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PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS TO PEOPLE OF BERLIN
BERLIN, GERMANY
MAY 14, 1998
Chancellor Kohl, Mayor Diepgen [DEEP-kin], ladies and gentlemen: I am delighted to join you in the historic heart of free, unified Berlin. Fifty years ago, the United States and its allies made a commitment to the people of Berlin – from the heroic Airlift of 1948... to the 3-day showdown with Soviet tanks at Checkpoint Charlie in 1961... to the nearly 100,000 American soldiers who defended this city over the course of 40 years and grew to love its people.
Finally, in that glorious moment of liberation, when East Germans bravely reached out across the Wall and tore it down, they freed us all to make real a Europe we had only dreamed of— an undivided continent of thriving democracies; where states deal with each other not through domination but dialogue; where societies are governed not by repression but the rule of law; where the only barriers people face are the limits of their dreams. Today, Berlin is a symbol of what Europe is striving to become.
Former Chancellor Willy Brandt, who was Mayor of West Berlin the day the Wall went up, declared that magical November night as the Wall was coming down, “Jetzt waechst zusammen, was zusammengehoert [YETST VEXT tzoo-ZAH-men VUSS tzoo-ZAH-men geh-HURT ]” – “What belongs together is growing together.” You, the citizens of free Berlin, have shown that he was right. From the construction on the Spree [shpray] that is turning Berlin into Germany's capital for the future... to the renewal of Potsdamerplatz [puts-DAHM-er-plotz] as a dynamic center of business, Berlin’s rebirth embodies our hope for the future.
From Munich to Potsdam, Hamburg to Dresden, people throughout Germany’s old and new states have struggled and sacrificed to make the dream of unity come true.

Now, barely 600 days before the beginning of the 21st century, we must make unity our mission for the continent as a whole – and for a new Atlantic community.

For more than 1000 years, from Charlemagne’s day to the European Community’s founding, a unified Europe has captured the continent’s imagination.
Now, for the first time in Europe’s history, the dream is within reach – not through conquest but through the decisions of free peoples.

In 1994 I came to Europe to support your unity and to set forth a vision of partnership between America and a new Europe – rooted in security cooperation, free markets and vibrant democracies. I called on our countries to adapt our institutions for this new time; help the new market economies of Europe’s eastern half to thrive; support the growth of freedom; promote the spread of peace; and bring all the peoples of the Euro-Atlantic community more closely together.
We have made remarkable progress. NATO is taking on new missions and new members... building practical new ties with Russia and Ukraine...
depening cooperation among the 44 nations of its Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council... enhancing its Partnership for Peace. The European Union is both deepening and broadening, and America and the EU are working together to tear down trade barriers and strengthen new democracies. The Organization for Security and Cooperation, Europe’s standard-setter for human rights and freedoms, now is helping make those standards real – from supervising elections in Albania, to monitoring arms reduction in Bosnia – as it focuses on new threats to stability.
With support from America and the European Union, and with Chancellor Kohl’s and Germany’s far-sighted leadership, new market economies are taking root across the continent.

Russia has privatized more property than any nation this century. Poland and Estonia are among Europe’s fastest growing economies. Since 1991, US and EU investment in central and eastern Europe has quadrupled and trade has doubled.
We’ve encouraged and assisted Europe’s newly free nations as they deepen their democracies – from helping citizens’ groups in the New Independent States monitor their own elections to strengthening the independence of their judicial systems.

In Russia today, thousands of civic groups are beginning to take a role in shaping the destiny of their country. President Yeltsin has a new government of young reformers who can lead Russia decisively into the future.
We’ve helped peace take hold from Bosnia to Northern Ireland and our citizens are working every day to link our nations together – from sister cities, such as Leipzig and Houston… to American students flocking to Budapest and Prague to savor the rich culture the Iron Curtain once shrouded… to young Romanians and Bulgarians who now are enrolled at America’s military academies.

With all this progress, many challenges to our common vision remain: In the ongoing struggles of newly free nations to consolidate their reforms. The unfinished work of bringing Europe’s eastern half fully into our transatlantic community.
The fear of those who lack the skills to succeed in the global economy. The voices of hatred, intolerance and division on both sides of the Atlantic – whether masked in patriotism, cloaked in religious fervor or posing as ethnic pride. Bosnia’s fragile peace. Kosovo’s volatility. Cyprus’ stalemate. And the dangers that all our nations face and cannot defeat alone – such as the spread of weapons of mass destruction, organized crime and environmental degradation.

1998, no less than 1989, demands our boldness and will. Today, I call on our nations to summon the courage to finish the work we have started.
Berliners know from your own experience that the task will not be easy. Sometimes the climb is steepest as you get close to the top.

Let us draw strength from the world that awaits on the other side of the mountain – where every nation on the continent enjoys security and democracy, and all men and women from Seattle to Paris to Istanbul to St. Petersburg are able to pursue their dreams in peace and build an even better life for their children. This is the opportunity of generations. Together, we must seize it. We must build a Europe, like Germany itself, whole and free, prosperous and peaceful, increasingly integrated and globally engaged.
I must pause to note that this magic moment did not simply arrive. It was made and made largely by the vision and determined leadership of Germany and its Chancellor these last nine years. What historic changes you have wrought – committing Germany again to lead in a united Europe, this time through cooperation not conquest... taking the risk of pushing for EMU, knowing there would be bumps along the way, especially given the power of the DM and the wealth of your nation... shouldering the huge cost of your own unification to make sure the east is not left behind... and to ease as much as possible the unavoidable dislocation and pain of transition.
And taking on these challenges while your western states must also experience a difficult transition to the global economy, in which preserving opportunity for all and the social contract is a challenge, even for a nation with your legendary capacity for work, your world class skills, your devotion to social decency and fairness. All this you have undertaken in nine short years. Though many German citizens may be uncertain of the outcome and untouched so far by the benefits of your far sighted, courageous course, you are on the right side of history. America honors your vision and your achievements. We are proud to march with you shoulder to shoulder into the new millennium.
In our common journey into the 21st century, I begin from one unshakable premise: America stands with Europe. Today, no less than 50 years ago, our destinies are joined. When Europe is peaceful, America is more secure. When Europe prospers, so does America. We seek a common destiny with a Europe strong and united, moving to a logic of mutually beneficial interdependence – where each nation can be made stronger and more prosperous by the vitality of its neighbors and friends.
Therefore we welcome Europe’s march toward greater unity. And we seek a transatlantic partnership that is broad and open in scope – a partnership with benefits and burdens shared in a spirit of mutual respect and reliance; a partnership that seeks a stable, peaceful future not only for ourselves but for all the world.

We must begin with our common security. NATO remains its bedrock. Next year, the leaders of countries across Europe will gather in Washington for an historic summit – celebrating NATO’s 50 years of success and preparing the alliance for the future.
We hope to welcome the first new democracies as members. We’ll keep NATO’s door open to others ready to assume the responsibilities of membership. And we will chart a course for the century ahead, with threats more diffuse but no less dangerous than those faced by NATO’s founders.

Yesterday’s NATO guarded our borders against a direct military invasion. Tomorrow’s alliance must continue to defend enlarged borders and defend against threats to our security from beyond them -- such as the spread of weapons of mass destruction, ethnic violence and regional conflict.
NATO must have the means to perform these tasks.

And we must maintain and strengthen our partnerships with Russia, Ukraine and other nations across the continent, who share our interests, values and dreams.

Advancing security also requires us to work for peace – whether in Northern Ireland, Nagorno-Karabakh, Kosovo, Bosnia or Cyprus – and to stand against intolerance and injustice as much as military aggression. Racism and inequality deserve no place in the future we are building. We must fight them at home and abroad.
Second, we must promote prosperity throughout our transatlantic community. Transatlantic commerce already is the largest economic relationship in the world – encompassing more than half a trillion dollars each year and supporting millions of jobs in both America and Europe. Consider this: America’s investment in Europe roughly equals that in all the rest of the world put together. And Europe’s investment in America has created so many jobs there that one out of 12 US factory workers is employed by a European-owned firm.

Still, the stark fact is that prosperity is not yet everyone’s partner.
Europe’s new democracies confront the daunting challenge of transition to market economies in an age of globalization, which makes it difficult to preserve the social safety net, along with a sense of fairness and equal opportunity. We must continue to help them, even as those of us in the wealthier nations confront our own challenges on these fronts.

