

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION	
001. speech	re: Draft Cuba Statement (2 pages)	08/19/1995	P5	1297.
002. speech	[Duplicate of 001] (2 pages)	08/19/1995	P5	1298
003. notes	re: [Cuba Speech Meeting] (4 pages)	12/19/1995	P5	1299

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 3384

FOLDER TITLE:

POTUS-Cuba Statement-8/19/94

Rob Seibert
2006-0459-F
rs572

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Draft Cuba statement

8/19
Potus agreed
changes/edits

in unsafe vessels
In recent weeks, the Castro regime has ~~come under increasing pressure from the Cuban~~
~~sees to escape their nation's internal problems.~~
~~people. In response to that pressure, Castro has encouraged Cubans to take to the sea in~~
~~unsafe vessels to escape their nation's internal problems.~~ ^{it} In so doing, he willingly risks the
lives of thousands of Cubans; several have already died during their attempts to flee.

cold-blooded attempt
Castro's action is ~~nothing less than a desperate attempt~~ ^{Morbid} to maintain his weakening grip on
Cuba and to divert attention from his failed policies. He is trying to export to the United
States the political and economic crises he has created, in defiance of the
democratic tide flowing throughout the hemisphere.

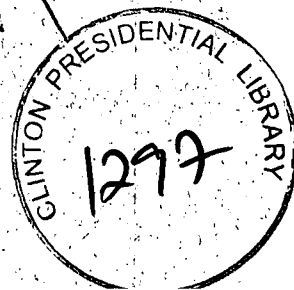
Let me be clear: Castro will not succeed in his attempt to dictate American immigration
policy. The United States will do everything within its power to ensure that Cuban lives
are saved and that the current outflow of refugees ^{is} stopped.

I have today ordered that illegal refugees from Cuba [?] ~~will~~ not be allowed to enter the
United States. Refugees rescued at sea will be taken to our naval base at Guantanamo
while we explore the possibility of other safe havens in the region.

To enforce this policy, I have directed the Coast Guard to continue its expanded effort to
stop any boat attempting to bring Cubans to our shores through the Florida straits. The
United States will detain, investigate and, if necessary, prosecute Americans who take to
the sea to pick up Cubans. Vessels used in such activities will be seized.

~~I have also directed the State Department and the Immigration and Naturalization Service~~
~~to take new steps to ensure that every possible avenue be made available for legitimate~~
~~Cuban political refugees to seek asylum in the United States.~~

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY



the Florida Congressional delegation

-- starting with Governor Chiles
and Senator Graham --

[Handwritten signature]

I want to compliment the Coast Guard, INS and Florida officials for their cooperation in protecting and saving the lives of Cubans who seek to escape the Castro regime. We are resolved to continue safeguarding the lives of those Cubans that Castro has knowingly put at risk on the seas. We will not allow him to imperil the lives of Cuban citizens for the sake of his own defiance of the democratic tide flowing throughout this hemisphere.

Draft Cuba statement

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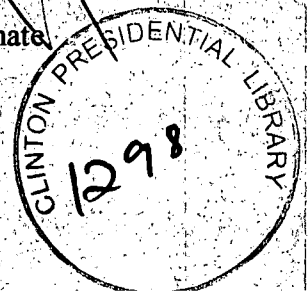
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-- starting with Governor Chiles
and Senator Graham --

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resolved to continue safeguarding the lives of those Cubans that Castro has knowingly put at risk on the seas. We will not allow him to imperil the lives of Cuban citizens for the sake of his own defiance of the democratic tide flowing throughout this hemisphere.

12/19

Potus - VPotus - TL - LP - Cutler - Gerson - GS -
Cronwell - Emanuel - DB - Breck

(6)

- Sends mixed signal - Cuba did a definite Carter
He did have controlled it - Iran was evil thing - out of
his control

• Cutler - we started out helping them -

P - Then Castro opened prisons
less we say about good natured side

⇒ "of course
Avenues remain open" better

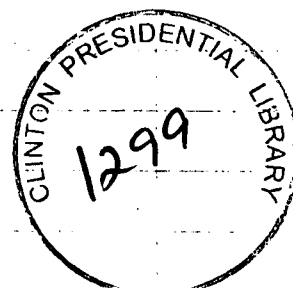
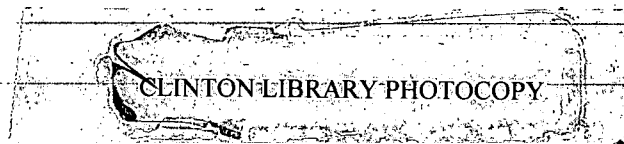
(Like)
P asks DDM to do T.V. / CNN → "don't hope of thoughts"
"TL's real power" says P

P → of course, opp for legit refugees to seek
asylum
or take out ⇒ deal w/ it in Q+A's

less + more

(Like) - work closely w/ members of CAC to share their
concerns.

(GS) Take out "illegal" (4)



(L) we want Castro to do things.
(2) sub "Cuba" or "regime" for Castro

(P) In recent

(P) "desperate" → "cold blooded" better

(C) → exporting "victims"
(2)

(2) → take out "reckoning"

"communist" better than Marxist

(4) keep illegal (C) (C)

(P) Mention "Congressional delegations"?

- After $\rightarrow$ wlt about those who think that?
- P $\rightarrow$ don't diminish power of statement

(7) Compress last 2 sentences

Do everything in our power to see Cuba has
sweat

(P) Cut last graf entirely except for 7th sentence

(P) Last sentence shld be

- compliment CG, INS, Flor/Gov + say we're grateful
Sen Orin + other members of Florida delegation
(it Mock?)

(P) - Explicit + unambiguous $\Rightarrow$ Δ in way we're done
things for 30 yrs. Cuba treat like

(GS) sure for Q+A $\rightarrow$ we're not going to allow
another Moral

Won't let Castro dictate immigration policy

No D to our embargo policy

③ "We will not allow another Mariel" as last sentence.

