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ATT CREATOR: Theo Lubke

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COMMENT

AUTHOR : National Security Council

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COMMENT :

TOP ALL

PRINTER FONT 24_POINT_ROMAN

11. PROTECTING OUR NATION'S

SECURITY

Introduction

HORIZONTAL_PITCH 11

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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, and 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 and Iran, by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, such as 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, and 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, dictatorships, 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, and 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, fisheries, water, and arable land.

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 our efforts to open markets and revitalize our economy, he has taken bold actions on seven 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 American men, women, and children.

? Advancing regional security to enhance stability in areas vital to our safety.

? Acting as 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.

? Promoting defense reinvestment to encourage the development of an integrated defense and civilian industrial base.

President Clinton and his Administration already have made substantial progress in all seven areas. These accomplishments are improving the lives of every American.

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11A. KEEPING OUR MILITARY STRONG AND READY TO FIGHT
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?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.?

President Clinton
State of the Union
January 25, 1994

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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. The Administration has:

? Obtained congressional passage of defense budgets that reflect the President's strong commitment to military readiness.

? Increased its initial funding plan for defense three times, and requested and received defense supplementals three times as world events have unfolded -- ensuring that our armed forces have the funds they need to carry out their missions.

? Recently proposed a \$25 billion increase in 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.

? Improved the quality of life -- including pay raises and child support care -- for our men and women in uniform and their families.

? Used force decisively and effectively when necessary -- as in Iraq and Haiti.

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Background

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HORIZONTAL_PITCH 11
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A strong defense is the best safeguard of our country's security. We jeopardize all of our other efforts to enhance our nation's well-being if we do not have the military capability to defend our vital interests. Our military must deter our adversaries and reassure our friends and allies that America is prepared to put force behind the defense of our interests. And, when we commit them to combat, our military forces must prevail decisively. That is why we devote more than 90% of all our expenditures for defense and foreign policy to our armed forces.

In today's world of diverse dangers, our armed forces also must be prepared and trained to confront new threats -- newly aggressive regional powers, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism and 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 the President's commitment to our national security and the unsurpassed abilities of our armed forces.

The Initiative

HORIZONTAL_PITCH 9
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? Defense Budgets to Maintain and Strengthen Military Readiness

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"...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."

PRINTER_FONT 14_POINT_ROMAN

President Clinton
 Address to the Nation
 June 26, 1993

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 prepared to use force decisively where our vital interests are at stake. The President's persistent efforts to put resources into training and readiness, and his willingness to back diplomacy with force meet these objectives. The exceptional performance of our armed forces from Haiti to the Persian Gulf have demonstrated that our military remains the best trained, the best prepared, and the best equipped fighting force in the world.

Keeping our forces ready to fight wherever and whenever necessary is the President's first defense priority. In 1993, the Administration increased its original defense

budget by \$13 billion to cover funding shortfalls 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, and provide the resources needed to equip our forces with the next generation of defense hardware.

? Quality of life improvements

Because the Clinton Administration recognizes that our men and women in uniform are the backbone of our defense, the Defense Funding Initiative

also includes funds to improve the quality of life for our troops and their families. It will support pay raises to the maximum extent possible under the law, provide 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.

? The ?Bottom Up Review?

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"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

PRINTER FONT 14_POINT_ROMAN

Statement on Defense Readiness
December 1, 1994

An effective defense also means one that is suited to today's strategic environment. To adapt our military to the challenges of the post-Cold War era, and at the President's direction, the Department of Defense carried out the Bottom-Up and Nuclear Posture Reviews. The Bottom-Up Review examined the structures and strategies of our conventional forces and recommended a plan to deter and, if necessary, fight and defeat aggression by potentially hostile regional powers. It underscored the need for forces that can be deployed quickly and that can support U.S. forward-deployed forces to halt an invasion and defeat an aggressor. Today, in concert with our allies, our forces are prepared to fight -- and win -- two conflicts, each the size of the Gulf War, that might happen almost simultaneously.

To adapt our military to current conditions also means closing unneeded military bases. To assist the economic redevelopment of communities affected by these closures, the Administration is implementing a \$20 billion defense reinvestment and conversion plan to help hard hit workers, communities, and businesses. The President also 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.

? Using force when necessary

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"During these past two years, our military has time and again demonstrated its readiness and its war-fighting and peacekeeping capabilities. From Korea to Macedonia, to Rwanda and Haiti, we have placed great burdens on our men and women in uniform, and they have responded magnificently. They have demonstrated a truly outstanding ability to deploy quickly, provide security, and to help ensure stability."

PRINTER FONT 14_POINT_ROMAN

President Clinton
Statement on Defense Readiness
December 1, 1994

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 - in Iraq, in Haiti, or in Rwanda - have made our country safer and stronger.

? In the Persian Gulf, swift and decisive military action kept Iraq from repeating its aggression against Kuwait and forced Iraq to withdraw its threatening troop deployment from the Kuwaiti border.

? In Haiti, the ruling generals agreed to give up power peacefully only once they knew the President had ordered U.S. armed forces into action. Since then, our military's performance and each phase of Operation Uphold Democracy -- from planning to intervention to our work today -- has achieved its major objectives. A carefully planned, well-executed strategy led by the American military has succeeded in creating a secure and safe environment for the people of Haiti.

? In Rwanda, the U.S. provided its unique logistical capabilities at a time when the crisis overwhelmed the United Nations and non-governmental organizations and when our help was essential. Operation Support Hope helped save the lives of tens of thousands of people. Our mission has been accomplished, and our forces have now turned over responsibility for humanitarian aid to non-governmental relief agencies.

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11B. REDUCING THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND OTHER WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

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

President Clinton

Address to the United Nations General Assembly
 September 27, 1993

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Actions to Date

Reducing the threat posed by weapons of mass destruction is critical to our security. The Administration has made significant strides by shrinking existing arsenals of nuclear weapons. It has also achieved considerable gains in preventing more countries from building nuclear weapons and in curbing the development of chemical and biological weapons. Over the past two years, the Clinton Administration has:

? Brought the START I treaty into force, which will eliminate bombers and missile launchers carrying over 9,000 Soviet and U.S. strategic nuclear weapons -- a reduction of 40% -- and opens the door to ratification of START II, which will make even deeper cuts.

? Concluded an agreement that unblocked the process of eliminating nuclear weapons from Ukraine and provided funds to facilitate the elimination of nuclear weapons in Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan.

? Worked to strengthen the protection, control, and accounting of nuclear materials in the former Soviet Union.

? Reached an agreement with Russia to stop targeting missiles at each others' citizens and cities.

? Secured an agreement with North Korea that will eliminate that country's threatening nuclear program.

? Secured commitments from Russia, Ukraine, China, and South Africa to control the transfer of missiles and related technology.

? Submitted for Senate ratification, the Chemical Weapons Convention, which will ban these weapons, and promoted new measures to strengthen the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention.

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Background
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By the end of the Cold War, the United States and the Soviet Union had amassed huge arsenals of nuclear weapons. The end of the East-West conflict brought a chance to make deep cuts in these forces. But the collapse of the Soviet Union created an obstacle to

rapid progress in nuclear arms control; a significant part of the Soviet Union's strategic forces was stationed in republics that acquired

independence after the collapse of communist power. That raised the question of whether several states with nuclear weapons would succeed the one that had existed before. That also left in doubt whether serious arms reductions would be possible in such a changed world -- or whether more nuclear rivalries would arise.

The post-Cold War period has also made preventing the spread of nuclear weapons even more difficult. Due to advances in technology and the demise of the Soviet Union, nations and even terrorist groups now have better opportunities for getting hold of the materials needed to build a nuclear weapon. Material from dismantled weapons is in danger of being diverted, and the fear has grown that impoverished scientists might sell their expertise to the highest bidder.

The possibility for proliferation of nuclear as well as biological and chemical weapons now poses a major threat to our national security. These weapons can destabilize entire regions. They could turn a local conflict into a global human and environmental catastrophe.

To enhance America's safety, we must reduce the number of nuclear weapons that already exist and prevent other countries or terrorists from acquiring them. We must also prevent the spread of other weapons of mass destruction, such as chemical, and biological weapons.

The Initiative

HORIZONTAL_PITCH 9

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? Reducing the number of nuclear weapons

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

PRINTER FONT 14_POINT_ROMAN

President Clinton

January 12, 1995

White House Conference on Trade and
Investment in Central and Ea

Europe

When President Clinton took office, he vowed to do everything in his power to reduce the danger posed by nuclear weapons. While there is still much to do, the American people worry less about nuclear war than at any time since the dawn of the nuclear age.

Because of determined efforts by the President, last year the leaders of Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan all joined with the President to bring into force the START I agreement, which had been negotiated by Presidents Reagan and Bush. The treaty will make deep cuts in the global arsenal, eliminating the missiles and planes in U.S. and former Soviet forces that carry 9,000 warheads. Already, both sides are dismantling weapons well ahead of schedule. Entering the treaty into force paves the way for prompt ratification of the START II treaty, which would further reduce our nations' nuclear stockpiles to one-third their Cold War strength. What's more, Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan have all forsworn nuclear weapons entirely and signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Only a year ago, nearly 8,000 nuclear warheads from the former Soviet Union were aimed at the United States. Today, because of an agreement between President Clinton and President Yeltsin of Russia, our nations no longer target each other's cities or citizens. Even in the very unlikely event a Russian missile were accidentally launched, it would not hit our country.

Our arms control progress has served our security interests in allowing us to reduce our strategic programs. That has enabled us to shift resources to efforts such as putting our economic house in order by reducing the budget deficit and boosting the readiness of our conventional forces.

? Controlling the spread of nuclear weapons

President Clinton has also made containing the spread of nuclear weapons a top priority and has proposed a comprehensive approach to controlling fissile materials. Since the greatest danger comes from theft of bomb materials in the stockpiles of the former Soviet Union, the U.S. is helping Russia and other newly independent states transport, safeguard, and destroy nuclear weapons. Those efforts have been possible because of farsighted legislation by Senators Nunn and Lugar to dismantle the nuclear arsenals of the former Soviet Union and to help employ nuclear scientists in nonmilitary projects.