America will continue to support Europe’s march toward integration. We admire the determination that has made your Economic and Monetary Union possible. We will work with you to make it a success.
And we will continue to encourage your steps to enlarge the EU, and to embrace Central Europe and Turkey.

Our third task is to strengthen the hand and extend the reach of democracy. One important tool is the OSCE, whose broad membership projects a unity and moral authority unparalleled on the continent. Today’s OSCE is taking action on the ground – from advancing human rights in the Balkans to supporting democratic institutions in Belarus – laying the foundation of stability on which comprehensive security rests.
At next year's OSCE summit, we should encourage greater engagement in areas where democracy's roots are still fragile – the Balkans, Central Asia and the Caucasus. And we must develop practical new tools for the OSCE – such as training police to support peacekeeping missions and dispatching democracy teams to help build more open societies – in order to deter and defuse crises that threaten our values and security.

The secure, free and prosperous Atlantic community we envision must include a democratic Russia. For most of this century, fear, tyranny and isolation kept Russia from the European mainstream.
Now, Russians are building a democratic future. We have an enormous stake in their success. Russia is literally recreating itself – using the tools of openness and reform to strengthen new freedoms and restrain those who abuse them... ensure competition... collect taxes... fight crime... restructure the military... and prevent the spread of sensitive technologies. We must support this Russian revolution.

Also, we must redouble our efforts with Russia to reduce further our nuclear arsenals. To lower the limits on conventional forces in Europe. To fight the spread of materials and technology for weapons of mass destruction...
To build the NATO-Russia partnership in practical ways to the benefit of all. And to develop the ties between our people that are the best antidote to mistrust.

Ukraine too has the opportunity to reach both east and west and be a force for Europe’s peace and prosperity. A bolder course of reform will give Ukrainians and foreigners alike greater confidence to invest in Ukraine’s future. Leadership is key to building consensus for reform – and it can only come from within. As Ukraine advances, America is committed to lead international support. The moment is historic – and there isn’t a moment to lose.
Our fourth and final task is strengthening our global cooperation. Let us make common cause of our common concerns: standing together against threats to our security – from states that flout international norms to the conflict brewing in Kosovo… from deterring terrorists and organized criminals to helping Asia restore financial stability… from helping Africa join the global economy to combating global warming. In a world grown smaller, what happens beyond our borders touches our daily lives at home. America and Europe must work together to shape that world.
As we pursue this ambitious agenda, there will be times we disagree. But occasional lack of consensus must not result in lasting cracks in our cohesion. Nor should the quest for consensus lure us into lowest-common denominator answers to highest-urgency problems. When the world needs principled, effective, strong leadership, we must rise to the responsibility.

These are our challenges – ambitious, but attainable. They demand of nations constant unity of purpose and commitment... and they require the support and courage of our citizens.
Without the courage of ordinary people, the Wall would not have come down and the new Europe would not be unfolding. Now, it falls to each of us to write the next chapter of this story: to build up from what has been taken down; to cement together what is no longer walled apart; to repair the breaches that still exist among our people; to build a Europe that belongs together and grows together in freedom.
Our success will make the new century the greatest that Germany, America, Europe and the world have ever known. It is an effort worthy of the rich legacy of Berlin, the visionary leadership of modern Germany, and the enormous obligation we share for our children’s future.

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Finally, in that glorious moment of liberation, when East Germans bravely reached out to their brothers and sisters across the Wall and tore it down, they freed us all to make real a Europe we had only dreamed of – an undivided continent of thriving democracies; where states deal with each other not through domination but dialogue; where societies are governed not by repression but the rule of law; where the only barriers people face are the limits of their dreams. Today, Berlin is a symbol of what Europe is striving to become. There is no more fitting place to discuss our common future.

Former Chancellor Willy Brandt, who was Mayor of West Berlin the day the Wall went up, declared that magical November night as the Wall was coming down, “Jetzt waechst zusammen, was zusammengehöert [YETST VEXT tzoo-ZAH-men VUSS tzoo-ZAH-men geh-HURT ]” – “What belongs together is growing together.” You, the citizens of free Berlin, have shown that he was right. From the construction on the Spree [shpray] that is turning Berlin into Germany’s capital for the future... to the renewal of Potsdamerplatz [puts-DAHM-er-plotz] as a dynamic
center of business, Berlin’s rebirth embodies our hope for the future. From Munich to Potsdam, Hamburg to Dresden, people throughout Germany’s old and new states have struggled and sacrificed to make the dream of unity come true.

Now, barely 600 days before the beginning of the 21st century, we must make unity our mission for the continent as a whole – and for a new Atlantic community.

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In 1994 I came to Europe to support your unity and to set forth a vision of partnership between America and a new Europe – rooted in security cooperation, free markets and vibrant democracies. I called on our countries to adapt our institutions for this new time; help the new market economies of Europe’s eastern half to thrive; support the growth of freedom; promote the spread of peace; and bring all the peoples of the Euro-Atlantic community more closely together.

With unrelenting effort, we have made great progress on all fronts. We’ve strengthened and adapted our institutions, weaving our nations in a durable web of common values and goals. NATO is taking on new missions and new members... building practical new ties with Russia and Ukraine... deepening cooperation among the 44 nations of its Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council... enhancing its Partnership for Peace. The European Union is both deepening and
broadening, and America and the EU are working together to tear down barriers to trade, fight organized crime and help new democracies gain strength. The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the continent’s standard-setter for human rights and freedoms, now is helping make those standards real – from supervising elections in Albania to monitoring arms reduction in Bosnia – as it focuses on new threats to stability.

With support from America and the European Union, and with Chancellor Kohl’s and Germany’s far-sighted leadership, new market economies are taking root across the continent. Russia has privatized more property than any nation this century. Poland and Estonia are among Europe’s fastest growing economies. Since 1991, US and EU investment in central and eastern Europe has quadrupled and trade has doubled.

We’ve encouraged and assisted Europe’s newly free nations as they deepen their democracies – from helping citizens’ groups in the New Independent States monitor their own elections to strengthening the independence of their judicial systems. In Russia today, thousands of civic groups are beginning to take a role in shaping the destiny of their country. Public debate is open and vibrant. President Yeltsin has a new government of young reformers who can lead Russia decisively into the future.

We’ve helped peace take hold in troubled regions, as Central European neighbors who once eyed each other warily now view each other as partners… Bosnians work to make their peace self-sustaining, with support from 39 other nations… and the leaders of Northern Ireland have forged an historic agreement that, if embraced by a majority vote of the people, opens the door to lasting
peace.

Our citizens are working every day to link our nations together – from sister cities, such as Leipzig and Houston... to American students flocking to Budapest and Prague to savor the rich culture the Iron Curtain once shrouded... to young Romanians and Bulgarians who now are enrolled at America’s military academies.

But for all this progress, many challenges to our common vision remain: In the ongoing struggles of newly free nations to consolidate their reforms. The unfinished work of bringing Europe’s eastern half fully into our transatlantic community. The fear of those who lack the skills to succeed in the global economy. The voices of hatred, intolerance and division on both sides of the Atlantic – whether masked in patriotism, cloaked in religious fervor or posing as ethnic pride. Bosnia’s fragile peace. Kosovo’s volatility. Cyprus’ stalemate. And the dangers that all our nations face and cannot defeat alone – such as the spread of weapons of mass destruction, organized crime and environmental degradation.

1998, no less than 1989, demands our boldness and will. Today, I call on our nations to summon the courage to finish the work we have started. Berliners know from your own experience that the task will not be easy. Sometimes the climb is steepest as you get close to the top. Let us draw strength from the world that awaits on the other side of the mountain – where every nation on the continent enjoys security and democracy, and all men and women from Seattle to Paris to Istanbul to Vladivostok are able to pursue their dreams in peace and build an even better life for their children. This is the opportunity of generations. Together, we must seize it. We must
build a Europe, that like Germany itself, is whole and free, prosperous and peaceful, increasingly integrated and globally engaged.

In our common journey into the 21st century, I begin from one unshakable premise: America stands with Europe. Today, no less than 50 years ago, our destinies are joined. When Europe is peaceful, America is more secure. When Europe prospers, so does America. A Europe strong and united will be an even better partner in building our common future.