GS $\Rightarrow$ save it for Q+A

After talks with members of both parties, I have

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. notes	re: [Meeting on Haiti Statement] (5 pages)	9/18/1994	P5 1300

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 3384

FOLDER TITLE:

Haiti-Statement on Agreement 9/18/94

Rob Seibert
2006-0459-F
rs573

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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- RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

POTUS - VP - SecDef - USON - CJC - Bergen - GS - SecStt

HAITI

9/18

CPN ruled

- Agreent w/ def to govt

- - complete abjction of his risks to America

- will ~~the~~ step down from power with Amnesty
law passed w/ Peli or Oct 15 (early of two)

- Agreed to intro of MF in Haiti w/o resistance
+ will cooperate w/ the drug traffick period

→ complete 3 yr old goal
transfer from illegal reg - to Antel

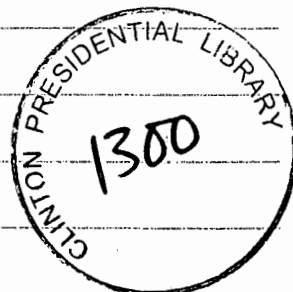
- Antel will return soon after their departure

- Agreent will put full impl of UN 940
~~strategy~~ by Oct 15

- Deployment in peaceful context of MNF w/ by US
will begin tomorrow.

- US troops. NO invasion

- ① } - stepping down
- ② } - ~~MF~~ invasion
- ③ } - ~~MF~~ for return tomorrow

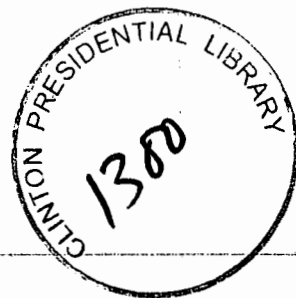


~~They~~ Think every

* - MNF will insure terms of Agents are met.

- Date certain for tin to leave.

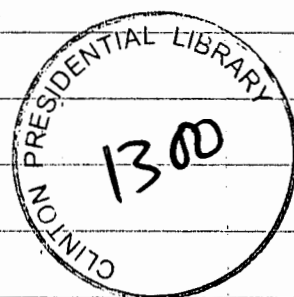
I said they say - they are - 15,000 tons
will insure at they say.



POTUS attn

- Retirement in conjunct c/1940 (request of Cecher to leave)
- I said try go
Thrice go
- Thrice go probably
- No mission
- Troops for transition
- Still risk BUT doubtably reduced risk
- orderly transfer - Don't c/p close of help assist to air troops + coalition forces
- Priority to req. + to + America forces
- no eq. Lf it not been for source of info of air force

- Pres A can not → run → Le + MNF
define its life to do so



→ We were in initial stages of know. They
knew this. (They believed)

— Diff b/w H + Gov Is! → where there
we can enforce.

— They will not be in power after Oct 15

— They're going to be held by equal right
by Pres + J.

→ want to avoid bloodshed
Don't want for long

— but will happen after Oct. 15

[Don't want
Only infer
Matters down for action]

① - Avoiding inner but getting the to have
effectual well of with country, and
may risk to life

② Don't AS end that want that

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. speech	re: Remarks on U.S. Military Action in Haiti (3 pages)	09/18/1994	P5 1301

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 3384

FOLDER TITLE:

Haiti-Contingency Invasion Statement 9/18/94

Rob Seibert
2006-0459-F
rs574

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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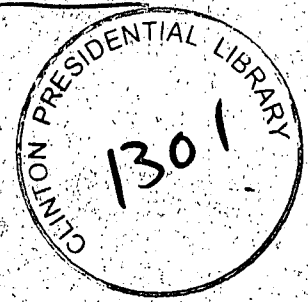
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

9/18/92, 5 pm

DRAFT - DRAFT - DRAFT



**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS ON U.S. MILITARY ACTION IN HAITI
THE WHITE HOUSE
SEPTEMBER 18, 1994**

My fellow Americans

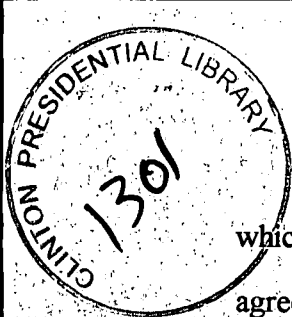
*under the
mult. of the U.S.*

Early this morning United States forces led an international coalition of 25 nations into action in Haiti. Their objective is to remove Haiti's military dictators from power and restore that nation's legitimate, democratically elected government.

No President sends our armed forces into action lightly. I want to tell you why I have taken this step. Our actions today, and in the days to come, will stop the brutal atrocities that have taken the lives of thousands of Haitians. *help press stability by press curb flow* They will curb the flow of refugees that threatens the stability of our region. *they* They will help give the Haitians people a chance to rebuild a democratic Haiti and rejoin the powerful trend toward democracy that has swept through *our hemisphere* the Americas in recent years. And *they* they will uphold the reliability of their commitments that the United States makes around the world -- and the commitments that others make to us.

For three years, the United Nations, the United States and our neighbors in the Caribbean ~~United States and the international community~~ have explored -- and exhausted -- every possible avenue to convince the military dictators to leave peacefully. *every conceivable* We proposed numerous diplomatic solutions and imposed economic sanctions. The leader of the Haitian dictators, General Cedras, came to the United States and signed an agreement in

*when the dictators signed
our offers*



I know that the U.S. cannot - indeed should not - be the world's policeman - But in Haiti, we have a case in which what is right is clear, in which the country is in a state of anarchy, in which our own interests are at stake, in which the mission is clear - we must act.

which he and the other military rulers would give up power -- only to break that agreement on the very day that it was to go into effect.

In the last 48 hours

Just yesterday, at my request, President Carter, General Powell and Senator Nunn traveled to Haiti to facilitate the departure of the military dictators. I asked them to undertake this mission because it is my responsibility to pursue every possible alternative to the use of force in order to avoid bloodshed and the loss of American lives. The generals, however, presented the American delegation with a plan that would have prolonged their stay in power, rather than meeting our demands that they step down from immediately. Their final intransigence left us no alternative to force.

dictators

Mission of the Intl

The coalition forces' mission is clear -- and limited: to remove the dictators from power, to help create a civilian controlled security force, and to help maintain basic civil order in which democratic government can be restored.