At the same time, we are reducing the total amount of material needing protection. Under an agreement reached by the Administration with Russia last year, 500 tons of highly enriched uranium will be converted to low enriched uranium for reactor fuel that cannot be used for nuclear weapons. In a major operation called ?Sapphire,? the U.S. also arranged for the airlift of more than half a ton of highly enriched uranium -- enough to make dozens of nuclear weapons -- from Kazakhstan to safe storage in the United States. These were smart investments in our future, for tightened control over nuclear materials and weapons greatly enhances the security of America's citizens.

? Eliminating the North Korean nuclear program

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

PRINTER FONT 14_POINT_ROMAN

President Clinton

January 12, 1995

White House Conference on Trade and
Investment in Central and Ea

Europe

For at least the past ten years, the world has known that North Korea had an active nuclear program. Because of the risks of a nuclear-armed North Korea, rising tensions on the Korean peninsula and even war, the Clinton Administration entered talks with Pyongyang.

Thanks to the President's tough diplomacy, the Framework Agreement that we reached means that North Korea has halted and will eventually eliminate its plutonium production program. Our agreement with Pyongyang is not built on trust. Instead, it sets up a system of international monitoring -- and the inspectors have already confirmed that North Korea's program is frozen. Plutonium that could have been processed into weapons material will be put under the supervision of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Construction on reactors that would have produced more such material has ended. If at any time North Korea fails to meet its obligations, we will withdraw the benefits of the agreement. Similarly, the Clinton Administration is maintaining the international coalitions necessary to isolate and prevent both Iraq and Iran from advancing their nuclear weapons programs.

? Chemical and biological weapons

The Gulf War demonstrated the range of new dangers that confront us in the Post Cold War era -- among them chemical and biological weapons and long-range missiles that can attack our forces and our allies. To confront these challenges, the Clinton Administration is:

? Urging the Senate to ratify the Chemical Weapons Convention, which will advance us toward the goal of eliminating chemical weapons under rigorous inspection.

? Working to negotiate legally binding measures to strengthen compliance with the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention, which outlaws these weapons.

? Strengthening the Missile Technology Control Regime. Already, we have commitments from four key potential missile suppliers -- Russia, Ukraine, China and South Africa -- to control the transfer of ballistic missiles and related technology.

In the months and years ahead, President Clinton will build on the immense progress that has been made thus far. He has set an ambitious -- and necessary -- agenda for the future.

First, the U.S. will try to raise the barrier against developing new generations of nuclear weapons by negotiating a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, which would end the practice of detonating nuclear devices for weapons purposes. To help secure that treaty, the President has extended the U.S. moratorium on nuclear testing. Second, we will continue to work to prevent more nations from building their own nuclear weapons by leading the charge for indefinite and unconditional extension of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, which is the cornerstone of our efforts to prevent nuclear weapons proliferation. Third, we will work to cut even deeper into the global arsenal by pushing to ratify START II. Fourth, we will press ahead with a number of other efforts to stop the spread of all weapons of mass destruction, including an international agreement to ban the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons use.

In a world with too many weapons of mass destruction, President Clinton is seizing the opportunity to do something about them. His initiatives offer the most wide-ranging and concrete efforts to reduce the danger from these weapons and give the American people the security they want.

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11C. ADVANCING REGIONAL SECURITY
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?...We must remain engaged in world affairs. That's the only way we can...protect our nation and keep small problems today from growing into dangerous crises tomorrow.?

President Clinton
Radio Address from the Kremlin
January 15, 1994

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Actions to Date

In the post-Cold War world, as old rivalries between nations have reemerged, making the United States more secure and prosperous depends on our ability to preserve stability in regions vital to our interests. To advance regional security the Clinton Administration has:

? Initiated the process of bringing Europe's new democracies into NATO and created the Partnership for Peace to promote military and political cooperation among European nations.

? Undertook actions with NATO allies and the United Nations to contain the conflict in Bosnia, alleviate civilian suffering, tighten sanctions against Serbia and the Bosnian Serbs, and enforce a no-fly zone.

? Successfully halted an Iraqi military threat to Kuwait and the Persian Gulf.

? Enhanced stability in our hemisphere by removing Haiti's military rulers and restoring that nation's democratic government.

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HORIZONTAL_PITCH 11

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HORIZONTAL_PITCH 9

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Background

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History teaches that the United States must stand ready to step in and protect friends and allies in order to defend our own national interests are jeopardized by regional instability, and by the actions of aggressor states. Preserving regional stability serves our long-term security goals

by preventing the spread of conflict. It also safeguards economic stability and helps generate more jobs for Americans at home and investment opportunities abroad. Success on these fronts largely depends on America's ability to

forge durable security relations with other nations.

The Initiative

HORIZONTAL_PITCH 9

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? Europe

?ver 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. That is the future we are working to build.?

PRINTER FONT 14_POINT_ROMAN_ITALIC

President Clinton

PRINTER FONT 14_POINT_ROMAN

December 5, 1994

Conference on Security and
Cooperation in Europe

European stability is vital to our own safety, a lesson we have learned twice this century at great cost. With the collapse of the Soviet empire and the emergence of new democracies in its wake, the United States has an unparalleled opportunity to help create a stable, free, and unified Europe. President Clinton is determined to seize this chance.

In the last year, the Clinton Administration has made good progress in building and adapting institutions of European security. First, President Clinton took 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. NATO expansion will promote our interests by reducing the chance of conflict in Central and Eastern Europe -- the starting point of two world wars and the Cold War. The prospect of NATO membership will build confidence in the new democracies and provide them with a powerful incentive to consolidate their political and economic reforms. NATO allies will agree in 1995 on the process and objectives of NATO's expansion.

Second, the President has continued to build and strengthen links between NATO and other European nations. At the President's initiative, the January 1994 NATO Summit approved the Partnership for Peace -- the first security arrangement that can encompass all the countries of Europe. To date, 23 countries, including Russia, have joined the Partnership, paving the way for a growing program of military cooperation and political consultation, all of which increases our own security.

Third, the United States has repeatedly taken the initiative to prevent conflicts and

smooth the way for a new and peaceful era in Europe. For example, we 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.

In addition, the United States has led efforts by NATO and the United Nations to prevent the conflict in the former Yugoslavia from spreading

into a broader European war. We have taken action to alleviate human suffering and encourage the parties to negotiate. While we have not succeeded in achieving a political settlement, the Clinton Administration has led the fight to tighten international economic sanctions against Serbia and the Bosnian Serbs, and has 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. And the troops we sent to Macedonia have helped prevent the Bosnian conflict from spreading.

The Administration will continue to play an active role in seeking to build a truly integrated Europe, one in which the new democracies of Central Europe and the former Soviet Union enjoy the security, prosperity, and individual liberty that Western European countries have enjoyed since the end of World War II. At the same time, the Administration will continue to play an active role in supporting democratization and economic reform throughout the former communist world, in close partnership with the European Union. An expanded community of economically-dynamic democracies will mean greater security for the United States and growing trade and investment opportunities -- to the benefit of all Americans

? Middle East

PRINTER FONT 14_POINT_ROMAN_ITALIC

?From the first days of our Revolution, America's security has depended on the clarity of this message: Don't tread on us....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 leaders or our citizens. We will combat terrorism. We will deter aggression. We will protect our people.?

PRINTER FONT 14_POINT_ROMAN

President Clinton

June 26, 1993

Address to the Nation on the strike

on Iraq Intelligence Headqua

In the Middle East, President Clinton demonstrated his commitment to America's leadership role. The immediate dispatch of troops to Kuwait stopped renewed Iraqi

aggression dead in its tracks, safeguarding vital U.S. interests in the region. Operation Vigilant Warrior illustrated once again the need and our ability to respond quickly to threats to our allies. The Administration will continue to enforce the no-fly zones and help protect the Kurdish minority.

The President is committed to preventing the emergence of another threat to our regional interests. To that end, he has implemented a strategy aimed at containing both Iraq and Iran, and will maintain America's long-standing presence in and near the Persian Gulf.

? The Western Hemisphere

Thanks in part to America's efforts, the Western Hemisphere is close to becoming the first entirely democratic hemisphere in the world -- Castro's Cuba is the sole exception. President Clinton's decisive action to restore democracy to Haiti and his hosting of the historic Summit of the Americas illustrate his determination to see the hemisphere become a region of stability, democracy, and growing economic opportunity.

Acting on his conviction that the situation in Haiti posed dangers to the United States and the hemisphere, President Clinton pursued this goal in the face of strong political opposition. Haiti's military rulers, who had long defied the will of the Haitian people and of the international community, backed down when they learned that the 82nd Airborne was enroute. By backing diplomacy with force, we achieved peacefully what we

were prepared to do with force. Since then, our forces have successfully led an international coalition to restore democracy in that country.

At the Summit of the Americas, President Clinton and the other 33 democratically elected leaders of the hemisphere began to map out a course to open new markets and create a free trade area throughout the Americas; to strengthen democracy in the region; and to improve the quality of life for its inhabitants. This new hemispheric dialogue and action plan -- which the President calls a "Partnership for Prosperity" -- will produce jobs, opportunity, and prosperity for our children and future generations.

We will also continue to cooperate with the countries of Latin America to enhance regional security and combat narcotics trafficking and terrorism. We will also be working with friends to help resolve the underlying causes of the recent border conflict between Peru and Ecuador. The United States, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile acted together in timely fashion to help contain the hostilities when they broke out early this year and we will work equally energetically to prevent their recurrence.