Nations today are no longer locked in the zero-sum terms of the past. Instead, we are moving to a logic of mutually beneficial interdependence – where each nation can be made stronger and more prosperous by the vitality of its neighbors and friends. That is why we welcome Europe’s march toward greater unity. And that is why we seek a transatlantic partnership that is broad and open in scope – a partnership with benefits and burdens shared in a spirit of mutual respect and reliance; a partnership that seeks a stable, peaceful future not only for ourselves but for the world.

We must begin with our common security. NATO remains its bedrock. Next year, the leaders of countries across Europe will gather in Washington for an historic summit – celebrating NATO’s 50 years of success and preparing the alliance for the future. We hope to welcome the first new democracies as members. We’ll keep NATO’s door open to others ready to assume the responsibilities of membership. And we will chart a course for the century ahead, with threats more diffuse but no less dangerous than those faced by NATO’s founders.
Yesterday's NATO guarded our borders against a direct military invasion. Tomorrow's alliance must continue to defend enlarged borders and defend against threats to our security from beyond our borders -- such as the spread of weapons of mass destruction, ethnic violence and regional conflict. NATO must have the means to perform these tasks. And we must maintain and strengthen our partnerships with Russia, Ukraine and other nations across the continent, who share our interests, values and dreams.

Advancing security also requires us to work for peace -- whether in Northern Ireland, Nagorno-Karabakh, Kosovo, Bosnia or Cyprus -- and to stand against intolerance and injustice as much as military aggression. Racism and inequality deserve no place in the future we are building. We must fight them at home and abroad.

Second, we must promote prosperity throughout our transatlantic community. Transatlantic commerce already is the largest economic relationship in the world -- encompassing more than half a trillion dollars each year and supporting millions of jobs in both America and Europe. Consider this: America's investment in Europe roughly equals that in all the rest of the world put together. And Europe's investment in America has created so many jobs there that one out of 12 US factory workers is employed by a European-owned firm.

Still, the stark fact is that prosperity is not yet everyone's partner. Europe's new democracies confront the daunting challenge of transition to market economies in an age of globalization, which makes it difficult to preserve the social safety net, along with a sense of fairness and equal opportunity. We must continue to help them, even as those of us in the wealthier nations
confront our own challenges on these fronts.

America will continue to support Europe’s march toward integration. I congratulate Germany and your European partners on achieving Economic and Monetary Union. We admire the determination of Europe that has made an EMU possible. Again I say, a Europe strong and stable, open and growing, is good for America. We will work with you to make your monetary union a success. And we will continue to encourage your steps to enlarge the EU, and to embrace Central Europe and Turkey.

Our third task is to strengthen the hand and extend the reach of democracy. One important tool is the OSCE, whose broad membership projects a unity and moral authority unparalleled on the continent. In the long dark night of communist tyranny, the principles enshrined in the Helsinki Final Act were a beacon of hope for oppressed peoples from Sofia to Almaty. Today’s OSCE is putting those principles into practice – from advancing human rights in the Balkans to supporting democratic institutions in Belarus – laying the foundation of stability on which comprehensive security rests.

At next year’s OSCE summit, we should encourage greater engagement in areas where democracy’s roots are still fragile – the Balkans, Central Asia and the Caucasus. And we must develop practical new tools for the OSCE – such as training police to support peacekeeping missions and dispatching democracy teams to help build more open societies – in order to deter and defuse crises that threaten our values and security.
The secure, free and prosperous Atlantic community we envision must include a democratic Russia. For most of this century, fear, tyranny and isolation kept Russia from the European mainstream. Now, Russians are building a democratic future. We have an enormous stake in their success. Russia is literally recreating itself – using the tools of openness and reform to strengthen new freedoms and restrain those who abuse them... ensure competition... collect taxes... fight crime... restructure the military... and prevent the spread of sensitive technologies. We must support this Russian revolution.

Also, we must redouble our efforts with Russia to reduce further our nuclear arsenals... to lower the limits on conventional forces in Europe... to fight the spread of materials and technology for weapons of mass destruction... to build the NATO-Russia partnership in practical ways to the benefit of all... and to develop the ties between our people that are the best antidote to mistrust.

Ukraine too has the opportunity to reach both east and west and be a force for Europe’s peace and prosperity. A bolder course of reform will give Ukrainians and foreigners alike greater confidence to invest in Ukraine’s future. Leadership is key to building consensus for reform – and it can only come from within. As Ukraine advances, America is committed to lead international support. The moment is historic – and there isn’t a moment to lose.

The new Europe we are building together is the bedrock of our partnership in the world. So our fourth and final task is strengthening our global cooperation. Let us make common cause of our common concerns: standing together against threats to our security – from states that flout international norms to the conflict brewing in Kosovo... from deterring terrorists and organized
criminals to helping Asia restore financial stability... from helping Africa join the global economy to combating global warming. In a world grown smaller, what happens beyond our borders touches our daily lives at home. America and Europe must work together to shape that world.

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Our success in that endeavor will make the new century the greatest that Germany, America, Europe and the world have ever known. It is an effort worthy of the rich legacy of Berlin, the visionary leadership of modern Germany, and the enormous obligation we share for our children’s future.

###
Blinken, Antony J.

From: McEldowney, Nancy E.
Sent: Friday, May 01, 1998 6:43 PM
To: LaFleur, Vinca S.
Cc: @PLANNING - Strat Plan & Comm; @EUROPE - European Affairs
Subject: RE: Follow up from SRB meeting [UNCLASSIFIED]

Vinca: have attached below some language that I think will be helpful conceptually on the NATO portion of the speech. The main thrust is to emphasize the NATO has done a GREAT job of responding to the post-Cold war situation -- through PFP partnership with Russia, etc -- and now over the course of the next 18 months it needs to get ready for the unexpected events of the next century. Whereas NATO used to protect our borders against military invasion, it now acts to spread stability and protect peace. It needs to continue to **defend our common interests** (key phrase) against the threats that know no borders: WMD proliferation; terrorism; rogue states; ethnic violence. We need to ensure that it has the mandate and the capabilities to carry out those new tasks. As we do so, we want to carve out a role (not yet precisely defined) for our partners, so that consultation and joint action build an increasingly intimate and stabilizing link (ignore the obnoxious prose)

The challenges that NATO faced forty nine years ago -- a decimated continent, uncertainty about a continued U.S. role in Europe, questions about the appropriateness of a military alliance and the rearming of Germany -- were pretty intense. But I do think Sandy is right that we are in a task of similar proportions -- rebuilding the continent, forging US-EUR partnership for a new era, and shaping the alliance to address common needs. I will try to dig up some history books tonight to see if I can give you some juicy specifics on the founding, but that's what I've got for now.

KC/Don/Others in Europe: feel free to chime in with any thoughts you may have on above.

Here's the memo stuff that might help:

The primary task -- and political challenge -- of the April 99 NATO summit will be to reach consensus on a future course for the alliance that ensures both the military capabilities and the political will to meet the new regional and transnational challenges we will inevitably face. Navigating between two extremes, with the French view of a "small" NATO restricted to Article V territorial defense on the one hand, and the expansive Rand vision of a NATO with global missions on the other, we are looking to secure a flexible mandate for NATO action that allows us to **defend common interests and respond to common threats** -- without a pre-specified list of substantive parameters or geographic constraints.

The summit should also take our engagement with partners to a new level of political interaction, so that our practical cooperation in future Bosnia-type operations is reflected in an **increased role for partner input into NAC decisionmaking.** The result should be a NATO ready to counter the threats of proliferation, regional conflict and rogue states; an alliance that actively shapes the European security environment; and a source of such broad-based stability that the distinction between membership and partnership becomes increasingly less significant.

To advance this agenda, the President should use the Berlin speech to challenge the allies to engage with us in preparing NATO for the next
Specifically, he should call on the allies to use the year remaining before the April 99 summit to reach agreement on the following steps:

- enhanced alliance capacity to address new threats, particularly proliferation of WMD (our proposal for a NATO non-proliferation center would fulfill this objective); and

- a mandate for NATO to use these enhanced capacities in going beyond territorial defense to protect allies’ common interests and defend against common threats (our revision of NATO’s strategic concept, focused on functional rather than geographic threats, would fulfill this goal); and

- an expanded role for partner involvement in NAC political deliberations (we are working to elaborate a framework for partner input as a summit deliverable).