To the Haitian people, the coalition will do everything in its power to bring a civil result.

In a matter of

Within months, the coalition will pass its responsibilities to a United Nations Mission, which will include a much smaller contingent of U.S. troops. The U.N. Mission will help the democratic government build stability in Haiti and train the nation's armed forces and a new civilian police force. The Mission will also assist the legitimate government in organizing free and fair Parliamentary and Presidential elections next year, as required under the Haitian constitution.

President has given us his pledge

Ordering the men and women of our armed forces into action is the most difficult decision any American president ever has to make. There is a dangerous mission. The risks are there and we must be prepared for them. But the American military is the finest in the world. Working hand in hand with our coalition partners, we will succeed in ending the dictators' reign of terror in Haiti and restoring its democratically elected government. My

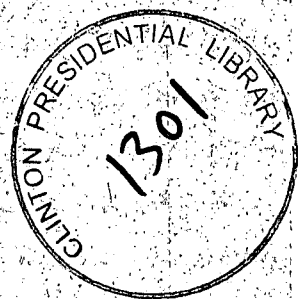
I have every confidence in our military leaders and the troops that they command.

Clinton PM
I went into the party to find out if there was any way to get my boys out of there safely.

They are safe and are very brave.

thoughts and prayers, along with those of all Americans, are with our troops as they fight
for democracy and for peace.

My God bless our troops and the American people.



Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. speech	re: Message to Family and Friends of American Armed Service Members in Haiti (2 pages)	09/18/1994	P5 1362

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 3384

FOLDER TITLE:

Haiti-Remarks to Military Families 9/18/94

Rob Seibert
2006-0459-F
rs575

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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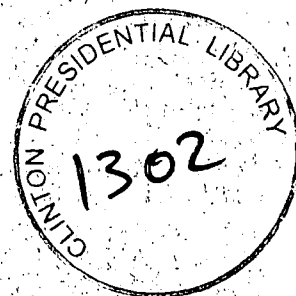
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

DRAFT

DRAFT

DRAFT



9/18/94, 6 pm

**WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
MESSAGE TO FAMILY AND FRIENDS OF
AMERICAN ARMED SERVICE MEMBERS IN HAITI
THE WHITE HOUSE
SEPTEMBER 18, 1994**

I would like to address those of you whose family members, loved ones and friends who are taking part in operation Maintain Democracy, our effort to restore the legitimate, democratic government of Haiti.

Ordering the men and women of our armed forces into action is the most difficult decision [insert] any President ever has to make. This is a dangerous mission. The risks are clear. We must be prepared for them.

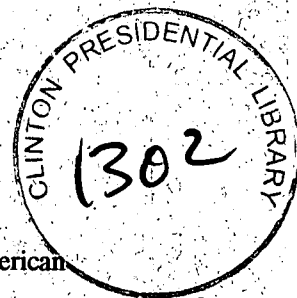
I want you to know that my first and most important concern is for the safety of our troops. Our military commanders, under the leadership of Admiral Paul Miller, have assured me that they have made every possible effort to ensure ^{their} the welfare and safety of our people. General Shalikashvili and I have made it clear to all involved that the protection of American lives is the first order of business.

I know, as you know, that the American military is the finest fighting force in the world. Working with our international partners, we will succeed in ending the dictators' reign of terror in Haiti and restoring its democratically elected government. And we will bring our troops home as soon as possible.

My prayers

*I join my prayers to yours in wishing ~~to~~ your friends
+ loved ones good speed in the service of our country.*

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY



Ordering the men and women of our armed forces into action is the most difficult decision any American president ever has to make. I want to the families and loved ones of our troops to know that my first concern is for the safety of our brave men and women in uniform.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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001. speech	re: Remarks on the Situation in Haiti (2 pages)	09/18/1994	P5 1303

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 3384

FOLDER TITLE:

Haiti-Lake Contingency Statement

Rob Seibert.
2006-0459-F
rs576

RESTRICTION CODES

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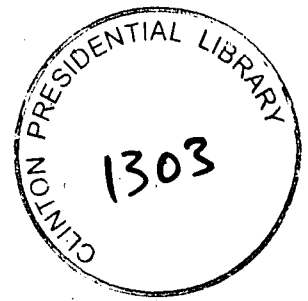
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY



**NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER ANTHONY LAKE
REMARKS ON THE SITUATION IN HAITI
THE WHITE HOUSE
SEPTEMBER 18, 1994**

Good afternoon.

(just)

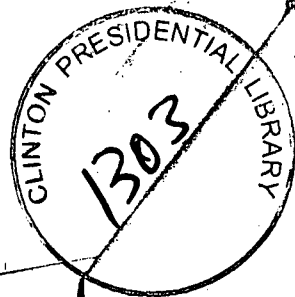
to learn the results of their mission

The President has spoken with the delegation in Haiti. I regret to say that ~~they have completed their mission and~~ the dictators have refused to step down from power immediately.

The President had asked President Carter, General Powell and Senator Nunn to travel to Haiti because of what he saw as his responsibility to pursue every possible alternative to the use of force in order to avoid bloodshed and the loss of American lives.

The generals however, presented the American delegation with a plan that did not meet our demands that they step down from power immediately. Instead, they presented a plan that would have prolonged their stay in power. In keeping with President Clinton's orders, the delegation has rejected that plan.

Under the terms of United Nations Security Council Resolution 940 -- which authorizes the use of all necessary means, including force, to remove Haiti's dictators from power -- the military preparations of the 25 nation coalition continue on schedule. Their mission is limited and clear: to remove the dictators from power, to help create a civilian controlled security force, and to help maintain basic civil order in which democratic government can be restored.