? Asia and the Pacific

The United States also has vital security interests in Asia and the Pacific, a region in which we fought three wars in this century. Increasingly, America's security and prosperity are tied to this region. President Clinton has maintained America's active military presence in Asia -- including our forward presence in South Korea and our bilateral security agreements -- to deter regional aggression and secure our national interests. He also has supported new regional exchanges -- such as the ASEAN Regional Forum -- to enlarge the regional security dialogue, promote transparency of defense policies, and improve communications on security issues.

? Africa

There is a new spirit of democracy and self-reliance throughout Africa. Our strategy embraces this new spirit because Africa matters -- as evidenced by high level visits by the Vice President, the National Security Adviser and the Deputy Secretary of State. Africa matters because of the huge potential of its people and its economies, potential that is already being realized to create jobs and exports for our own country. It matters because of the historic ties that bind our peoples, including 25 million African Americans. And it matters because the great global challenges of tomorrow -- promoting sustainable development, protecting human rights, stopping environmental decline, ensuring reasonable population growth, preempting ethnic tensions, and integrating the rich spiritual heritage of Islam into the demands of modern states -- can be seen in the challenges facing Africa today.

Throughout Africa, the Clinton Administration has supported democracy, sustainable economic development, and conflict resolution through negotiation, diplomacy, and peacekeeping. In the past two years, America has worked hard to enhance stability, particularly in Southern Africa. We helped bring an end to two decades of brutal civil war in Angola and Mozambique. We have fostered new cooperation with South Africa and provided assistance to that nation's historic transition to democratic rule. Under the innovative leadership of the U.S. Agency for International Development, we have launched a new initiative in the Horn of Africa to anticipate and address the causes of potential famine that threatens 25 million people. We have helped relieve the crushing burden of debt for many African nations. And we have responded to humanitarian crises in Rwanda, Liberia, Angola, Sudan, and elsewhere.

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11D. ACTING AS AN EFFECTIVE PEACEMAKER AND MEDIATOR

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?Who, a decade ago, would have dared predict the startling changes in South Africa, in the Middle East, in Ireland: the stunning triumph of democracy and majority rule; the redemption of the purpose of Nelson Mandela's life; the brave efforts of Israel and its Arab neighbors to build bridges of peace between their peoples; the earnest search by the people of Northern Ireland and Great Britain and Ireland to end centuries of division and decades of terror. In each case, credit belongs to those nations' leaders and their courageous people. But in each instance, the United States and other nations were privileged to help in these causes.?

President Clinton
 UN General Assembly
 September 26, 1994

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Actions to Date

Because of its moral leadership and stature, the United States enjoys a unique ability to help broker peace, thereby preventing regional conflicts from threatening our security. President Clinton has played a key role in resolving long-standing international disputes, including rivalries that were once considered intractable. Since taking office, the President:

? Helped Israel and the Palestinians implement their historic accord.

? Helped Israel and Jordan achieve a landmark peace treaty.

? Worked for the unprecedented cease-fire and negotiations for peace in Northern Ireland.

? Encouraged the 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

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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.

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

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The Initiative

HORIZONTAL_PITCH 11
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? Brokering Peace

?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 the people of the region. Rather, [America's] role is to facilitate negotiated compromise and to underwrite reasonable risk-taking. And that is exactly what we've done.?

President Clinton

August 24, 1994

Teleconference with the B'rith Conve

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. Experience has taught us that events in the region can directly influence our well-being -- by raising the price of oil and threatening our economy, or by fueling the kind of terrorist extremism witnessed in the World Trade Center bombing in New York. As a result, American soldiers have risked their lives in Operation Desert Storm and other efforts defending our vital national interests. And the United States has worked tirelessly to achieve a comprehensive peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors. Never before have we been closer to that goal.

We have witnessed extraordinary progress in the Middle East. Credit belongs to the leaders and courageous people of the nations of the region. But in each of these instances, countries have looked to America's leadership to help move them towards a peaceful settlement. President Clinton has been actively involved in the handshake of peace between

Israeli Prime Minister Rabin and PLO Chairman Arafat on the White House lawn; the 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. The President will continue to give his full support to the peace process, press the Arab League to end the boycott of Israel, and help create new structures of cooperation on arms control, regional security, and economic progress.

In Northern Ireland, the President helped achieve a historic cease-fire by both the Irish Republican Army and loyalist paramilitaries that has given new hope for a lasting political settlement. To support the people of Northern Ireland as they move towards reconciliation, this May he will sponsor a White House Conference on Trade and Investment in Ireland. The United States, and the millions of Americans who care deeply and have strong ties to Ireland and Britain, will continue to play an important role in supporting peace and expanding economic opportunities in the region.

In other regions, the United States recently has played a major, and in some cases decisive, role in facilitating negotiated compromise. We helped South Africans rid themselves of apartheid and played a leading role in bringing an end to two decades of civil war and promoting national reconciliation in Mozambique and Angola. Elsewhere in Africa -- in Liberia and Sudan -- the United States encouraged peaceful resolution of internal disputes, and we sent troops to Rwanda to promote reconciliation. Seeking to avert a major escalation of ethnic violence in Burundi, the United States has actively encouraged national reconciliation and enhanced our aid program to that effect. Throughout, the President has acted as an effective peacemaker whose actions have contributed to changing the lives of individuals in Africa, Europe, and the Middle East.

? Peacekeeping

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?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.?

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President Clinton

Address to the UN General Assembly

September 27, 1993

Most of our efforts to broker peace or mediate conflict do not involve U.S. forces. However, there are times when our forces, along with those of other nations, are needed to keep the peace. Every President from Truman and Eisenhower to Reagan and Bush has

crafted such efforts to advance America's interests. Under President Clinton's leadership, for example, the United States has deployed more than 700 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 effectively support our national security interests.

But President Clinton is determined to improve the way these

international efforts are conducted. On the basis of a comprehensive review, Reforming Multilateral Peace Operations, the U.S. will make disciplined choices about where and when we 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 a definite endpoint in mind. The President will also reduce our share of UN peacekeeping payment from 30% to 25% of the total UN peacekeeping budget this year, and get other countries to shoulder their fair share.

America's willingness to work for negotiated compromise and contribute to maintaining the peace builds on a common-sense principle: Our national security is better protected when we help resolve potentially dangerous conflicts before a conflict erupts. By acting as a peacemaker and mediator when asked, and by contributing to peacekeeping efforts when appropriate, the United States advances its interests while sharing the burden with our allies.

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 11E. PROMOTING DEMOCRACY
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"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
 Address to the UN General Assembly
 September 26, 1994

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Actions to Date

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

? Assisted the newly independent states of the former

Soviet Union, including Russia and Ukraine, to make progress toward democracy and market reforms.

? Supported the democratic and free market transformation of former communist states in Central and Eastern Europe.

? Helped restore democracy and stability 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 hemispheric summit in nearly 30 years -- an unprecedented gathering of the leaders of 34 democratic nations.

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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. They are also

more likely to provide people with the economic and political tools to build a future in their own countries. Expanding the community of democratic nations enhances the physical and economic security of all Americans: it reduces the risk that the United States will have to use military force to defend itself or its allies, stems the flow of refugees to our shores, and ultimately increases opportunities for U.S. exports.

Helping build more democratic nations also marries our self-interest with our values; Americans gain as freedom and liberty expand their reach around the globe.

In the past few years, numerous nations have broken the shackles of repressive government and turned toward democracy. The Clinton Administration's strategy is to help democracy and markets survive and expand in countries where we have the strongest security concerns and where we can make the greatest difference: in nations with large economies, nuclear weapons, critical locations, or the potential to generate major flows of refugees into our nation. The United States has a pragmatic commitment to help freedom take hold where it will help us most.

Over the past two years, President Clinton has taken decisive steps to support democracy in some of the most vital parts of the world -- in Russia and in other states of the former Soviet Union, in Central and Eastern Europe, and in our own hemisphere. At the same time, the President has sought to increase respect for fundamental human rights in all states.

The Initiative
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"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. 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.?"

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President Clinton
September 27, 1993
Address to the UN General Assembly

The Clinton Administration has strongly supported the democratic and free market transformation of the nations emerging from the former Soviet bloc because America has a tremendous stake in the success of this historic process. The course of events in Russia, Ukraine, other newly independent states and nations in Central and Eastern Europe, will have a critical impact on our nation.

While recognizing that Russia's historic transformation will experience ups and downs, the President has not wavered from the course of patient, responsible support for Russian reform. The President's reasons are clear: if reform succeeds, we can turn a former foe into a valued diplomatic and economic partner. We can prevent the buildup or spread of nuclear weapons and the theft of materials to build them, and ensure compliance with international non-proliferation accords. Reducing our nuclear arsenal, in turn, allows us to devote more resources to domestic priorities, including job creation, education, and crime prevention.

Two World Wars and a Cold War bear witness to our enduring commitment to Europe. As history has shown, the stakes are high in this part of the world. Over the last few years, the people of Central Europe, who suffered for two generations under the yoke of communism, displayed extraordinary courage in their pursuit of freedom.

The Clinton Administration recognized the importance of helping them transform their nations into democratic states. Their successful integration into an expanding democratic community would show the way to other nations of the post-communist world, enhance our security and create new opportunities for trade.

To strengthen democracy, encourage market reform, and enhance security in the former Soviet Union and Central and Eastern Europe, the Clinton Administration has:

? Intensified our economic, security and political cooperation with the new democracies, beginning with the President's Prague Summit in January 1994 and continuing through the Riga and Warsaw visits in July and the Budapest trip in December;

? Created a commission, led by Vice President Gore and Russian Prime Minister Chernomyrdin, to expand economic and commercial ties with Russia and promote mutually beneficial cooperation in science, space, and the environment;

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

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

? Launched an intensive effort to promote trade and investment in Central and Eastern Europe, beginning with the Trade and Investment Conference for Central and Eastern Europe held in Cleveland in January, 1995.

Closer to home, the President has taken steps to consolidate democracy and free

markets in our hemisphere. As a result, regional stability has increased and trade opportunities have multiplied.

