programs. In a very real sense, the Clinton Administration has mobilized the world community on behalf of our children and of their well-being.