As the President has said, the purpose of our mission in Haiti is to give democracy a chance, not to guarantee it. We will act in order to stop the military dictatorship's reign of terror that has taken the lives of thousands of Haitians, and is growing more brutal every day. We will act to curb the flow of refugees that threatens the stability of our region. We will act to help protect and promote the overwhelming trend toward democracy that has swept across our hemisphere in recent years. And we will act to uphold the reliability of the commitments the United State makes around the world -- and the commitments that others make to us.

The president has ^{expressed his deep appreciation} ~~asked me to thank~~ President Carter, General Powell and Senator Nunn for undertaking this mission. The dictators' refusal to leave is only the latest instance of three years of intransigence on their part in the face of overwhelming international condemnation and sanctions. As the President said on Thursday night, "We will use diplomacy when possible, and force when necessary."

The Haitian people should know that we come ^{in the name of peace & democracy} ~~in peace~~. The President has expressed his full confidence in the preparations that our armed forces have made for this mission to restore democratic government to Haiti.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. statement	Joint Statement on the Security Issues by the President of the United States and the President of the Russian Federation (5 pages)	09/08/1994	P1/b(1)
002. paper	Proposed "White Helmets" Humanitarian Force (3 pages)	ca. 09/1994	P1/b(1)
003. notes	re: UNGA Speech Meeting (8 pages)	09/22/1994	P5 1304

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 3384

FOLDER TITLE:

Clinton-UNGA-Main Speech

Rob Seibert
2006-0459-F
rs278

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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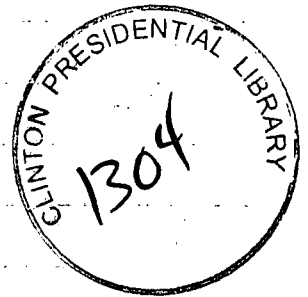
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Ntl. Security Cabinet Mtg
UNGA Speech Mtg

9/22



① Theme of Speech

② Wt is headline?

→ Wt is operative principle of FP

⊗ What is force appropriate?

⊗ Wt is great power obligation

- Organized Crime into the goal. Shld. only be tied in part to mkt

- Mission: consolidating some else's gains is having putting things on some else's cake

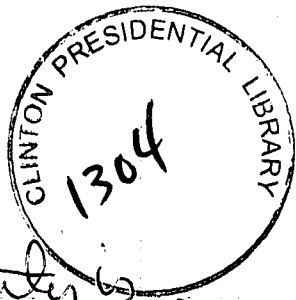
⇒ need for overall message

victories are not little

+ end of CW gives opportunity for more victories

-(DB) we generated responsibility there

-(P) Need to win peace (like after WWI, not after WWII)



(TL) Victories for idea $\rightarrow$ at good society is
(plunder, tolerance etc)

$\Rightarrow$ our functional responsibility is to achieve
victories for some ideas.

(P) Problem is perception of blurred line btw.
principle + action. That's why we did get credit.

We never address issue: how did/do you deal
how US crosses 50 cities vs. 5 billion, troops in or not

$\Rightarrow$ what are criteria? Ad hocery.

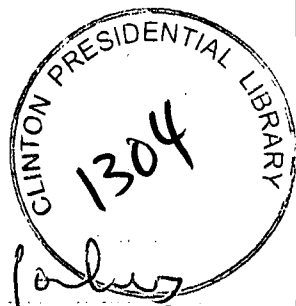
Hanti $\rightarrow$ why not say we did it cause we did get
credit (as in Rome, Brenne)

(USUN) Build on what's just happened. Magic time
for blend of force + diplomacy.

$\Rightarrow$ UN can be help to US policy

Hanti is springboard for good ways to do things.

Then into general theme $\rightarrow$ use b/day to think
about where you've been + where you're going.



[(P) End of CW should UN to be with policy
until it to be but chint bc. of CW.

(USIN) Now can go beyond what it's policy expected

Also → differentiate it's going on in Africa, Georgia,
Bosnia.

① (b) But culture of UN is weak too. Need to say
how we see U.S. role in world - winning peace.
Eg's: Russia, Middle East, Intl. Economics

⇒ Focus on success

Also make clear when + how U.S. will act. It is
it we intend to do.

(TL) Where do we want to take world? → What is goal
of U.S. leadership ⇒ to build society
Should not be speech about UN but about how UN fits in

(See State) Consensus of U.S. + Intl. interests - Haiti
is good ex

We are much more effective when we can act
with intl. community.

(Eg of Korea) People want to see us act
cooperatively with allies
US leading intl coalition.

Also define limits of US engagement. How we make distinctions.

(Eg. Perry: when we have unique capabilities, we will act)

- Also, relate what you're say to what Jefferson say. Show work on same wavelength.

(DB) illiberal to think we can define criteria for engagement. Even in CW ~~world~~ we had problem, we got into things we still have.

✓
(P) Agrees. We sometimes used CW to claim coherence when we didn't have it.

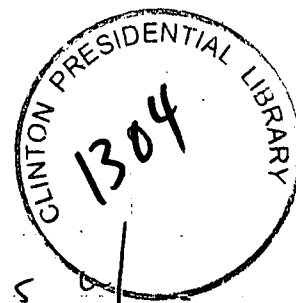
But we need to deal with perception that we don't have frameworks if only to placate chattering classes

Everyone's life is making plans + then react to events.

(DB) → say it.

(LF) American purpose is constant + is seen as humanity's when given chance to express

(1) German WWI
(2) German WWII
(3) SU in 1945
→ struggle is to lead 4th coalition, clear enemy more diffuse.



(RS) → come thru/coming → allow states of WMD. we act on behalf of world here.

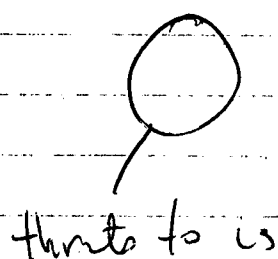
(LF) → Fourth struggle is for some union with class
(TY) → but us. more diffen group of enemies.

(P) How do we explain Georgia, NK, Haiti, Rwanda, Bosnia

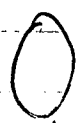
(TL) We can't solve all these problems, but here's how we approach them.