In Haiti, a combination of vigorous diplomatic pressure and the threat of overwhelming U.S. military power convinced the Haitian generals to depart. Then, the United States led a multinational coalition that peacefully restored President Aristide and his constitutionally established government. American and other coalition troops have now created a secure environment for the Haitian people which has ended the dangerous flight of refugees to our shores. Our success has helped Haitians breath life back into the political institutions of their fragile democracy. Debate has replaced dictatorship and the government is seeking to serve all the citizens, not just the elites who have dominated Haiti for so long. The United States and others are working with Haitians to train a new police force, build judicial institutions, and hold free and fair elections.

At the end of March 1995, we will turn over responsibility to a United Nations peacekeeping force that will include about 2,500 U.S. troops. The UN force will help see Haiti through the parliamentary elections this spring and the presidential elections in December, and finish the job of training and deploying Haiti's civilian police. With democracy twice validated through elections and a new security force in place, the UN mandate will be complete and American troops will leave Haiti by February of 1996.

Last year, President Clinton also brought together all 34 democratically elected leaders of the Western hemisphere at the Summit of the Americas. The Summit's numerous initiatives and particularly its agreement on free trade will help deepen the democratic trend and enhance stability in the Americas. In Cuba, the Administration will pursue its efforts to help promote a peaceful transition to democracy so that, at long last, the Cuban people can join the community of free nations.

The President has been steadfast in his support for democracy in other vital areas. The Clinton Administration played an aggressive role in South Africa's transition to democracy and in its efforts to overcome the divisions of the past, helping to turn it into a powerful model for democratic reform in Africa and beyond. 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. The United States also encouraged nations like Mozambique and Cambodia along the path to democracy, and worked to help stop a democratic reversal in Guatemala.

Because there can be no democracy absent respect for human rights, President Clinton has also promoted human rights throughout the world -- without arrogance but

without apology. At the 1993 United Nations Conference on Human Rights, the U.S. forcefully and successfully argued for a reaffirmation of the universality of such rights. The United States has voiced its concerns on numerous occasions and will continue to do so both on a bilateral basis and in multilateral settings like the United Nations. To demonstrate our own willingness to adhere to international human rights standards, we ratified the international convention prohibiting discrimination on the basis of

race, and the Administration is seeking Senate consent to ratification for the convention prohibiting discrimination against women.

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11F. CONFRONTING TRANSNATIONAL THREATS

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?...[T]here 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 our responsibilities.?

President Clinton
January 25, 1994
State of the Union address

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Action to Date

Today, we face a new generation of threats to our security and our way of life --threats that know no national boundaries. We need to confront these transnational threats head on lest they jeopardize our safety and the well-being of future generations. Since taking office, the Clinton Administration has:

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

? Tracked down and begun to prosecute the alleged bombers of the World Trade Center.

? Carried out a massive humanitarian mission in Rwanda that saved tens of thousands of lives.

? Put an end to the massive influx of Cuban and Haitian migrants to the United States.

? Negotiated and signed the Desertification Convention, which will help preserve the world's arable land and prevent further expansion of deserts.

? Asserted world leadership on environmental and population issues, playing a key role at the

International Conference on Population and Development
in Cairo.

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Background
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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 each pose a devastating danger.

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

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The Initiative
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? Confronting terrorism
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?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.?

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President Clinton
January 24, 1995
State of the Union address

As the World Trade Center bombing and repeated terrorist actions in the Middle East remind us, international terrorism threatens our national security interests -- including the physical safety of our citizens. President Clinton is committed to tracking down and prosecuting terrorists and deterring them from striking again. Once it was clear that Iraq had plotted an assassination attempt against former President Bush, President Clinton ordered a cruise missile attack against the headquarters of Iraq's intelligence service. We are increasing pressure on states that sponsor terrorists, and coordinating stepped-up anti-terrorist efforts with our

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 freeze terrorist organizations' assets in the United States. The President's action provides the Administration with a new tool to combat fund

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-raising by organizations that use terror to undermine the Middle East peace process.

We will continue to maintain international sanctions against Libya that were imposed in response to the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103. These sanctions help isolate Libya, prevent it from pursuing aggressive policies and send a message to other would-be state sponsors of terrorism. They will be maintained until Libya allows the alleged perpetrators of this terrorist act to stand trial. And we will also pursue our policies of ?dual containment? against Iraq and Iran. The international sanctions against Iraq prevent it from rebuilding its defense establishment and from threatening its neighbors. Our efforts to isolate Iran seek to block it from acquiring weapons of mass destruction or undermining the peace process in the Middle East.

? Fighting narcotics and international crime

Under President Clinton's leadership, the United States is confronting other transnational problems head on -- international crime, drug trafficking, and alien smuggling. The United States is insisting that other countries prosecute international fugitives or extradite them to the U.S. to ensure that convicted criminals serve tough sentences. We are mobilizing law enforcement authorities around the world against the drug cartels and using foreign aid to promote legal alternatives to opium poppy and coca cultivation. To prevent the possible criminal diversion of material from dismantled nuclear weapons, we reached an agreement with Russia to convert 500 tons of highly enriched uranium into non-weapons grade material and airlifted more than half a ton of highly enriched uranium from Kazakhstan to the United States for safekeeping.

? Addressing humanitarian and refugee crises

Humanitarian catastrophes present yet another case of a global issue that can spill over across borders, result in massive population transfers, and destabilize entire regions. While the United States cannot and will not be the world's policeman, the President will take appropriate steps to contain crises and alleviate their impact. In Rwanda, the tragedy of civil war and the mass flight of the population dwarfed the ability of civilian relief agencies to respond. The need for relief was urgent. Our troops acted decisively, saving tens 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. In Bosnia as well, our forces came to the help of people caught in an unimaginable tragedy, carrying out the longest humanitarian air-lift in history, and helped lift the siege of Sarajevo.

In Haiti and in Cuba, our vigorous responses to crises allowed us to fulfill both our humanitarian and immigration control objectives. The United States protected our borders while providing a safe haven to Cuban and Haitian migrants at Guantanamo and elsewhere. Then, by establishing security and restoring democracy in Haiti, the United States made it

possible for more than 20,000 Haitian migrants to leave our facilities and return home. The once massive outflow of refugees -- which reached a high of 16,000 in July -- has stopped, sparing American taxpayers the cost of dealing with massive immigration and ensuring regional stability.

? Protecting our environment
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?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.?

PRINTER FONT 12_POINT_ROMAN

President Clinton
 Address to the UN General Assembly
 September 27, 1993

A range of environmental problems jeopardize our security -- deforestation, uncontrolled population growth, industrial pollution, loss of biodiversity, ozone depletion, and global climate change. Confronting 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 establishes general obligations for all governments to cooperate in stemming the tide of desertification. The health of our environment, the availability of resources, and the elimination of famine and malnutrition all depend on our efforts to prevent the encroachment of deserts. The United States also signed the Biodiversity Convention which addresses a wide range of critical issues -- from preservation and sustainable use of the world biodiversity to the safety of biotechnology.

During the Cairo conference on Population and Development, the U.S. played a key role and asserted world leadership on population issues. The conference's Program of Action will lead to increased availability of voluntary family planning and reproductive health services, a strengthening of family ties, and the empowerment of women.

The United States will be pursuing a number of significant initiatives over the coming year. 1995 is the year of the First Meeting of the Parties to the Climate Change Convention. We hope that this meeting will launch the beginning of a new round of negotiations for actions beyond the year 2000. We are also engaged in a number of separate negotiations on forest issues, oceans and fish, transportation of hazardous waste,

and ozone layer depletion. In addition, the U.S. is engaged in an effort to realign and reform the international organizations involved in the environment and sustainable development. The Clinton Administration has taken the lead in the world community on these issues, crafting solutions and building coalitions to meet the challenges of this new generation of transnational problems.

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11G. DEFENSE REINVESTMENT: MEETING THE CHALLENGES OF DEFENSE DOWNSIZING

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"...these changes had to come...If we take bold action, we can be the beneficiaries of change...Clearly, defense...[transition]...can be done and can be done well, making change our friend and not our enemy. But in order to do it we must act, act decisively, act

intelligently, and not simply react years after the cuts occur."

President Clinton

March 11, 1993

Remarks to Westinghouse Employees

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Actions to Date

Although the defense budget has been falling since 1986, previous administrations had no strategy for making the transition to a post-Cold War economy. President Clinton promised to change that. In March 1993, President Clinton announced a five-year, \$20 billion Defense Reinvestment Initiative designed both (i) to maintain our technology edge with a smaller defense budget; and (ii) to ease economic adjustment for those who have relied on defense spending for their livelihood.

Implementing a "dual-use technology strategy" to promote greater integration of our commercial and defense industries, the Pentagon has:

? Worked with Congress to overhaul procurement law and scrapped outmoded specifications and standards, enabling the military to take advantage of state-of-the-art commercial technology.

? Invested \$4 billion to advance "dual-use" technologies crucial to our military, such as high-performance computing and flat-panel displays.

? Supported the commercialization of defense technologies such as "stealth" composites and precision lasers, to make them more affordable to the military.

Acting to ease the economic adjustment of workers, firms and communities which have relied on defense spending:

? DoD reduced its civilian workforce in 1993-94 by 105,000, all but 7,200 by providing early retirement benefits and other incentives for voluntary separation.

? The Department of Labor awarded \$177 million to 99 locally-run projects for retraining 52,000 defense workers.

? DoD is facilitating the reuse of property from closing military bases by local communities by discounting the price of property used for job-creating economic development.

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CHALLENGE #1: INTEGRATING THE DEFENSE AND COMMERCIAL SECTORS

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Background

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Superior technology was the basis of America's military advantage throughout the Cold War. We must continue to maintain that technological edge in a post-Cold War era that still includes threats to our interests, values and security -- but we must do it on a tighter budget and in a world of global competition. Maintaining our edge in this new environment requires fundamental changes in the way the Department of Defense acquires the technology to support its weapons systems.