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We now know that SRB wants a draft of the Berlin speech by Wednesday, which means I have to have a vetted draft to Tony Blinken by Tuesday. Therefore, I must have everyone’s input as soon as possible. I will be working on the speech this weekend and in early Monday too. I know you are all extremely busy, but what comes out of the President’s mouth really matters -- so please make this a priority. I need the input requested yesterday morning (see below) no later than OOB Monday; ideally by tomorrow. Many thanks, and apologies for being a nag -- Vinca.

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Based on this morning’s speech meeting, I am no longer certain we need to pull together a bigger meeting on Monday with folks from State, etc -- the speech will not permit the level of detail such a meeting would have been designed to elicit.

What I do need is:

-- EUR to provide paragraph on NATO 99 -- without calling for charter per se, describe what it is we’re aiming toward in terms of charting NATO’s course for 21st century. SRB had suggested posing the relevant questions; you can do it differently. SRB also recommended harkening back to 1948 and the initial debate over NATO’s creation. He wanted the section to be exciting and compelling -- suggesting that the challenges we face now are no less dramatic than those faced by NATO’s founders.

-- RUE to provide language on Russia and Ukraine -- perhaps a bullet for each on accomplishments (in the context both of democratization and integration) since 1994; and a paragraph for each (not too long though) on forward looking goals -- where they and we must go from here, individually and together.

-- EUR to get from Treasury the most forward leaning statement possible on EMU, similar to the way we talked about Mercosur in Latin America.

-- EUR to confirm which of the OSCE initiatives to run with (SRB indicated he supported the Police Training Academy in principle).

As always, the sooner the better -- Monday morning at the latest. I am sure Sandy will want to see a completed draft by the middle of next week (the speech is a week from Wednesday -- ulp!). Many thanks, Vinca.
The New Balance of Power

President Clinton is attaining one of his major second-term political goals: He is putting a distinctive personal stamp on American foreign policy. Not that the policy has yet proven out. But Clinton has an idea of where he wants to go in dealing with Europe and Russia—the big-ticket items—and he is going there. The skeptics recognize his ambition and—many of them—attribute it to personal glory-seeking and selective frustration on the domestic side. Few recognize the substance of what he is trying to do.

The president laid out his approach to a few journalists last Friday as he set off on a week of celebrations and follow-ups to the 50th anniversary of the Marshall Plan. With this Plan, the United States rebuilt a war-shattered Western Europe as a sturdy companion rampart of the Cold War. But with the passing of the Cold War, almost everyone agrees, something else—it turns out to be elusive—is required.

The traditional balance of power, Clinton told us, involved bringing counter-power to bear against nations inclined to dominate their neighbors. His difference is to draw former adversaries together in raising the quality of life of their people and in cooperating on the particular security threats of the 21st century. This is the idea behind both NATO expansion and the new NATO partnership with Russia, he said.

I suggested to the president that the traditional balance of power may not be merely a theory but reflects an enduring underlying reality in the relations of nations.

He said: "I agree with that, but the balance of power does not always have to be defined in the same terms (of the prospective dominance of others) as it has been previously. What we've done is to construct a balance of power that both restrains and empowers all the people who come within the framework of the agreement."

Restraints and empowerment: The new enlarged NATO and NATO-Russia structures are meant to restrain Russia, and Germany, both of which historically need restraining. At the same time, these structures are intended to empower Russia to participate in the economic and political evolution of Europe—a Europe that includes the United States.

In the quiet of the Oval Office, Clinton speaks with assurance and uses his hands a lot to shape blocks and move them around.
I marked up draft with suggestions and put in your boxes. As Vinca notes, way too long. Lots of old stuff tho some new ideas that are good. Key points that struck me:

-- Idea of a "new Atl comm" not new at all and I recommend against using it. Same w/r/t "Partnership" big P (which to quote my esteemed boss, nobody believes anyway) but that one harder to avoid.

-- Shld describe Our (Strategic) Vision and The Way Forward...(but avoid Trifecta syndrome). Not let speech (or us) be institution driven; institutions should be means, not ends. Recommend more on what we want Europe to look like, acknowledging successes as well as challenges (eg, Cyprus, integrating Turkey, fragility of new democracies in Balkans, Caucasus and NIS).

-- More stress on what matters to people. What is genuine security? Within societies as well as among states....includes economy, health, safety etc.

-- Should address serious threats posed by racism, looking inward, intolerance for differences (when they should enrich...)

-- Like themes of: define what we are for, not against; you can count on us and we on you; but emphasize (perhaps I am too swayed by domestic constituencies) need for Europe to do its part.

-- Should treat Russia as a full partner, alongside EU. Audience more than Berlin/Germany/Europe.

-- Attached are building blocs on OSCE. Asked State to tell me Monday whether to add or subtract specific initiatives.

-- Build-up to g-8 more.

-- Endorsement of German's SC bid seems stronger than our usual statement. Will make hosts happy but aggravate Italy.

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From: LaFleur, Vinca S.
Sent: Thursday, April 23, 1998 3:58 PM
To: McClelland, Nancy E.; Bandler, Donald K.
Cc: Blinken, Antony J.; Gray, Wendy E.; @EUROPE - European Affairs
Subject: Dan Hamilton's draft for Berlin [UNCLASSIFIED]

Nancy, Don -- I have a copy of Dan H's very comprehensive draft/building blocks for the Berlin speech. How much of it do you endorse? Which of the initiatives/proposals therein are real, and which are wishful thinking? It's four times as long as the actual draft will be, so I need some clear guidance about what to keep/discard -- as soon as possible! I want to start drafting Monday. Thanks, Vinca.
TO:  NAME  AGENCY  FAX #

TONY BLINKEN  NSC  456-9370

FROM:  DAN HAMILTON  PHONE #:

SUBJECT:  RPM SPEECH DRAFT/ BUILDING BLOCKS

BERLIN

COMMENTS:  TONY:  IN CASE DON/NANCY DIDN'T PASS TO YOU DIRECTLY... HERE IS SOME MATERIAL FOR YOU — GIVEN THAT THIS WOULD BE THE LAUNCH OF OUR EUROPEAN AGENDA FOR NEXT FEW YEARS, THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE HELPFUL TO LAY OUT AN ARGUMENT AND GIVE YOU MORE MATERIAL THAN JUST RECIPE.
Building Blobs/Draft Text for POTUS Berlin Speech
"A New Atlantic Community for the 21st Century"

I. Introduction

President and Mrs. Herzog, Chancellor and Mrs. Kohl, Governing Mayor and Mrs. Diepgen, 
Ladies and Gentlemen, I am proud to visit a free and unified Berlin in a free and unified 
Germany, a successful democracy respected around the world, at the heart of an increasingly 
united continent.

I can think of no better place than the free eastern half of this city to discuss our common future a 
half century after western cooperation in Berlin set the tone for our partnership.

America's role in defending a free West Berlin gave meaning and substance to our commitments 
in Europe. It is not an exaggeration to say that the foundation of our lasting commitment to 
partnership with our allies was laid in Berlin. Nor is it an exaggeration to say that when the 
people of East Berlin and East Germany opened that Wall, they freed all of us to make real the 
promise of a world no longer bound by the Cold War -- a democratic world which makes place 
for diversity; in which states govern their relations with each other by negotiation and 
accommodation, in which peoples live securely within patterns established by the habit of 
tolerance and sustained by the rule of law.

Let me begin by asking you to join me in advancing a simple premise: that the example we set 
together in Berlin over the past 50 years must continue to guide our approach to the next fifty 
years.

In defending Berlin we were defending three core objectives: security, democracy and prosperity. 
Those objectives remain the bedrock of our partnership today.

Today's Berlin is not only a symbol of what has changed but of our enduring objectives. 
America stands for a future based on the independence of nations and the dignity of peoples -- 
that is what brought Allied soldiers to Berlin in the first place. No one expected we would stay 
for nearly half a century. No one expected that we would become Berliners, but we did. The 
courage and fortitude of the people of this city made us all Berliners during the airlift. We were 
all Berliners the day the hated Wall was constructed, and we were all Berliners on November 9, 
1989, the night it died. Few moments in our lives can compare with that night -- the night Berlin 
shared with the world -- as we watched the breathtaking images of a people coming together 
again, of a country growing together again, of a continent no longer divided.

And even though our soldiers left Berlin almost four years ago, Americans are still Berliners. 
Our commitment to united Berlin and united Germany remains as strong as was our commitment 
to the divided city.
II. Epic Achievements....