(P) Some of these problems do need to be solved by other people. That's why we support UN

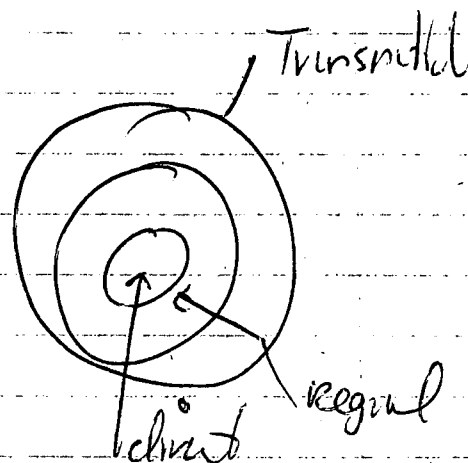
(USUN) 3 concentric circles



thinks to us

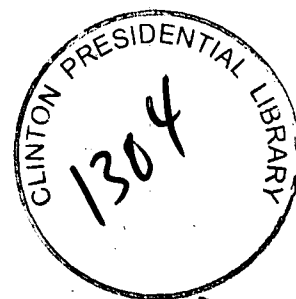


regional conflicts



Transnational

(P) FDR stopped talking about New Deal just before he got into war → let them do the Crystal Ball people thinking



→ organizing principle.

Now, no 2-word description of challenge.

For Pol. Mgr → "regional security, global economics"
as one possibility.

We all create slogans.

(D) Leadership
Contributory role

(UP) WWII → totalitarian, expansionist
CW → secure + risky

Today, sth fundamentally diff about context in which we live.

Everything is global. In all cases, problems are defined in global terms.

Our connection to problems of others much closer bc of info-transport networks.

→ D in us people think about human future.
Now agree that Ocam is human, knows chosen form
of organization (both political + economic)

But also realize we can't keep adding people
to planet

Balance btw hope + fear, tribalism vs. community

U.S. role in world, is to provide hope
Now, the only thing we have to fear is fear itself, but
globally.

We're confident (i) we've handled the human
dignity. These fronts available to ever expanding
groups of people

(ii) Mkcs will continue to open
(iii) Thru UN etc. we'll find
ways to deal on global level w/ problem

→ assert U.S. leadership. Push back fear, increase
hope. We know what we're doing.

There is an element of consolation

Jefferson agreed w/ Hamilton! Principles in Decl.
universal not limited to U.S.

Principles are felt around the world - Need to
assert these right ideas

Rousseau

→ leap from nation to global identity
World community is moral being possessed of a will

We know where we're going, what we're doing.
The principles are there.

① - interdependence

② - Need for tolerance. Only way to make sense of + control
interdependence

③ - Tools

- Structures
- Diplomacy
- Power
- Others (etc)

⇒ how do we distinguish which to use

⇒ well define mission

US leadership must be to show "wisdom"

pragmatism
steadfastness

Cal is

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. speech	re: Arrival Statement Ottawa Canada (3 pages)	02/23/1995	P5 1305

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 3383

FOLDER TITLE:

Canada-Arrival Statement 2/23/95

Rob Seibert
2006-0459-F
rs578

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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2/16/94 4 p.m.

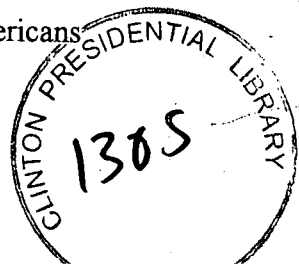
**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
ARRIVAL STATEMENT
OTTAWA, CANADA
FEBRUARY 23, 1995**

[Acknowledgments:] Governor General Romeo Leblanc and Mrs. Fowler-Leblanc; Chief of Protocol Lawrence Lederman; Ambassador and Mrs. Blanchard; Ambassador and Mrs. Chretien; ladies and gentlemen:

Je suis content d'être parmi nos voisins, nos allies, nos amis. [Jeuh swee con-taun deh-treuh par-mee no vwah-zhan, nose ah-lee-ays, nose ah-mee / I am pleased to be among our neighbors, our allies, our friends].

I am here to celebrate the steady, quiet yet vital partnership between Canada and the United States -- and to work with you to make it even stronger. Ours is relationship centered on a shared continent, ~~and based on~~ ^{a shared border} common values and aspirations. Its very success makes it easy to take for granted. But in a world in which too many nations still choose conflict over cooperation and ~~erect~~ ^{build} barriers to trade instead of bridges to commerce, our partnership stands out as a model for others -- and a foundation on which to build for the future.

~~Our nations~~ ^{countries} We already have forged the most comprehensive ties of any two nations on earth -- ties that bind our governments, our economies, and our cultures. From NORAD -- the joint U.S.-Canadian military command that stands watch over our continent -- to NAFTA, Canadians and Americans



~~There is search of evidence~~ ~~But the history has proven so clear that the Blue Jays have won the last two~~
~~of our countries past only~~ ~~proof of our closeness~~ ~~not the last~~
So close have we grown that ² ~~the~~ Blue Jays have won the last two World Series ~~2~~
while our Rangers possess the Stanley Cup. ^{you}

have seized opportunities to provide for our common security and prosperity. And we've tackled tough problems -- from acid rain and water pollution to trade differences over beer and grain -- in a spirit of friendship and pragmatism.

outline of visit
suck up to Clinton ^{nod to Ottawa}

Today (A) Perhaps the most powerful evidence of our partnership is the fact that commerce between our

(2) countries exceeds \$270 billion annually -- the largest bilateral trading relationship in the world.

(B) That trade supports millions of good jobs, from Miami to Montréal. (C) And thanks to NAFTA, it's growing by more than ten percent every year. [ck]

(3) This week, to take even fuller advantage of the opportunities NAFTA offers all our people, we will sign a new aviation agreement to make it easier for people and goods to travel between our countries. We expect the agreement to boost business and tourism by more than a billion dollars every year and to help create thousands of new jobs.