DoD must break down the barriers created over the last 30 years between the defense and civilian sectors. DoD's overreliance on military specifications and its cumbersome procurement system have led many commercial firms to refuse to do business with DoD altogether, while those that do often wall off their defense production. As a result, DoD has become reliant on an increasingly segregated defense industrial base.

Such a strategy is inappropriate. First, the cost of supporting a segregated defense industrial base has become prohibitive. Unit production costs of weapons systems have increased 5 to 7 percent a year since World War II -- not counting inflation. For example, the military is paying \$10 for computer chips virtually identical to chips sold commercially for \$1.

Second, in many important technologies, the defense industry is no longer the leader. Indeed, the new technologies most critical to our military advantage -- software, computers, semiconductors, telecommunications, advanced materials and manufacturing technologies -- are all being driven by fast-growing commercial demand. Because of their isolation and shrinking market, defense firms are not investing in new technology at rates comparable to those of their commercial counterparts that face global competition.

As a nation, we can no longer afford to maintain two distinct industrial bases. We must move toward a single, cutting-edge, national technology and industrial base, serving military as well as commercial needs.

This "dual-use technology strategy" represents a new way of doing business. Most important, it will allow the Pentagon to exploit the rapid rate of innovation by commercial firms to meet defense needs. Moreover, this strategy will allow the Defense Department's continuing investments in technology to contribute more to our nation's commercial performance and economic growth.

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The Initiative

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President Clinton's strategy for ensuring that the military has affordable, leading-edge technology can be summed up as: acquisition re dual-use technology.

Fundamental reform of the defense acquisition system is the essential foundation for DoD's dual-use strategy. At the Administration's urging, Congress passed the landmark "Federal Acquisition Streamlining Act of 1994," which will significantly improve the way the government buys \$200 billion worth of goods and services a year, from software to jet aircraft.

To complement congressional reforms, Defense Secretary Perry in June 1994, announced a dramatic reversal of the Pentagon's longstanding policy toward "milspecs," instructing the military services to use commercial rather than military specifications and standards "unless no practical alternative exists." This new policy will mean the end of the \$500 coffeepot and the \$10 computer chip.

Acquisition reform will also help defense firms diversify into commercial markets, where -- freed from the weight of government red tape and special requirements -- they can be globally competitive. Such diversification will help these firms preserve high-paying jobs and will assure the survival of the industrial base we need to maintain our national security and strengthen our economy.

Building on this foundation, DoD's new dual-

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use strategy has three key pillars.

First, the Pentagon is bolstering its support for dual-

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use R&D to exploit the potential of advanced commercial technologies to meet defense needs. DoD's Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA) is targeting investments in focused "thrust areas" -- computers and software, electronics, sensors, simulation, and manufacturing -- to ensure that commercial firms in this country can supply the superior technologies that will maintain our military advantage.

The Technology Reinvestment Project (TRP), managed by ARPA with extensive participation by the military services, is DoD's largest dual-use initiative. Unveiled by President Clinton in early 1993, the TRP has awarded cost-shared grants totaling \$820 million to about 250 projects involving more than 2,000 firms, universities and other participants. Winning projects -- selected from thousands that applied -- were chosen solely on the basis of technical merit.

A key to the TRP's success is its emphasis on industry partnerships and cost

sharing. Winning projects have matched every federal dollar with \$1.33 of non-federal funds -- a total of about \$1.1 billion. This cost share ensures industry's commitment to projects and lays the foundation for industry to assume the full cost of product development.

TRP projects are directed at meeting military needs in a range of areas: low-

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cost night vision, that will allow U.S. troops to "own the night" through use of infrared sensors made 10 times cheaper by leveraging new commercial technology; high-

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density data storage, vastly increasing the immediate access of our front-line soldiers to the best information and intelligence; battlefield casualty treatment, using new sensors and information systems to help rapidly find, diagnose and treat injured soldiers on the battlefield; affordable composite aircraft structures, using lightweight, polymer composites for aircraft engines to increase the performance and range of military aircraft, while lowering the cost of repair and maintenance; detection of chemical and biological agents, through the use of sensors, to protect our troops in the battlefield.

The second pillar of DoD's dual-use strategy is the integration of defense and commercial production. The Pentagon is pursuing this goal in two ways: (i) supporting efforts to transition defense technologies to commercial applications, to make those technologies more affordable and accessible to the military; and (ii) helping U.S. manufacturers become more flexible, so they can produce custom military products alongside commercial versions of the same product.

To illustrate, a few years ago, DoD pursued MIMIC (microwave monolithic integrated circuit) technology for military radar as a strictly military development, but the high costs prohibited widespread defense use of the devices. Now, DoD encourages contractors to pursue commercial applications -- for example, in collision avoidance systems for automobiles, satellite communications, and signal processing for air traffic control -- making the devices more affordable for the Pentagon. A joint venture between Hughes Aircraft and Delco Electronics produces the military device and a commercial version on the same production line, with a changeover time of less than two hours.

The third pillar of the dual-use strategy is DoD's investment in initiatives that encourage "insertion" of commercial technologies and products in the development, production and support of military systems. Successful insertion requires that weapon systems be designed from the outset to incorporate commercial rather than defense-unique materials, technologies and components. An example: in 1994, when DoD solicited proposals to develop an unmanned aerial vehicle, contractors were told only a maximum cost (\$10 million each) and what the vehicle had to do; it was up to them to determine how to meet these requirements. Given this cost ceiling, an ambitious deadline and a streamlined acquisition process, contractors proposed designs that relied heavily on existing commercial technology, often forming partnerships with commercial companies. Fourteen

teams submitted proposals -- a sign of industry's enthusiasm for this innovative program.

CHALLENGE #2: EASING THE TRANSITION

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Background

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"...[W]e must [act so as not to] leave the men and women who won the Cold War out in the cold.

President Clinton

PRINTER FONT 12_POINT_ROMAN

March 12, 1993

Radio Address to the Armed Forces

The defense budget peaked in 1986 and has been declining ever since. The result is that from Southern California to Long Island and Connecticut,

communities, companies and workers who depended on defense are struggling to find new ways to earn their livings.

This drawdown is smaller than those following World War II, Korea and Vietnam, and its economic impact may be masked by our robust job growth during the past two years (nearly 6 million new jobs). But the impact on regions where defense firms are concentrated or where bases are closing is severe.

Still, these hard-hit communities have real strengths to exploit. Regions where defense industry is concentrated -- like aerospace in Southern California, lasers in Orlando, or electronics in Silicon Valley -- can draw on a flexible and adaptable network of subcontractors and specialized supplier firms; a large pool of scientists and engineers, technicians and skilled blue-collar workers; and advanced capabilities in universities and specialized research institutes. With the right assistance, including reform of the federal acquisition system, many of these centers of defense industry have the potential to compete in emerging dual-use industries such as environmental and biomedical technology, medical instruments, advanced transportation equipment and communication systems.

Communities where military bases are closing frequently lack the technological capabilities of defense industrial regions, but they possess other assets that can provide the basis for charting a new economic future. An airfield, a port, or the land, buildings, furniture and equipment on a base can be the catalyst for local economic development. Civilian base employees represent a skilled, dedicated, and trainable workforce. And the closure of the base itself can sometimes provide new market opportunities - - such as the need for environmental cleanup.

The Initiative

Diversification. To speed economic adjustment, the Clinton Administration's defense reinvestment initiative includes substantial investment in advanced technologies as well as more targeted support for defense-dependent workers, firms and communities. However, defense-dependent regions must take the lead in developing their own diversification strategies. The Federal government's job is to contribute resources with which workers, firms and communities can pursue these strategies.

This approach is working. In Silicon Valley, for example, local defense firms are diversifying into commercial markets in communications systems, advanced computing, and environmental and sensing technologies. Groups such as "Joint Venture: Silicon Valley" -- a public-private consortium established in 1992 -- are brokering partnerships between defense and commercial firms, putting entrepreneurs in touch with financial, technical and business resources, and providing retraining and job placement for displaced defense workers. To help support these activities, the Commerce Department awarded a small grant to Joint Venture: Silicon Valley, and the Labor Department is funding local retraining efforts. Several Silicon Valley firms that are developing flat panel displays, high-density data storage devices and other dual-use technologies have won cost-shared awards from DoD, through the Technology Reinvestment Project. These awards -- which are made strictly on merit, with no regard to region -- illustrate the strengths possessed by regions that build up talents and technologies to meet defense needs.

Reemployment and retraining. To provide for adjustment and training of defense workers and DoD military and civilian personnel, the Clinton Administration has, among other things:

? Provided extensive assistance to 300,000 separating military service members and their families at 330 military installations worldwide

through Operation Transition, and made aggressive use of early retirement benefits and other incentives, to avoid involuntary layoffs.

? Awarded \$177 million in Department of Labor funds for 99 locally-run projects targeted at retraining some 52,000 defense-dependent workers. Of these, 19 are demonstration projects to avoid layoffs or to train workers for new occupations.

? Launched the "Troops to Teachers" program to place former service members and other defense workers as teachers or teachers' aides, primarily in low-income districts, and pay part of their salaries for 5 years.

Base Closings. To speed the economic recovery of communities where bases are closing, the President in July 1993, announced a five-point program whose key goals are rapid redevelopment and the creation of new jobs through:

- ? allowing DoD to transfer base property at low cost or no cost
 - ? fast-track environmental cleanup
 - ? assigning "transition coordinators" to every major base
 - ? making larger economic planning grants
 - ? easy access to transition help for workers and communities
- And the Administration lost no time putting this plan into action.

For example, it:

? Dispatched an interagency "SWAT" team to every community with a major facility on the list of bases selected in 1993 for closure. Department of Labor staff worked with each community to design a customized training and reemployment plan for civilian base employees as well as separating military personnel. Reemployment centers were established up to two years in advance at major bases scheduled for closure.

? Awarded planning grants to all 29 of the most seriously affected communities on the 1993 base closure list, through DoD's Office of Economic Adjustment. The awards, on average, were made within two weeks of receiving complete applications.