When I first came to Europe as President four years ago, I set forth a vision of a new democratic, unified Europe without dividing lines, and I affirmed America's support the integration of all of Europe into a broader Atlantic community. Let me reaffirm my conviction that our best partner, as we look toward the 21st century for prosperity and for peace, is a Europe united in democracy, in free markets, in common security.

Since that time the United States and its allies and partners have been building a new security architecture for post Cold War Europe, underpinned by a strong transatlantic link through the NATO alliance and organized around the concepts of integration and cooperative security. Together we have made substantial progress in fulfilling this vision:

- We've helped Europe's young democracies fix their broken economies. Many of them are moving from aid to trade and investment.

- While staying true to its core mission of collective defense, NATO is taking on new missions, new members and new partners. (Welcome Bundestag ratification; U.S. has just reaffirmed its commitment to Europe through Senate vote on N+)

- The European Union has taken in three new members, is crowning its single market with a single currency, agreed on various new efforts, sealed by the Treaties of Maastricht and Amsterdam, to create a more effective Union, and has begun accession talks with six new candidate countries, with others waiting in the wings.

- Through the New Transatlantic Agenda we have moved the US-EU relationship from joint consultations to joint action, in Europe and around the world.

- Together we have built new partnerships with Russia and Ukraine.

- Together we have transformed the CSCE into an Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe that has moved beyond its earlier role of setting norms to more tangible activities defending those norms -- fielding missions, defusing conflicts, building democracy and advancing human rights from Vancouver to Vladivostok.

- Together, we have launched negotiations to strengthen and adapt the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty so that it can continue to ensure military stability and transparency throughout Europe amidst change and new challenges.

Although much work remains to be done, we have created a new architecture. We stand today on the threshold of the new millennium with a new Europe that is more democratic, more prosperous and more secure than at any time in its history--and in partnership with the US.
We can be proud. But we cannot be complacent. These achievements were not an accident, and their continuation is not inevitable. If we draw from the past not inspiration, but satisfaction; if we and our partners turn inward and shed the obligations of Atlantic leadership, we will watch our gains unravel with 21st century speed.

Together, we have proven that we will respond with courage and unity to a constant threat. As we look to the next century, we must challenge ourselves to summon those same qualities in response to the challenges of constant change. “Our liberty is endangered if we rest on our achievements,” President Kennedy reminded us at the Paulskirche in Frankfurt in 1963, “For time and the world do not stand still. Change is the law of life. And those who look only to the past are certain to miss the future.”

At the threshold of the new century, there is another world to shape -- with challenges no less critical than those faced by our counterparts half a century ago. We can best honor the historic accomplishments of the transatlantic partnership of the last fifty years by challenging ourselves to set forth an equally ambitious vision of our partnership for the next fifty years -- and to use the period between now and the end of the century to define -- together -- a practical road map to achieve it.

III. A Euro-Atlantic Partnership for the 21st Century

This brings me to another reason why Berlin is the perfect place to talk about our common future. For most of us, the 21st century will begin in the year 2000. For Berliners, the 21st century began when the Wall came down in 1989. You have a headstart on the rest of us -- as the forest of cranes along Berlin’s skyline testify.

Let me share with you my view of the possibilities for the United States and Europe in this new millennium. It is a vision for a new Atlantic Community. As the next century dawns on this new Atlantic Community, our joint efforts will have made us confident that the democratic revolutions of 1989 will endure, confident that conflicts like the one in Bosnia can be prevented, and confident that every democracy, large and small, can take its rightful place in a new Europe.

In this new Atlantic Community, the United States will be fully engaged, in partnership with our friends and allies -- and with a larger, more effective European Union.

In this new Community, NATO -- the central pillar of our security engagement -- will be adapted to meet emerging challenges, with the full participation of all current Allies and several new members. Together, Europe and North America will have both the commitment and the capability to defend transatlantic interests where they are threatened. The Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council, the Partnership for Peace, the NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council, the NATO-Ukraine Commission, and the OSCE will give us the tools to prevent conflict and assure freedom for all of our citizens.
In this new Community, our economies will be increasingly integrated and thriving. The quality of life of our citizens will be enhanced by completely free and open transatlantic commerce and world-class health, safety and environmental standards. Europe and America will be taking joint action against the global threats we can only overcome by working together.

In this new Community, a more integrated Europe will also be a more outward-oriented Europe whose horizons will be greater than its borders and its borders will unite rather than divide.

This Community will be defined in terms of what we are for, not what we are against. It will be a Community in which you can always count on us and we can always count on you.

This is the kind of vision that gave our partnership strength and our people hope in the darkest days of the airlift and in the shadow of the Wall. Ten years ago, it was a dream. Ten years from now, the opportunity may be lost. But I believe we can realize it -- if, together, we meet the following three challenges:

IV. The Challenge of European Integration

The first challenge is in Europe -- to create a prosperous and democratic continent united not by the force of arms but by the possibilities of peace, where security is based on open societies, open markets and open relations between neighbors, and where conflict in eastern Europe becomes as inconceivable as it is in western Europe.

We have perhaps the best chance in history to achieve this Europe. But possibilities are not promises. The Berlin Wall has come down -- but other walls remain, those in people's hearts, minds and memories, walls of hate, greed, ignorance, prejudice and envy. They are visible in the ongoing struggle of young democracies to build vibrant economies. They are tangible in the actions of those who exploit the fear of change to fuel extreme nationalism and division and who still see Europe in the zero-sum terms of the past. They are palpable in the pollution, poverty and strife that have produced the greatest number of refugees in Europe forty years.

Instability in the former Yugoslavia remains the most immediate threat to our vision of an integrated Europe at peace. Europe's future will be shaped either by the divisive intolerance that left Bosnia in ruins, destabilized Albania and threatens Kosovo today, or the democratic integration to which most nations in this region aspire.

Over the past few years Germany has moved to the center of the international effort to avert that nightmare. Every day, Bundeswehr pilots and soldiers make their own contribution to peace. Germany has given sanctuary to over 300,000 Bosnian refugees and has contributed billions of Deutschemarks to their care and to humanitarian reconstruction projects inside Bosnia. And, tragically, like the United States, you have given the lives of some of your most dedicated public servants to the cause of peace. I am thinking particularly of Gerd Wagner, a friend of many here who served U.S.-German relations so well in Washington before he lost his life in the service of all humanity last September in Central Bosnia.
[updated section on joint efforts in Bosnia and Kosovo]

Of course the dangers of ethnic, religious or territorial strife have never been confined to the eastern half of the continent. In 1915 the British historian Norman Angell said that every England -- every country in Europe -- has its Ireland, and every Ireland has its Ulster. But more than eighty years later the people of Northern Ireland have seized the promise of peace -- a dramatic example of the opportunity we now have -- to build a lasting peace in which the past no longer controls and poisons the future.

The most terrible force for intolerance in this century's bloody history, of course, was directed from a bunker only a few hundred meters from here. And yet the site where we are gathered today, the Gendarmenmarkt, evokes a very different spirit -- that of tolerance and integration. The French and German Protestant churches built here in the late 17th century welcomed fleeing French Huguenots. Germany at its best has always been a crossroads of European civilizations -- whether the Huguenots of the 17th century, Polish mineworkers in the past century, or Turkish Gastarbeiter and Bosnian refugees today.

As I said in Brussels four years ago, I believe that the process of integration is the best answer to these challenges posed by Europe's diversity. Integration can help transcend traditional boundaries of habit and history, geography and culture. It can induce those involved to look outward rather than inward. It is this emphasis on openness -- openness of outlook and openness of access -- that guides our hopes for the European integration process and the role of our key institutions.

That is why we remain committed to NATO's open door. When we meet in Washington next April for the NATO summit we will not only welcome three new members to Alliance councils, we will also affirm that NATO's door remains open to additional new members and discuss next steps in the enlargement process, thereby underscoring NATO's role in bringing about the integration of a undivided Europe. The first new members will not be the last.

Let me underscore that view today by suggesting that the April NATO Summit be followed the very next day by a Summit of the nations of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council, so that all of our partners can contribute toward the new Europe we seek to build.

We will keep NATO strong. We will not weaken our commitment to collective defense that is the core commitment of our Alliance. But we also recognize that Europe's security challenges today come just as much from injustice, economic want and ethnic hatred as from military aggression. Progress toward the durable peace we seek will come only if we tackle the root causes of conflict that walls and weapons manifest.