(4) The success of our trade relationship sends a powerful message around the world that open markets are the best guarantors of prosperity -- ~~as we saw when countries at the Summit of the Americas and the Asia Pacific Economic Forum vowed to follow our example and achieve free trade in our hemisphere and in Asia.~~ And it reinforces another fundamental fact: that

too much for
there
crowd

(5) ~~democracies are more likely than others to reap the full benefit of open markets for their people.~~ ^{den} ^{best} ^{living proof that free trade allows us}

(i) As President Truman put it ^{when he addressed} in addressing your parliament nearly fifty years ago, the size and success of our partnership can be attributed not so much to free trade as to free people trading.

PM Chretien and I will also discuss our

~~This shared commitment to democracy motivates our common engagement with the world~~
beyond our borders. ~~From Russian reform to peacekeeping missions in Bosnia and Haiti, we are~~
working to help spread the values of tolerance and civility. From expanding NATO to reviewing
the G-7 -- which Canada will host in Halifax this June -- we are preparing the world's political,
military and financial organizations to meet new challenges and seize new opportunities. At a
time when some would ^{tell} ~~have us retreat from problems abroad instead of reaching out to resolve~~
~~them~~, ^{world more peaceful and more prosperous} Canada's strong internationalist tradition is an inspiration to my country, and to countries
around the world.

revitalizing?

can't
do either
Russia
or
Bosnia
right
now

[And let me add that, at a time when ethnic differences are tearing nations apart, Canada stands as
a model for how people of diverse cultures can live together and prosper. I know that I speak for
most Americans in expressing the hope that you will settle your internal differences and stay
together -- just as I recognize that this is a matter for Canadians alone to decide.]

not
needed
here

We may be neighbors by an accident of geography. But we are allies and friends by choice. ~~Let~~
~~us go forward and build on a partnership in which all of us take pride, and for which all of us~~
~~Canadians and Americans -- give thanks.~~

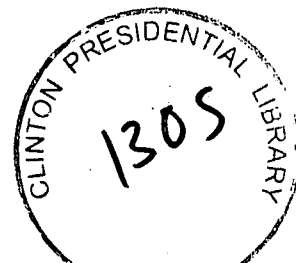
This week ~~and~~

###

~~We have grown so close.~~
~~that your Blue Jay~~

quote
or
quoting
thanks ("give
too pure")
If your friend
as a person who
knows all about you
and still likes you

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. speech	re: Gala Dinner Toast Hull, Quebec-Canada (2 pages)	02/20/1995	P5 1306

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 3383

FOLDER TITLE:

Canada-Dinner Toast 2/23/95

Rob Seibert
2006-0459-F
rs579

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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

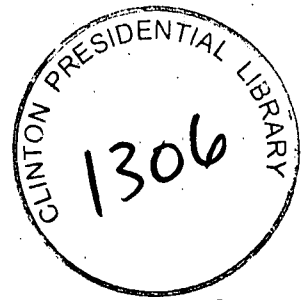
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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2/20/95 4 p.m.



**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
GALA DINNER TOAST
HULL, QUEBEC -- CANADA
FEBRUARY 23, 1995**

Prime Minister Chretien, thank you for your generous words. I want you, Mrs. Chretien and all of our distinguished guests and friends to know how much Hillary and I appreciate your warm hospitality. As we say where I come from in Arkansas: "Je me sens chez moi au Canada" [Jheu meuh son shay mwa O Canada / I feel at home in Canada].

Mr. Prime Minister, if I may begin on a personal note, it seems to me that we hold much in common. Small town roots and modest backgrounds -- yours in Schwenigen, Quebec and mine in Hope, Arkansas. A legal education and an early start in politics -- I believe you were all of 29 when you first entered Parliament. Shared political persuasions and similar programs -- so much so that one magazine called me a "closet Canadian." And we've both suffered a few agonizing political defeats but managed to bounce back. In fact, as far as I can tell, only one thing separates us -- about 15 points in the public opinion polls. But I'm working hard to catch up.

Mr. Prime Minister, one of the glories of Ottawa is the old canal that winds through town, protected by weeping willows in the summer and animated by skaters in the winter. As I understand it, the canal was constructed some 150 years ago by a British engineer to help defend Canada against the United States. But I'm told that if you ask most Canadians today why it was built, they could not say. The fact that the canal's origin is unremembered speaks volumes about

the unique relationship our two nations enjoy. Neighbors, allies, friends -- each of us is blessed to share with the other the bounty of this magnificent continent.

Over the years, the partnership we have forged has produced tangible benefits for all our people. A joint defense program protects our skies and makes us more secure. A shared commitment to the environment improves the quality of the air we breath and the water we drink.

Complimentary economies make ours the largest bilateral trading relationship in the world, creating good jobs for our people every day. And a common passion for democracy unites us in the struggle for tolerance and freedom beyond our borders.

Canada has shown the world the way to a society less violent & healthier
~~Those values enable us to respect & recognize our differences. We share so many interests and values that what distinctions there are between us reveal little fundamental difference. But those distinctions are important. Canada is a gentler nation with a deep-felt concern for the health and well-being of all its citizens. There is much in your country~~

do
 from which Americans can -- and ~~should~~ -- draw inspiration.. Mr. Prime Minister, one of your most illustrious predecessors, Lester Pearson, put it well when he said: "I accept now with equanimity the question so constantly addressed to me 'Are you an American?' and merely return the accurate answer, 'Yes, I am a Canadian.'"

And so tonight, in celebrating all that unites us, let us also remember that which is unique to our countries. And let us work to bring out the best in each other as we move forward, together, as partners and friends. Long live this great nation. Vive le Canada. [Veeve le Ka-na-dah].