Congress endorsed the President's approach by enacting the Base Closure Communities Assistance Act. Among other things, this Act allows base property to be transferred at a discount to local redevelopment authorities, provided that any profits on subsequent sales and leases be shared with the federal government.

The President's plan has already produced results:

? Residents of Rantoul, Illinois took advantage of federal assistance programs in the Departments of Defense, Transportation, Labor and Commerce to transform Chanute Air Force Base into an asset for economic growth. They created 1,200 jobs on the base within a year of closure.

? At Sacramento Army Depot, with the assistance of DoD and Labor placement and training programs, the Pentagon eliminated all 3,000 civilian jobs with no involuntary terminations. By early 1995, Packard Bell will be manufacturing computers in the former Army facility. The company plans to employ 1,300 new workers.

? At the Philadelphia Naval Shipyard, new rules that permit 10-year leases, leasing of

Navy equipment and hiring of former shipyard workers enabled a New Jersey machine shop to move onto the site, retain a \$2 million contract, and create 200 new jobs.

Shipbuilding. The Administration has also implemented an aggressive Shipbuilding Initiative to enable U.S. shipyards to reenter commercial competition. This initiative has:

? Provided increased funding and more generous financing terms under the Ship Financing program, allowing U.S. yards to compete for international business for the first time in nearly 30 years. In August, the President announced approval of two applications for loan guarantees and the receipt of two other applications which, when executed, will result in the preservation of 7,100 U.S. shipbuilding jobs.

? Secured passage of the five-year, MARITECH program, with funding of over \$200 million, to support R&D on ship design and construction. Transportation Secretary Pena awarded the first \$30 million in matching grants in May 1994.

? Concluded an agreement at the OECD (Organization for Economic and Cooperative Development) to end longstanding foreign shipbuilding subsidies.

? Increased export promotion efforts on behalf of U.S. yards.

? Will reintroduce legislation to make U.S. shipyards more globally competitive by bringing U.S. construction standards in line with international standards.

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#8

Case Studies

Selected TRP Projects:

Dual-

Use Technology to Meet Defense Needs

Infrared Sensors Cooled infrared sensors helped U.S. forces in Desert Storm "own the night." Even the less expensive variety of sensors (uncooled), however, are too expensive at this point for wide adoption by combat forces. But, with upgraded performance and lower cost, uncooled sensors could have a wide array of military uses -- from missile guidance systems, to "lights out" night driving, to equipment that would allow our soldiers to fight under cover of night, fog or smoke. Thus, the Pentagon places a high priority on their development.

But to generate the kind of R&D necessary to upgrade performance and lower cost, commercial applications must be promoted. Such applications could include finding power line leakages, seeing through smoke during fires and, eventually, aiding all night drivers.

The TRP Infrared Sensor project is aimed at improving performance and lowering costs at least tenfold through commercial approaches to development and eventually through economies of scale. As costs fall and the market expands, the armed services will be able to meet their needs from an integrated civilian-military base, adding its particular requirements to purchases from an active industry.

TRP projects are supporting three different technical approaches for improvement of uncooled infrared sensors, in teams led by Loral, Texas Instruments, and Inframetrics.
Casualty Care

The first hour after injury on the battlefield is critical. A wounded soldier's chance of recovery depends on whether he receives prompt diagnosis and care. The proportion of wounded who survive this "Golden Hour" has not altered since the Civil War.

TRP projects support development in two areas of modern technology that hold out the hope of greatly improving the proportion of survivors: sophisticated sensors and displays that can allow accurate monitoring of an injury and the making of a diagnosis; and modern information systems, and their management and distribution.

The goal is for every soldier going into combat to have sensors and an identifier

(like a bar code) in place. If the soldier is wounded, doctors away from the battlefield will get the information needed for diagnosis, and will be able to give treatment instructions to medics on the scene. Remote diagnosis and linkage can also help paramedics save civilian lives at the scene of accidents.

The TRP projects on casualty care would meet military needs while also integrating civilian and military medical technologies more fully.

The TRP approach to casualty care is evident in a project on a Digital X-Ray System for Trauma and Battlefield Applications. General Electric has teamed with EG&G in a 2-year program to develop such a system. It will allow direct digitization of the X-Ray, with no use of film, and will enable immediate transmission of the X-Ray to doctors remote from the battlefield or accident scene. Besides its great benefits for wounded soldiers and injured civilians, digital X-Ray promises a competitive advantage for GE by the year

#9

\$8

HORIZONTAL_PITCH 13
PRINTER FONT 11_POINT_ROMAN

HORIZONTAL_PITCH 9
PRINTER FONT 14_POINT_ROMAN

#8

Case Study:
The Massachusetts Strategic Skills Programs:
A Job-

Savings Defense Diversification Strategy

Beginning early in 1993, six small and medium-sized

defense firms in Massachusetts took part in a retraining project for managers and workers to help fit them for competitive performance in the world of commercial production. It was an uphill climb for most of them -- especially the managers -- but it was worth it. As of early 1995, all of the firms have found new commercial customers and none have had to lay off workers. Several of the firms have added workers.

The project was supported by a \$367,000 grant from the Department of Labor and carried out by the Massachusetts Industrial Services Program (ISP). The project is part of a small DOL demonstration program on defense diversification, which is testing ways to avoid layoffs in defense firms and create job opportunities for defense workers.

The training was based on up-to-date concepts of the high-performance work place, involving team building, worker responsibility and participation, cross-training for flexible work teams, and management that relies on leadership rather than top-down command. Training also included worker skills such as good basic reading and math, advanced measurement techniques, and computer literacy and applications; as well as management skills in quality issues, financial resources, and new product planning.

The companies that have already found new commercial customers took advantage of core abilities in turning defense technologies to commercial applications. For example, a firm expert in making minuscule electronic devices started making small electronic components for medical instruments. Another, which made indestructible furniture for military outposts has used this technology in making products for fast food restaurants and hospitals.

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PRINTER_FONT 12_POINT_ROMAN
===== END ATTACHMENT 1 =====

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Jennifer O'Brien <JOBRIEN@HOLYCROSS.EDU> (Jennifer O'Brien <JOBRIEN@HOLYCR

CREATION DATE/TIME:15-APR-1998 14:11:58.00

SUBJECT: hi -Reply

TO: Erik R. Cafarella (CN=Erik R. Cafarella/OU=OPD/O=EOP [OPD])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

hey...can you find info on america's role in thr n. ireland peace
process??????? thanks! i'll call you tonight!!

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Lawrence E. Butler (CN=Lawrence E. Butler/OU=NSC/O=EOP [NSC])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 6-APR-1999 09:54:37.00

SUBJECT: Re: Ireland letter -- with my edits -- you'll need to run this through Ste

TO: Bruce McNamer (CN=Bruce McNamer/OU=OPD/O=EOP@EOP [OPD])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Dear Congressman McDermott:

Thank you for your letter of March 9. We are appreciative of your efforts to support the peace process in Northern Ireland by encouraging development and job creation there and in the bordering counties of the Irish Republic. The success of the peace process there depends not just on implementation of the Good Friday Accord, but on an expanding economy offering equality of opportunity with new jobs. As you may know, Northern Ireland has experienced an economic revival since the first IRA cease fire of 1995, demonstrating that the greatest spur to investment and trade is the absence of political violence. Unemployment has fallen to seven percent, well below the European Union average, while the discrepancy between Protestant and Catholic participation in the work force narrowed; Catholic participation rates are approaching their share of the population, reflecting a decade of work to overcome discrimination) one of the factors that led to the start of the Troubles three decades ago.

I agree with you that the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) and other investment and trade agencies can help spur further investment and economic development. The President sponsored two important trade and investment conferences, in 1995 and again in 1996, to inform American business leaders of new opportunities in Northern Ireland. This had led to a stream of new U.S. investment and higher trade, a factor in sustaining the peace process.

Regarding your specific ideas, OPIC has contributed debt to help underwrite a number of equity funds (which is what I assume your legislation contemplates) as one specific means of doing so. You may also want to consider an approach that would authorize a direct equity investment by OPIC. This would be a novel facility for OPIC and would have the benefit of giving OPIC greater discretion as to the actual final investments (and so could ensure, for example, that women entrepreneurs and new technologies were funded). Whatever the structure, the size of such a fund should be carefully considered, particularly inasmuch as OPIC's role is, in essence, to act as the catalyst for larger-scale private investment. In the meantime, OPIC's existing investment programs in insurance and finance remain available to spur investment in Northern Ireland and the border counties, and your bill will help to promote the awareness and importance of private sector investment.

I think that you have already heard from Ambassador Barshefsky's staff on the real barriers to using the GSP program to bring about the increased investment you seek. These include the difficulties in regulating imports to ensure that only those from a specific part of a larger geographical (and customs) area receive favorable treatment, as well as the GSP prohibition on the grant of trade preferences to those developed countries that grant trade preferences to other developed countries, which both Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic do. You are also aware that the

European Union has a number of regions, such as Northern Ireland and the Border Counties, that benefit from special development funds. One of the constitutional cornerstones of the EU is its common external trade policy, which would be a significant factor in evaluating special tariff preferences. However, I know that USTR stands ready to further advise you as to this and other trade-related options.

As you know, the Administration is committed to maintaining its already sizable contribution to the International Fund for Ireland, \$19.6 million for FY 1999. Since the Fund's inception, the United States has contributed \$270 million. Additionally, the State Department is actively working to implement Congressman Walsh's peace and reconciliation visa legislation, which will offer unemployed young persons from Northern Ireland and the Border Counties training and practical work experience here in the United States.