That is why we welcome the beginning of accession talks between the EU and Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Slovenia and Cyprus. This is entirely consistent with and reinforcing of our efforts to expand NATO. The prospect of EU membership is helping to lock in
democratic and market reforms throughout central and eastern Europe. It sets the stage for a true single European market. We recognize the unique complexities and costs of this process but fully support it.

Vaclav Havel reminds us: “Just as it is impossible that one half of a room be forever warm and the other half cold it is equally unthinkable that two different Europes could forever exist next to each other without detriment to both, and it is the stabler and more prosperous one that would pay the higher price.”

This is also why we must continue our concerted efforts to integrate a stable, democratic and market-oriented Russia and Ukraine into both European and broader global structures.

The vision I have outlined here can succeed only if we recognize Russia's role in this new Atlantic Community. For most of this century, fear, tyranny and isolation kept Russia from the European mainstream. But now, new patterns of trust and cooperation are taking hold. The Russian people are building a new society on a foundation of democratic and free market ideals. We welcome stable, democratic market-oriented Russia, respectful of its neighbors, as a full partner in building this new Europe. We want to work with the Russian people to bring Russia into the family of market democracies. We want Russia to have a stake and a role in the institutions of European security and economic cooperation. Together, we share an interest in preventing armed conflict. Together, we are equally threatened by proliferation, nuclear smuggling and the specter of disasters like Chernobyl.

Let me suggest three areas in which we could be more helpful. First, the United States and the European Union should consider ways we could cooperate more closely with Russia to fight the scourages of drugs, crime and terrorism that sap reform and stunt progress. Second, we can work hard to integrate Russia into the WTO on commercial terms. And third, we should make further progress in building NATO's partnership with Russia. Under the Founding Act NATO and Russia are working out new ways to consult, coordinate and -- where possible and appropriate -- act jointly, as we are doing in Bosnia now. But we can do more. In this regard, I believe we should support Russia's interest in establishing a new transatlantic center for civilian emergency disaster relief in Moscow, and should establish practical mechanisms to bring this idea to life.

Another critical goal for our partnership is to help consolidate democracy and economic reform in Ukraine. A sovereign, stable and prosperous Ukraine is vital to security throughout Central Europe and the continent as a whole. By giving up nuclear weapons and seeking strong ties with Russia and central Europe and a close partnership with Western nations and institutions, including NATO, Ukraine has already considerably strengthened its security. But as this audience in particular can well appreciate, security must rest on a strong economic foundation. Here, the Ukrainians still have their work cut out for them. The recent elections have made it difficult to build momentum for overdue reforms. But we have learned time and again that postponing reforms and not cracking down on the twin pestilences of crime and corruption will inflict greater pain on average citizens and undermine Ukraine's prospects for integration with key international institutions. At the U.S.-EU Summit in Great Britain we hope to announce
joint U.S.-EU efforts to help Ukraine overcome its severe economic problems and gain access to critical markets.

The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe is essential to this evolving community. OSCE will continue to be our premier organization for the promotion of human rights and democracy throughout Europe. It is our institution of choice when it comes to early warning, conflict prevention and crisis and post-crisis management and rehabilitation. That is evident from its important and courageous missions in Bosnia, Albania, Croatia, Chechnya and the Baltics. The Helsinki principles -- respect for an open society and the rule of law -- provided the guidepost for all we accomplished in the last decade and they also shape our vision for the future.

A common challenge will be to preserve military stability and predictability at historic low levels of armaments in Europe throughout the many changes of coming years. Adaptation of the CFE Treaty will be central to this vital arms control task. The U.S. and other members of NATO are committed to early progress in these negotiations; the coming year will provide an important opportunity for major results -- but this must be a genuinely joint endeavor, demanding no less constructive efforts on the part of all parties to the Treaty.

At next year's OSCE Summit we should build on these principles to define the OSCE's mission for the next century. OSCE has fulfilled much its mission in the center of Europe. We need to provide more attention and resources to extend the zone of democracy, security and cooperation to those regions where democracy is still fragile and often threatened.

This includes the Balkans, where the OSCE is most heavily engaged currently. But it should also include the Caucasus and Central Asia. In this way, the OSCE can become an even more important mechanism for the core Euro-Atlantic community to reach out, engage and integrate the rest of a democratizing Eurasian continent.

These goals should be embraced in a Charter to be signed at a 1999 Summit.

All of these challenges to integration underscore the importance of ever closer cooperation among the current members of the European Union.

The United States has supported European efforts toward closer integration since the very beginning. The creation of the European coal and steel community, the common market, the single market; the successive enlargement -- these are all things that we have supported and that are strongly in our interest. We've done so because we have always believed that a politically united Europe will be a stronger partner to advance our common goals and an open, economically united Europe will create a more attractive and promising environment for American business and jobs for American workers.
That is why, today, I would like to express America's support for three important elements of your further integration -- an effective European Monetary Union, a more capable European Security and Defense Identity, and efforts toward a more cohesive, "European" foreign policy.

The next historic stage of Europe's integration promises to be the advent of European Monetary Union and a single European currency. On what terms and by what timetable this currency, the Euro, comes about -- who joins the EMU and when -- is strictly a European decision. We empathize with the difficult choices that all Europeans face in bringing EMU to fruition.

That said, let me be clear that the United States will welcome a single European currency that cements an open, single market, fuels economic growth and increased consumer demand, and joins the dollar as a stabilizing element of the global economy. Just as Europeans stand to gain from the new avenues for growth that EMU will open, so Americans will find rich opportunities for trade and investment in a single open continental market crowned by a single currency.

In short, if the Euro works for Europe, it will work for America.

Over the past few years, we have also worked hard to promote more potent European defense capabilities to project power and deal with a fuller spectrum of possible future dangers. As we look to the April NATO Summit and beyond, I want to affirm our full support for building a European Security and Defense Identity, based on the Berlin principles agreed by the Alliance here in Berlin two years ago, which, if successful, could lead to new forms of engagement between NATO and the European Union.

More capable European defense capabilities will require more cohesive European approaches to foreign policy decisions, and that is why it is important that the United States also make clear its support for such efforts. While we would be wary that common foreign policies could result from time to time in lowest-common-denominator policies, we support such efforts generally because on those many occasions when Europe and America do agree, our collective voice -- and our collective action -- is that much clearer and stronger than if we are speaking and acting individually; and second, on the really core issues, we agree more often and far more profoundly than we disagree.

V. The Challenge of Transatlantic Unity

This brings me to our second great challenge: between Europe and America. As you, with our encouragement, pursue your goal of unity across this continent, together we must do everything we can to tighten the ties that bind across the Atlantic.

Deepening our economic relationship is central to this agenda; it undergirds not only our prosperity but our security. Although both Europe and America have expanded our economic ties with the Asia-Pacific region and with Latin America, it is important to recall that transatlantic commerce remains by far the largest combined trade and investment relationship in the world today -- amounting to about $1.7 trillion annually, nearly 50% larger than U.S. commerce across
the Pacific. All told, Europe accounts for almost half the foreign revenues of American firms. Our investment in Europe alone roughly equals that in the rest of the world put together. And more than 4,000 European companies provide jobs in every state in the Union -- and provide more jobs in the U.S. than do companies from all other nations combined. Europe's investment in Texas alone exceeds total U.S. investment in Japan.

Together, the U.S. and Europe have led the world toward open markets and greater prosperity. Our cooperation has made possible every global trade agreement, from the Kennedy Round to the Uruguay Round. Through the G-8, we work to stimulate global growth. And at the OECD, we are developing strategies to overcome structural unemployment and adapt to demographic change. Deeper economic cooperation, in turn, can provide a basis for stronger political bonds and thus for joint action to fight proliferation, protectionism, drugs, crime and terrorism.

Here again we are guided by a simple principle: cooperation within regions should reinforce cooperation among regions. That principle informs our own efforts to remove economic barriers in NAFTA, APEC, and in the new Transatlantic Marketplace.

In addition to implementing the North American Free Trade Agreement, we seek to open trade throughout the Americas. Together with our APEC partners, we are working hard to achieve free and open trade and investment in the Asia-Pacific region by 2020. None of these efforts will raise barriers to non-participants or exclude any economic sector. And they will meet the requirements of the World Trade Organization.