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. speech	President's Address to Nixon Center (13 pages)	02/28/1995	P1/b(1)
002. speech	re: Address to Nixon Center (13 pages)	02/26/1995	P5 1307

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 3383

FOLDER TITLE:

Nixon Center-Drafts, 3/11/95 [1]

Rob Seibert
2006-0459-F
rs285

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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4 p.m.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
ADDRESS TO NIXON CENTER
WASHINGTON, D.C.
MARCH 1, 1995

Berger
RDB

• could be more dramatic if at some point we paint two version of future, depending upon whether we succeed in strategic reductions, non-proliferation, anti-terrorism, smuggling there's no passion here

[Acknowledgments: Henry Kissinger/Nixon Center]

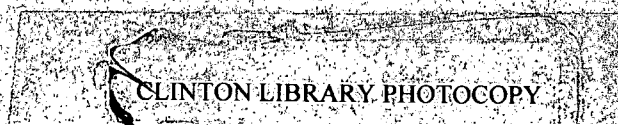
Tonight, I want to talk with you about the first priority on my foreign policy agenda: making the American people more safe and more secure. Over the past two years, we have made real progress in dismantling and fighting the spread of weapons of mass destruction. Our agenda for the months ahead builds ambitiously on those achievements. 1995 is a year of decision -- a year in which America must continue to devote our energy to the difficult but vital task of reducing the threat of weapons of mass destruction. We can -- and we will do -- no less.

This is a fitting occasion for this discussion. President Nixon's life spanned an era of stunning increases in humankind's destructive capacity -- from the biplane to ballistic missiles, from mustard gas to mushroom clouds. He outlived the Cold War, but not the Atomic Age. And he understood that, unlike the Cold War, the Atomic Age could never be won -- but could be lost. The knowledge of how to unleash the forces of the atom, whether for peaceful purposes or in war, cannot be unlearned. That's why, on any list of President Nixon's foreign policy accomplishments, the giant steps he took toward reducing the nuclear threat must stand as his greatest achievement.

Sounds like he's blaming Nixon

As we pursue this cause -- and engage the arcane debates about MIRVs and megatons -- let us not lose sight of our real objective. Every step we take to reduce the nuclear threat -- however

not very compelling
on this subject
reducing threat of nuclear weapons -- end of Cold War, winning of interstate foreign policy



treaty like GATT translates into a job for an auto worker in Toledo. or our efforts to defuse crises abroad mean more money to educate children in San Diego, so our commitment to reducing the threat of nuclear weapons ^{affects the lives of our} ~~benefits people~~. And today, we have the best chance since the dawn of the nuclear age to fulfill President Nixon's legacy and allow all our citizens to sleep every night in greater security

[a little much: not just Nixon's legacy]

But if we are to meet this challenge, we must first overcome a dangerous ^(and growing) temptation to ~~limit~~ ^{narrow} our focus to the problems we face at home. The outcome of this struggle -- the struggle between American leadership and the new American isolationism -- will determine the success of our work to dismantle and stop the spread of weapons of mass destruction. And it will decide the fate of all our efforts to improve the security and prosperity of every American.

We live in a moment of hope. The implosion of communism and the explosion of the global economy have brought new freedoms to countries on every continent. Free markets are on the rise. Democracy is ascendant. Today, more than ever before, people across the globe have the opportunity to reach their God-given potential.

But the post-Cold War world has also bared a complex of problems -- aggression by malicious states, transnational threats like overpopulation, terrible ethnic conflict, economic dislocation, nuclear proliferation -- that defy quick or painless solutions. These problems breed a fear of change that clouds our optimism with uncertainty. They even make some people nostalgic for the simpler times of the Cold War.

[What does this really mean?]

(*) [Next five paragraphs pretty flabby. Collection of pure rhetoric which doesn't make too right a point]



why? e.g. cannot separate American leadership preserve world order and promote democracy from defusing the consequences of the nuclear arms race in need of WMD.

Yet when we look to the heart of all that seems new and confusing, we discover a timeless struggle. The same idea that was under attack by fascism and then by communism remains under attack today -- the idea of the democratic society. Now, we are at the start of a new stage in this old struggle. It is the struggle between freedom and tyranny... between tolerance and bigotry... between openness and isolation. It is the struggle between hope and fear.

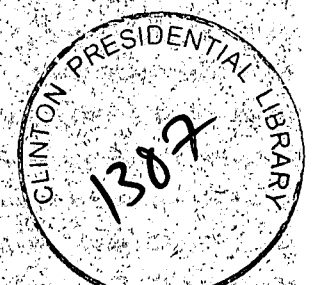
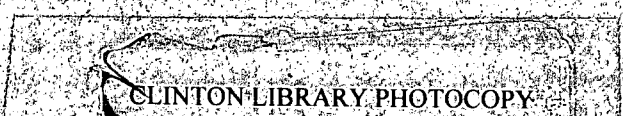
Our challenge is to choose hope over fear. To build bridges of cooperation, not hide behind walls of mistrust. To work with the world beyond our borders, not face the future alone.

Some would choose escapism over engagement. These new isolationists -- whether of the left or the right -- would have us believe that free markets appear as if by magic. They would argue that democracy springs spontaneously from the earth and does not need to be nurtured or defended. And, at their most hypocritical moments, they trumpet the rhetoric of American strength -- but then deny the resources that leadership demands.

The new isolationists would squander in a few hours of debate the blood, sweat and toil that went into all we have achieved over the past fifty years. They would radically revise the fundamentals of our foreign policy that have earned bipartisan support since World War II. They would eliminate any meaningful role for the United Nations, which has played such a crucial role around the world, from the Gulf War to _____. They would take resources away from our diplomats and even our troops in the field and waste them on the failed \$46 billion Star Wars fantasy. They

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Latin
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at this
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history to
move from
discredited
statist economies
and authoritarianism
to free markets
and democracy -
not easy or
inevitable. This
moment won't last forever.

Where does
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come from?



would be -- they are -- wrong. And I will not let the ripple of isolationism they have generated turn into a tidal wave.

That is why, from our first day in office, my administration has chosen to reach out, not retreat.

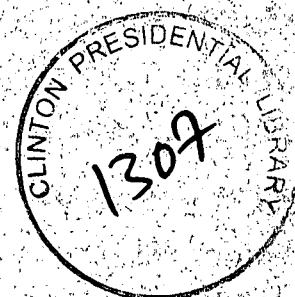
From our efforts to make trade more free and more fair for America... to our support for democracy around the world... to our determination to reduce the threat of weapons of mass destruction... we have chosen to seize the opportunities and meet the obligations of engagement.