Thank you again for your support and interest. Please do not hesitate to contact me again.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Bruce McNamer (CN=Bruce McNamer/OU=OPD/O=EOP [OPD])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 6-APR-1999 20:11:08.00

SUBJECT: Re: Ireland letter -- with my edits -- you'll need to run this through Ste

TO: Lawrence E. Butler (CN=Lawrence E. Butler/OU=NSC/O=EOP @ EOP [NSC])

READ: UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Larry

Thanks for putting pen to cyber-paper on this. I'm inclined to agree with Jim on adding Jim Lyons stuff..... umm.... Who is Jim Lyons?

----- Forwarded by Bruce McNamer/OPD/EOP on 04/06/99

08:11 PM -----

From: Nina L. Hachigian on 04/06/99 07:01:43 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Bruce McNamer/OPD/EOP

cc: Lawrence E. Butler/NSC/EOP

bcc:

Subject: Re: Ireland letter -- with my edits -- you'll need to run this through Steinberg, too.

Jim thinks you need to add a reference to Jim Lyons and his activities.

Thanks.

Bruce McNamer

04/06/99 03:17:49 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Nina L. Hachigian/NSC/EOP@EOP

cc: Lawrence E. Butler/NSC/EOP@EOP

Subject: Re: Ireland letter -- with my edits -- you'll need to run this through Steinberg, too.

Nina

The attached letter is drafted (by myself and Larry Butler) over Gene's signature. It is in response to a letter from Congressman McDermott asking for Gene's opinion on legislation which McDermott first introduced last fall (and has recently re-introduced) to provide aid to Northern Ireland and the border counties. The bill includes provisions which would provide for GSP-type preferences for the Northern Ireland and border counties, increase funding for these areas under the International Fund for Ireland, and have OPIC put together a \$300 million fund for further assistance.

While we would generally oppose both the scope and means for the aid suggested here, McDermott has been a good friend to the Administration, most especially on Africa. Thus, we want to be as polite as possible in outlining our response, while offering little concrete encouragement. We

hope that attached does the trick.

Larry Butler suggested that we clear this with Jim. We have already done so with OPIC and USTR.

Please let me know if you need to see the original McDermott letter.

----- Forwarded by Bruce McNamer/OPD/EOP on 04/06/99
12:06 PM -----

Lawrence E. Butler

04/06/99 09:55:06 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Bruce McNamer/OPD/EOP

cc:

Subject: Re: Ireland letter -- with my edits -- you'll need to run this through Steinberg, too.

Dear Congressman McDermott:

Thank you for your letter of March 9. We are appreciative of your efforts to support the peace process in Northern Ireland by encouraging development and job creation there and in the bordering counties of the Irish Republic. The success of the peace process there depends not just on implementation of the Good Friday Accord, but on an expanding economy offering equality of opportunity with new jobs. As you may know, Northern Ireland has experienced an economic revival since the first IRA cease fire of 1995, demonstrating that the greatest spur to investment and trade is the absence of political violence. Unemployment has fallen to seven percent, well below the European Union average, while the discrepancy between Protestant and Catholic participation in the work force narrowed; Catholic participation rates are approaching their share of the population, reflecting a decade of work to overcome discrimination) one of the factors that led to the start of the Troubles three decades ago.

I agree with you that the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) and other investment and trade agencies can help spur further investment and economic development. The President sponsored two important trade and investment conferences, in 1995 and again in 1996, to inform American business leaders of new opportunities in Northern Ireland. This had led to a stream of new U.S. investment and higher trade, a factor in sustaining the peace process.

Regarding your specific ideas, OPIC has contributed debt to help underwrite a number of equity funds (which is what I assume your legislation contemplates) as one specific means of doing so. You may also want to consider an approach that would authorize a direct equity investment by OPIC. This would be a novel facility for OPIC and would have the benefit of giving OPIC greater discretion as to the actual final investments (and so could ensure, for example, that women entrepreneurs and new technologies were funded). Whatever the structure, the size of such a fund should be carefully considered, particularly inasmuch as OPIC's role is, in essence, to act as the catalyst for larger-scale private investment. In the meantime, OPIC's existing investment programs in insurance and finance remain available to spur investment in Northern Ireland and the border counties, and your bill will help to promote the awareness and importance of private sector investment.

I think that you have already heard from Ambassador Barshefsky's staff on the real barriers to using the GSP program to bring about the increased investment you seek. These include the difficulties in regulating imports

to ensure that only those from a specific part of a larger geographical (and customs) area receive favorable treatment, as well as the GSP prohibition on the grant of trade preferences to those developed countries that grant trade preferences to other developed countries, which both the United Kingdom (Northern Ireland) and the Irish Republic do. You are also aware that the European Union has a number of regions, such as Northern Ireland and the Border Counties, that benefit from special development funds. However, I know that USTR stands ready to further advise you as to this and other trade-related options.

As you know, the Administration is committed to maintaining its already sizable contribution to the International Fund for Ireland, \$19.6 million for FY 1999. Since the Fund's inception, the United States has contributed \$270 million. Additionally, the State Department is actively working to implement Congressman Walsh's peace and reconciliation visa legislation, which will offer unemployed young persons from Northern Ireland and the Border Counties training and practical work experience here in the United States.

Thank you again for your support and interest. Please do not hesitate to contact me again.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Lawrence E. Butler (CN=Lawrence E. Butler/OU=NSC/O=EOP [NSC])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 6-APR-1999 21:33:08.00

SUBJECT: Re: Ireland letter -- with my edits -- you'll need to run this through Ste

TO: Bruce McNamer (CN=Bruce McNamer/OU=OPD/O=EOP@EOP [OPD])

READ: UNKNOWN

TEXT:

you'll see a new sentence in the first paragraph that should be self-explanatory. Go for it, dude!

Bruce McNamer

04/06/99 08:11:30 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Lawrence E. Butler/NSC/EOP@EOP

CC:

Subject: Re: Ireland letter -- with my edits -- you'll need to run this through Steinberg, too.

Larry

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----- Forwarded by Bruce McNamer/OPD/EOP on 04/06/99

08:11 PM -----

From: Nina L. Hachigian on 04/06/99 07:01:43 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Bruce McNamer/OPD/EOP

cc: Lawrence E. Butler/NSC/EOP

bcc:

Subject: Re: Ireland letter -- with my edits -- you'll need to run this through Steinberg, too.

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Bruce McNamer

04/06/99 03:17:49 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Nina L. Hachigian/NSC/EOP@EOP
cc: Lawrence E. Butler/NSC/EOP@EOP
Subject: Re: Ireland letter -- with my edits -- you'll need to run this through Steinberg, too.

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While we would generally oppose both the scope and means for the aid suggested here, McDermott has been a good friend to the Administration, most especially on Africa. Thus, we want to be as polite as possible in outlining our response, while offering little concrete encouragement. We hope that attached does the trick.

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Please let me know if you need to see the original McDermott letter.

----- Forwarded by Bruce McNamer/OPD/EOP on 04/06/99

12:06 PM -----

Lawrence E. Butler
04/06/99 09:55:06 AM
Record Type: Record

To: Bruce McNamer/OPD/EOP
cc:
Subject: Re: Ireland letter -- with my edits -- you'll need to run this through Steinberg, too.

Dear Congressman McDermott:

Thank you for your letter of March 9. We are appreciative of your efforts to support the peace process in Northern Ireland by encouraging development and job creation there and in the bordering counties of the Irish Republic. Because the success of the peace process there depends not just on implementation of the Good Friday Accord, but on an expanding economy offering equality of opportunity with new jobs, the President established a Special Advisor position to coordinate the Administration's efforts. Jim Lyons took over from George Mitchell in September 1997 and has spearheaded the President's initiatives. As you may know, Northern Ireland has experienced an economic revival since the first IRA cease fire of 1995, demonstrating that the greatest spur to investment and trade is the absence of political violence. Unemployment has fallen to seven percent, well below the European Union average, while the discrepancy between Protestant and Catholic participation in the work force narrowed; Catholic participation rates are approaching their share of the population, reflecting a decade of work to overcome discrimination) one of the factors that led to the start of the Troubles three decades ago.

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investment conferences, in 1995 and again in 1996, to inform American business leaders of new opportunities in Northern Ireland. This had led to a stream of new U.S. investment and higher trade, a factor in sustaining the peace process.

Regarding your specific ideas, OPIC has contributed debt to help underwrite a number of equity funds (which is what I assume your legislation contemplates) as one specific means of doing so. You may also want to consider an approach that would authorize a direct equity investment by OPIC. This would be a novel facility for OPIC and would have the benefit of giving OPIC greater discretion as to the actual final investments (and so could ensure, for example, that women entrepreneurs and new technologies were funded). Whatever the structure, the size of such a fund should be carefully considered, particularly inasmuch as OPIC's role is, in essence, to act as the catalyst for larger-scale private investment. In the meantime, OPIC's existing investment programs in insurance and finance remain available to spur investment in Northern Ireland and the border counties, and your bill will help to promote the awareness and importance of private sector investment.

I think that you have already heard from Ambassador Barshefsky's staff on the real barriers to using the GSP program to bring about the increased investment you seek. These include the difficulties in regulating imports to ensure that only those from a specific part of a larger geographical (and customs) area receive favorable treatment, as well as the GSP prohibition on the grant of trade preferences to those developed countries that grant trade preferences to other developed countries, which both the United Kingdom (Northern Ireland) and the Irish Republic do. You are also aware that the European Union has a number of regions, such as Northern Ireland and the Border Counties, that benefit from special development funds. However, I know that USTR stands ready to further advise you as to this and other trade-related options.

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Thank you again for your support and interest. Please do not hesitate to contact me again.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Bruce McNamer (CN=Bruce McNamer/OU=OPD/O=EOP [OPD])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 6-APR-1999 15:17:20.00

SUBJECT: Re: Ireland letter -- with my edits -- you'll need to run this through Ste

TO: Nina L. Hachigian (CN=Nina L. Hachigian/OU=NSC/O=EOP @ EOP [NSC])

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Lawrence E. Butler (CN=Lawrence E. Butler/OU=NSC/O=EOP @ EOP [NSC])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

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12:06 PM -----

Lawrence E. Butler

04/06/99 09:55:06 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Bruce McNamer/OPD/EOP

CC:

Subject: Re: Ireland letter -- with my edits -- you'll need to run this through Steinberg, too.