Our vision for transatlantic relations should reflect this emphasis on openness. Our goal with respect to the Transatlantic Marketplace is no less ambitious than with our efforts to open markets in other regions of the world. Our joint success has brought us to the stage where we can realistically discuss a true integration of the economies of Europe and North America. That is way I believe we should launch a comprehensive transatlantic liberalization effort that will create a more open and dynamic Transatlantic Marketplace that creates jobs and increases prosperity on both sides of the Atlantic. Our ultimate goal, to be achieved over time, should be completely free and open transatlantic commerce.

We are not there yet -- but as our transatlantic community is strengthened, as existing barriers fall and momentum builds, the boundaries of what seems feasible are likely to expand. We should pursue practical steps, but toward visionary objectives.

At the U.S.-EU Summit next week in Great Britain, we and our European partners hope to take an important, concrete step toward this broader goal.

Such a Marketplace would become a model for the world and the incubator of more ambitious global efforts. It would assure the highest levels of health, safety, environmental and workers' protection.
Our ally Canada is also one of our largest economic partners. We would like to see Canada formally join this process.

Let me be clear that efforts to open transatlantic commerce, just as our other efforts at economic liberalization, will strengthen our overriding objective of global trade liberalization, be consistent with an effective World Trade Organization, and not disadvantage less developed countries. It must be nondiscriminatory and MFN-oriented.

We want to build a vibrant and open global economic system -- one where the field of play is competitive and the rules are fair and enforced. We are working to strengthen and expand the WTO, finish the unfinished business of the Uruguay Round, and begin to address such next generation trade issues as trade and labor, investment, competition policy and the environment.

On many of these issues the United States and the European Union can be global pathfinders. U.S.-European cooperation in international trade made possible every global trade agreement from the Kennedy Round of the mid-60's to the Uruguay Round four years ago. Most recently, our partnership led the way in reaching the landmark global Information Technology Agreement and the Basic Telecommunications Services Agreement liberalizing about $1 trillion in trade. Transatlantic breakthroughs in areas underemphasized or absent from the WTO negotiating agenda, such as investment, regulatory policy, civil aviation, biotechnology and eco-labeling, can subsequently be introduced into the global trading system for negotiation. I am laying the groundwork for introduction of a new "fast track" bill in January 1999.

These efforts should be complemented by expanded transatlantic cooperation on international financial issues following creation of a European single currency, perhaps through the form of a Transatlantic Monetary Dialogue.

Technology is another area requiring new initiatives across the Atlantic. Given the onward rush of technological innovation, scarce defense resources and competing domestic priorities, it might be time for NATO and the EU to consider a closer defense technology alliance that defends against information systems attack and advances our capabilities in communications, control and computers in ways that are mutually beneficial for both European and American defense industries.

Our common interests make cooperation necessary. Our common values make cooperation possible. But as our societies face the new century of change it is our complementarity, the fact that each of us brings something special to our relationship from which the other can learn and profit, which makes transatlantic cooperation so potentially rewarding -- and which presents an opportunity for our partnership make a positive and tangible difference in the daily lives of our citizens.

For some, this world of constant change can often appear overwhelming. As I grapple with this challenge, I am guided by the words of one of your young scholars, Karl Schloegel, who teaches at the European University in Frankfurt an der Oder, not far from here on the Polish border.
“Attention is almost always riveted on the actions of heads of state and government," he writes. "Little is usually said of the quiet revolution that each individual must master for himself. But whether he does so or not will really determine how the 20th century will actually end."

Of course, each of our societies faces challenges unique to our national situations. But on a range of issues there is an opportunity to use and compare different national experiences. Europeans and Americans are talking about creating jobs, training workers, making welfare programs more effective and efficient, reinvigorating education, improving the environment, fighting drugs and crime, and coping with issues related to migration, social exclusion and ethnic and cultural diversity.

These issues are of central importance to our societies -- and provide ways we can learn from each other. In recent years, for example, we Americans have learned a good deal from German environmental planning, Danish models of workforce development, and British enterprise zone concepts. Each of our societies provides a frame of reference for the other. Viewing our relations in this way may open a variety of areas in which deeper European-American collaboration can be mutually beneficial. In fact, collaboration on a variety of common domestic challenges could help us avoid working at cross purposes or duplicating efforts. It could enable us to make more efficient use of scarce political and economic resources. It could provide the material for new transatlantic networks based less on past threats that on the common challenges of the future.

With these examples in mind, I am propose to host a White House Conference later this year devoted to "The Transatlantic Learning Community." The conference will focus on domestic challenges in American and European societies where we might learn from the other's experience. I hope this will be only the beginning of a concerted effort on both sides of the Atlantic to use our partnership to lift the lives of our people in this global age.

VI. The Challenge of A Truly Global Partnership

These issues underscore another reality of the coming century. It will be a world in which national well-being is increasingly influenced by legal and illegal flows, across borders, of people, money and weapons, technology, toxins and terror, drugs and disease. We characterize these forces as "global," but their impact is very local. They are impersonal forces with very personal consequences. The dangers they pose to our citizens and our way of life could be greater and more unpredictable than was the danger of nuclear conflagration during the Cold War.

So our third challenge -- in a sense our biggest challenge -- is for us to act together in the wider world, beyond Europe and America, to meet a range of challenges no single nation can meet alone.

Europe and America will be the drivewheel of progress on these global issues when we agree, and the brake when we do not.
12

The better we work together to reduce threats beyond our borders, the better chance we have of reducing the threats to our citizens within our borders. The better we work together to protect our global environment the better we can protect the health and well-being of our own citizens and communities. And the better we work together to fight terrorism, crime, drug trafficking and the spread of dangerous weapons on our shores and beyond, the better we can enhance the security of our people and communities at home.

Together, we are already doing much. EU participation has been key to the launching of the Korean Energy Development Organization, enabling it to address the threat of nuclear proliferation and promote regional stability on the Korean peninsula.

EU and American law enforcement officials are collaborating against narcotraffickers in Southeast Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean.

EU and US scientists are establishing a network of environmental centers in Ukraine, Russia and elsewhere in the NIS.

90 percent of all global humanitarian assistance is provided by the U.S., the European Commission and the member states of the EU. Our efforts at coordinating our development aid have improved our ability to fight disease in West Africa, alleviate poverty in South Asia, and ensure food security worldwide.

We have worked together closely to help stabilize financial conditions in East Asia and support the reforms needed to restore confidence in that region’s economic future.

Our cooperation was an important part of the successful conclusion of the UN International Convention on the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings.

We share the nuclear safety policy goal of closing the Chornobyl nuclear power complex in Ukraine permanently by 2000, and are working together on shut-down issues. We have agreed to undertake a new initiative on nuclear safety in NW Russia.

We have just launched an initiative for Joint US-EU coordination to combat trafficking in women.

EU and U.S. health experts are helping to develop a global early warning network against communicable diseases. Let us commit to begin the new century with a global early warning system against the spread of disease; effective mechanisms for coordinated actions against disease outbreaks; and with Canada, Japan, central Europe and the NIS fully included in these networks.

Our ability to work through our differences and focus on common goals was a critical factor in the success of the Kyoto Conference on climate change. Now we should establish the U.S. and Europe as leaders in addressing global environmental problems and raising environmental
standards, particularly in developing countries and the New Independent States. Toward that end, we should consider establishing a Transatlantic Environmental Dialogue that facilitates joint action to implement a Climate Change Protocol that includes developing countries and emissions trading; and undertake joint efforts on key environmental problems, including nuclear waste issues in Ukraine and northwest Russia.

International criminal organizations are a growing threat to the security of our people. Criminals trafficking in illicit weapons, drugs and human lives recognize no national borders. They turn our citizens into targets of opportunity and our public places into stalking grounds. They subvert financial systems, breed corruption and threaten democracies around the world. We need to create a truly global partnership to fight international crime. Toward that end, we might consider establishing an Atlantic Council Against International Crime -- embracing Canada and eventually central Europe and Russia too.

The rule of law is central to our common interest in promoting security, prosperity and democracy. Let us make a joint commitment to expand the rule of law as a core theme of transatlantic cooperation, identifying countries where rule of law initiatives on our part could make a real difference. We remain committed to advance the work of the International War Crimes Tribunals in Bosnia and Rwanda; to establish the International Criminal Court; and to ensure that international anti-corruption agreements are translated into national legislation.

We agree often on the need to respond to countries whose behavior departs from international norms or threatens our common security. When we have acted together, we have made a positive difference. Unfortunately, on occasion differences have emerged between us which have weakened this response and diverted attention from our shared objectives. That is why we must devise an transatlantic early warning system of consultations leading to joint action to preempt, prevent and respond to countries whose behavior departs from international norms or threatens our common security.

In responding to many of the challenges of this new age, diplomacy is our first line of defense. But we must also ensure that our military forces are better able to work together to meet new threats to our interests, such as the spread and potential use of weapons of mass destruction, the possible disruption of energy supplies, state-sponsored terrorism, or turmoil in the Greater Middle East and the former Soviet space.

In these areas, Germany deserves credit. Even as your country has dealt with the continuing challenge of unification, and as you have put your considerable weight behind the process of European integration, you have also been imaginative and generous in applying your resources and skills to some of the most pressing concerns in far-flung corners of the globe.

Far from turning inward, Germany has affirmed a broader foreign policy vision -- one symbolized by its involvement in peacekeeping efforts in Cambodia and Somalia. It is seen in the former Yugoslavia, where courageous Bundeswehr pilots and soldiers continue to make a daily contribution to peace. It is evident in central and eastern Europe and the former Soviet
Union, where Germany continues to be a leader in providing assistance. And Germany has reached out to Asia as well, providing critical support to ease the recent financial crisis. Not only do we support this broader German role, we applaud it, and look forward to working as closely as we have in the past, but on a wider canvas.

This record of international good citizenship and activism strengthens the case that the United States is making for Germany's permanent membership on the UN Security Council. During Germany's tenure on the Security Council as a non-permanent member from 1995-96, it helped the Council tackle tough issues like Iraq. Your country’s contribution to the management of that crisis is just one more example of how Germany is helping Europe as a whole to shoulder its responsibilities beyond its own boundaries.

VII. Deepening the Ties Between Our People

All the steps I have suggested today will require our governments to work more closely together. But the strength of our relationships depends ultimately on the ties among our people. And that is the fourth and final challenge I wish to discuss today.

After World War II, Germany and the United States pioneered the people-to-people programs of cultural and academic exchange that have been so important, and continue to be so important, to Americans and Europeans. Millions of Americans have lived and worked in Germany and throughout Europe. More than 12 million Americans have been stationed in Germany as soldiers or family members since World War II. They have returned with an appreciation of this country and the importance of a strong relationship with Germany.

Because of our partnership in the Cold War, we almost took for granted that our people came to know each other well. But now that the Cold War is over, we need to forge new links. Today, 500,000 Americans work for German firms and 600,000 Germans work for American firms. Let us encourage our companies to follow the example some firms are already setting by expanding exchange programs for their employees and their families. Our elected representatives should also intensify their contacts. We should broaden our academic and cultural exchanges. As President Herzog recently said about the Fulbright program, exchange programs are "part of the substance of our foreign policy...a policy aimed at understanding, which in our day and age is more important than ever."

I am particularly gratified by the new ties being built across the Atlantic with this part of Germany. After over four decades of highly restricted contact with Americans, the people of Germany’s new states have moved strongly to build links and exchanges with America and the world. Thriving sister-city relationships, such as Potsdam and Sioux Falls, Eisenach and Waverly, Iowa, Leipzig and Houston, Dresden and Columbus have generated investment, promoted education and training, and led to exchanges of culture and ideas -- only a few of the more than 150 partnerships between American and German cities and towns.
This human foundation underscores an important truth: While much can be done to convey appreciation for other countries and ways of life, in the end there is no substitute for personal experience. My own life has been deeply influenced by the opportunity I was afforded at transatlantic exchange. And I believe strongly that there is no more important effort we can make than to expand the ties between our young people and to open exchanges to those in our societies who traditionally have not had the opportunity to participate.

That is why I am pleased to announce today that we will raise our funding of the Congress-Bundestag Youth Exchange Program. In so doing we will not only create more opportunities every year for young Germans and Americans in high school to spend an exchange year across the Atlantic, we will open the program to more vocational training exchanges, young professional exchanges, and exchange between staff members of the U.S. Congress and the German Bundestag. I am also committed to working with the Congress and the private sector to build a private-public partnerships to strengthen this program even further.

VIII. Conclusion

I believe the goals for our partnership that I have set forth today are mutually reinforcing. A safer, freer, more prosperous Europe -- one that includes a stable and democratic Russia -- is more likely to lift its horizons past its borders and act as America's global partner. And an outward-looking Europe is more likely to be able to manage broad forces of change that could challenge stability, prosperity and democracy on the European continent and in our transatlantic marketplace.

I believe the new century we are entering will be the greatest that Berlin, the greatest that Germany, the greatest that Europe and America have known. Just as we shared your struggles in the past, we share your aspirations for the future -- a Europe united in democracy, standing shoulder to shoulder with America to extend peace and prosperity around the world.

During the Cold War, the defense of democracy in Berlin anchored the defense of democracy worldwide. When Germany achieved unity in freedom, you succeeded not only for yourselves, but for people on every continent. Now we have the opportunity to stand up for the freedom of others, just as others stood up for yours. As you do so, you can be assured that America will stand with you. For decades Americans serves as trustees of unity. Now, together, we can serve as stewards of freedom.

America's partnership with Germany and with Europe -- a partnership in which you can always count on us and we can always count on you -- is just beginning, especially here in this great city -- the city of tomorrow, a stage for the challenges and opportunities of the next century.

We have been left an important legacy: a world without the Berlin Wall. Our task is to leave to our children a world without walls altogether, "eine Welt ohne Mauern [eye-nuh velt oh-nuh mao-aim.]"
Such a goal is ambitious -- but the journey is as important as the destination. As your courageous Mayor, Ernst Reuter, once said, “the fate of democracy rests on faith in history.”

And so, my friends, let us recommit ourselves today, in this city whose history reflects both the tragedies and triumphs of this century, to a future partnership as bold as that of the past, together with our other partners, so that we can all say with pride, Ich glaube an Europa -- I believe in Europe.

Thank you.
Drafted: S/P - Daniel Hamilton x73551
Tony -- as I start to pull my background together for the Berlin speech, I still feel like I'm struggling with some basic conceptual problems.

As I understand SRB's preference, the speech should begin by hearkening back to the 94 speech and the vision the POTUS set out then -- "I believe that it is time for us together to revitalize our partnership and to define a new security at a time of historic change...The new security must be found in Europe's integration, an integration of security forces of market economies, of national democracies." Then it should talk about what we've achieved in the three basic areas.

Where I start to struggle is with the pivot to the future-oriented stuff. The EUR memo suggests that we "project a vision for the future of that partnership in the coming millennium and chart a policy course for 1999 that allows us to realize that vision."

It's "the vision thing" that throws me. Has the vision changed? Are we talking about a vision for Europe -- peaceful, undivided, prosperous, democratic... where Bosnias can be prevented... where a democratic Russia is our full partner... where NATO is larger and ready to meet the challenges of the future... where a more effective EU is taking in new members from Turkey to the Baltics... where governments provide their people the tools to succeed in the new economy... where our societies draw strength from their growing diversity instead of splintering apart... etc -- or a vision for the U.S.-European partnership itself?

And if it's the latter, who do we mean by Europe -- just the Western half, or everyone?

The policy innovations in the EUR memo are essentially institutional and mostly Western-based: NATO allies should prepare the alliance for the next century by refining its strategic concept; the OSCE should become more operational and do more in Central Asia and the Caucasus; and the US and EU should work together to make the EMU a success and build a strong, open transatlantic and global trading system for the future. I can make these more "human" by illustrating them with examples of how they benefit ordinary people -- though I will need EUR's help in pulling the information together -- but it will probably be a more programmatic speech than the POTUS usually gives (though the 94 speech was that way too).

But I wonder about some of the other aspects of the US-European relationship that people like Jim and MKA and Strobe have been talking about recently -- like sticking together against rogue states, for climate change, against terrorism and crime, etc. -- i.e. for building an effective global partnership. Should that be part of the POTUS vision for the coming millennium too? And if so, where does it fit -- because the security-democracy-prosperity triad doesn't absorb it very well.

Maybe I'm making this overly complicated, but I could use the benefit of your wisdom... and Sandy and Jim's. Thanks, Vinca.