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Thank you again for your support and interest. Please do not hesitate to contact me again.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Irene Bueno (CN=Irene Bueno/OU=OPD/O=EOP [OPD])

CREATION DATE/TIME:26-MAY-1999 17:35:58.00

SUBJECT: Re: Walsh Visa

TO: Allen.Erenbaum (Allen.Erenbaum @ usdoj.gov [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Cathy.St.Denis (Cathy.St.Denis @ usdoj.gov [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Do you know anything about this?

----- Forwarded by Irene Bueno/OPD/EOP on 05/26/99 05:26 PM -----

Christine A. Stanek
05/26/99 05:19:55 PM
Record Type: Record

To: Irene Bueno/OPD/EOP
cc:
bcc:
Subject: Re: Walsh Visa

This is also called the "Irish Peace Process Cultural and Training Act of 1998" sponsored by Congressman Walsh and passed in the House last fall. Does that help at all?

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05/26/99 02:27:18 PM
Record Type: Record

To: Christine A. Stanek/WHO/EOP@EOP
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My contact at INS was not sure what about the Walsh Visas? Can you send me some info? I'm in 217 OEOB. Thanks.
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Cathy.St.Denis @ usdoj.gov
05/25/99 08:53:00 AM
Record Type: Record

To: Irene Bueno/OPD/EOP
cc:

Subject: Re: Walsh Visa

Irene -- I have no idea what or who this is. If you can get more info from whoever this is who sent it to you, I'll try and get more info

_____ Reply Separator

Subject: Walsh Visa
Author: ibueno@oa.eop.gov_at_inetgw2 at wtgate
Date: 5/24/99 9:03 PM

Do you know anything about this issue? See note below. We can deal with it when I get back Wednesday afternoon.

Thanks for everything!!! You and the entire INS team has been great.

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Christine A. Stanek
05/24/99 07:22:50 PM

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Christine
x66614

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Irene Bueno (CN=Irene Bueno/OU=OPD/O=EOP [OPD])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 3-JUN-1999 10:58:39.00

SUBJECT: Re: Re[2]: Walsh Visa

TO: Cathy.St.Denis (Cathy.St.Denis @ usdoj.gov [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Thanks. See you at 3pm.

I can't remember if I called you but I spoke to Steve and he confirmed that the detention materials should be drafted as a stand alone package separate from anything else (ie Census proposal).

Cathy.St.Denis @ usdoj.gov
06/03/99 10:39:00 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Irene Bueno/OPD/EOP

CC:

Subject: Re[2]: Walsh Visa

I don't, and Allen is in New York today...

_____ Reply Separator

Subject: Re: Walsh Visa

Author: Irene_Bueno@opd.eop.gov_at_inetgw2 at wtgate

Date: 6/3/99 10:24 AM

Cathy or Allen -

Do either of you know anything about this Walsh Visa? Please let me know.
Thanks.

Irene

Irene Bueno

05/26/99 05:26:42 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Allen.Erenbaum @ usdoj.gov @ inet

cc: Cathy.St.Denis @ usdoj.gov

Subject: Re: Walsh Visa

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Christine

x66614

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Christine A. Stanek (CN=Christine A. Stanek/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 9-JUN-1999 18:43:28.00

SUBJECT: Re: Walsh Visa

TO: Irene Bueno (CN=Irene Bueno/OU=OPD/O=EOP@EOP [OPD])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Thanks for the update. I would be so happy if the funding has actually been secured so I can tell those who call in that this is done. I actually called Brian O'Dwyer and told him that he should have his staff check in with Walsh's office because this may already be completed. Let me know if you get confirmation on this.

I am not concerned about the programmatic issues but if I get pushback from the community on them, I will talk to Pat directly. Thanks for tracking this down.

Irene Bueno

06/09/99 02:14:05 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Christine A. Stanek/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

bcc:

Subject: Re: Walsh Visa

I spoke with Ed Odom of the State Dept. and he is aware of the Walsh program but another person, Pat Nelson-Douvelis is the point person on this issue. Pat is on vacation and she will return on 6/21.

Ed's understanding - based on e-mail he received from Pat - was that Rep. Walsh spoke with the President during a St. Patrick's event and thought he had a commitment from the President to seek funding for the Walsh Visa program but Walsh claims the President did not follow up on this commitment and made a press statement to this effect. On 5/26, Pat sent a e-mail to Ed explaining that Walsh somehow secured funding for FY 1999 and FY 2000 for this program. However, we are not sure how this funding was secured. Attached is a press release from Rep. Walsh on this issue on 5/13 but not a recent one indicating that he secured the funding. Have you received calls on this issue recently? Let me know. I can also follow up with OMB.

If there are other programmatic issues (as your fax to me indicates), I would suggest that you or they contact Pat Nelson-Douvelis directly. If there continues to be problems in this area, let me know and I will try to help.

Thanks for your patience.

Christine A. Stanek
05/26/99 05:19:55 PM
Record Type: Record

To: Irene Bueno/OPD/EOP@EOP
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Author: ibueno@oa.eop.gov_at_inetgw2 at wtgate
Date: 5/24/99 9:03 PM

Do you know anything about this issue? See note below. We can deal with

May 13, 1999
FOR YOUR INFORMATION
CONTACT: Jim O'Connor at (315) 423-5657

WALSH SAYS ADMINISTRATION MISSING OPPORTUNITIES TO FUND PEACE VISA

WASHINGTON-- Congressman James Walsh today said he is disappointed that the Administration's commitment to fund a visa program associated with the Northern Ireland Peace Agreement has withered and the White House now appears unwilling to provide the relatively small amount of money needed to enact the legislation he signed last year.

Walsh, who is Chairman of the Friends of Ireland and Co-Chair of the U.S.-Irish Inter-parliamentary Caucus, said the bill passed Congress and was signed by President Clinton late last year. It was not passed in time for the needed \$800,000 to be included in the 1999 fiscal year appropriations.

Walsh said he had been hopeful the White House would ask the Office of Management and Budget to find a way to fund the visa for this year, as he has done when assisting other countries.

The President requested the following amounts in the Emergency Supplemental Appropriation, which is expected to be passed by Congress: \$687 million for Central America and Columbia; \$100 million for Jordan; \$6.5 million for East Timor; \$819 million for Kosovo and Albania, more than \$1 billion to support the Middle East peace plan.

"I would think that less than \$1 million for a bill which has been signed into law, and which directly relates to peace in a world trouble spot for decades, would be manageable", Walsh said.

The law would allow up to 4,000 Protestants and Catholics from Northern Ireland and the border counties in the Republic to come to the U.S. to learn a trade from private sector employers and then return to their homeland to pursue prosperity and embrace the kind of tolerance on which the Peace Agreement is based.

"I spoke with the President during the St. Patrick's Day celebration", Walsh said, "and I also met with his Labor and State Department representatives. The funding remains unbudgeted and I am disappointed at this missed opportunity".

Walsh said it was ironic that the President and the First Lady on the same day missed opportunities related to this initiative, the only demonstration of support by the U.S. government for the Irish Peace Plan.

"First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton was to be asked by interested Northern Ireland parties about the Walsh Visa on her visit to Belfast today", Walsh said. "It would have been an ideal

time, at an important juncture in continuing negotiations in Northern Ireland for the First Lady to announce that the visas would indeed be funded, as was promised", Walsh said. At literally the same time, President Clinton missed an opportunity to include the funding in the emergency supplemental appropriation.

END

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Irene Bueno (CN=Irene Bueno/OU=OPD/O=EOP [OPD])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 9-JUN-1999 14:34:08.00

SUBJECT: Re: Re[2]: Walsh Visa

TO: Cathy.St.Denis@usdoj.gov (Cathy.St.Denis@usdoj.gov [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

I found out this is State Dept. funded-program so I found the info I needed. Thanks.

Cathy.St.Denis@usdoj.gov

06/03/99 10:39:00 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Irene Bueno/OPD/EOP

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Subject: Re[2]: Walsh Visa

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Cathy R. Mays (CN=Cathy R. Mays/OU=OPD/O=EOP [OPD])

CREATION DATE/TIME:10-JAN-2000 16:56:40.00

SUBJECT: Martin McGuinness meeting with Bruce Reed

TO: Andy Rotherham (CN=Andy Rotherham/OU=OPD/O=EOP@EOP [OPD])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

FYI

----- Forwarded by Cathy R. Mays/OPD/EOP on 01/10/2000
04:56 PM -----

Ann O'Leary

01/10/2000 04:50:06 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Bruce N. Reed/OPD/EOP@EOP

cc: Cathy R. Mays/OPD/EOP@EOP

Subject:Martin McGuinness meeting with Bruce Reed

The new Minister for Education in Northern Ireland, Martin McGuinness, who was an integral part of the peace process, is in town on Friday and will be meeting with Secretary Riley.

The Secretary wondered if you would have time to meet with him and his colleagues on Friday afternoon after 2:00 p.m.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Ann O'Leary (CN=Ann O'Leary/OU=OPD/O=EOP [OPD])

CREATION DATE/TIME:12-JAN-2000 15:34:36.00

SUBJECT: Martin McGuinness meeting with Bruce Reed

TO: Cathy R. Mays (CN=Cathy R. Mays/OU=OPD/O=EOP@EOP [OPD])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Cathy -

Do you know if Bruce might be able to meet with Martin McGuinness on Friday afternoon?

Thanks.

-Ann

----- Forwarded by Ann O'Leary/OPD/EOP on 01/12/2000
03:34 PM -----

Ann O'Leary
01/10/2000 04:50:06 PM
Record Type: Record

To: Bruce N. Reed/OPD/EOP@EOP
cc: Cathy R. Mays/OPD/EOP@EOP
Subject:Martin McGuinness meeting with Bruce Reed

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