We have done so because these are the best ways to make a tangible difference in the lives of Americans.

Now, we must build a new consensus behind our choice -- a coalition of internationalists from both houses of Congress and both sides of the aisle who recognize that while the powerful trend toward democracy around the world didn't happen entirely because of us, it would not have happened without us. A coalition of internationalists who share our conviction that the wealth and well-being of our people at home depend on our leadership abroad.

That conviction runs throughout our history. It's true that, during the early days of the Republic, we sought to heed George Washington's admonition against foreign entanglements, to hold America away from -- and above -- great power politics. But even then, our leaders and our people understood that the United States had global interests, that to turn away from the world would only invite peril.

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With independence on the line, American diplomats helped build a coalition in Europe against Britain ... and with the Union at stake, they helped prevent France and Britain from intervening on the side of the Confederacy. Well before Lincoln was President, farmers from the plains of Illinois to the hills of North Carolina depended on exports to sell their wheat, corn, tobacco and cotton, and we dispatched missions all the way to Japan to open markets to our traders. By the Civil War, our navy had been active in every ocean, and our troops had seen combat throughout the world.

Our entry into World War I and our effort to shape the peace evidenced a growing sense of responsibility that comes with vast territory, a large population, great power and democratic values. But then we failed to make the peace endure -- and our withdrawal from a leadership role left a vacuum filled by the forces of hatred and tyranny.

After World War II, our wisest leaders were determined not to make the same mistake again. But they faced an uphill battle. Five years of a war that had stretched from the far reaches of the Pacific to the heart of Europe left Americans yearning for a "return to normalcy" -- to shift their great energy and strength from the front lines to the home front. But President Truman knew that, as tension with the Soviet Union mounted and Europe's economies teetered on the brink of collapse, we had to maintain a global foreign policy and devote all the resources necessary to keep America and our allies secure.

Through the force of conviction, President Truman persuaded an uncertain nation and launched the most productive period of engagement in American history. A remarkable generation of



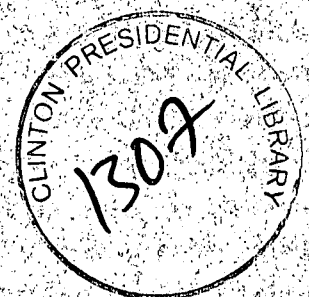
Americans helped create the structures -- such as NATO, the Marshall Plan and the Bretton Woods institutions -- that brought half a century of security and prosperity in America, Europe and Japan. Ultimately, the strength of those structures, the draw of democracy and the heroic determination of people to be free produced victory in the Cold War.

Today, as we face a new battle, we must remember that that success would not have been possible without strong bipartisan support. Senator Arthur Vandenberg's call to "unite our official voice at the water's edge" joined Republicans to Truman's doctrine. His impact was all the more powerful for his own past as an isolationist. But Pearl Harbor, Vandenberg liked to say, had ended isolationism for any realist.

It is Vandenberg's spirit that should animate our foreign policy -- and our politics -- today. These times may be turbulent. But if we continue to lead abroad and work together at home, we can increase security and prosperity for our people and for people around the world. If we retreat, we risk squandering the rich legacy of opportunity that has been entrusted to us.

Imagine just what tariffs and barriers would plague the world trading system if we had not worked so hard for liberalization. Imagine what the Persian Gulf region would look like today if we had not risen to the challenge of Iraqi aggression. Imagine the ongoing reign of terror, and the flood of refugees at our borders, if we had not helped give democracy a second chance in Haiti. Imagine the chaos that would have ensued if we had not moved to help stabilize Mexico's economy.

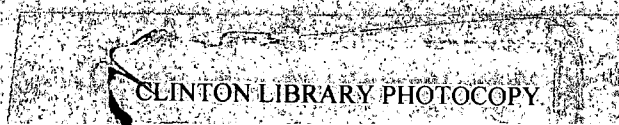
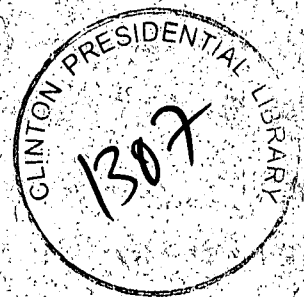
won GATT,
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But most of all, imagine the dangers our children and grandchildren will face if we do not continue to do everything in our power to reduce the threat of nuclear arms... to curb the terrible chemical and biological weapons spread around the world... to counter the terrorists and criminals who would put these weapons into the service of evil. As Arthur Vandenberg asked at the dawn of the nuclear age, after a German V-1 attack had left London in flames and its people in fear, "How can there be isolation when men can devise weapons like that?"

I do not believe there can be. And, since the beginning of my administration, we have made dramatic progress in our drive to make America safer. We recognize that there is no single policy, no silver bullet that will dismantle or prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction. We know that the road to this point has been rocky, and that there are tough obstacles ahead. But I believe that there is no more important task. As Commander-in-Chief, it is my duty to maintain critical security relationships with our allies and to help keep the peace -- and sometimes make it -- when American lives, territory and interests are threatened. But I believe that my obligation stretches far beyond the present -- that it is my sworn duty to do everything in my power to protect future generations as well.

We have focused -- and we will continue to focus -- on two distinct but closely connected areas: efforts to decrease and dismantle existing weapons and efforts to prevent nations or groups from acquiring weapons of mass destruction and the missiles to deliver them. I'm proud of what our efforts have already achieved. The record is clear.



- As a result of an agreement I reached with President Yeltsin, for the first time in a generation, Russian missiles are not pointed at our cities or our citizens. By aiming our weapons away from each other, our two nations have greatly reduced the lingering fear of an accidental nuclear strike.

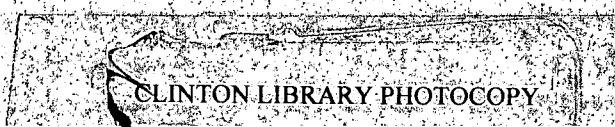
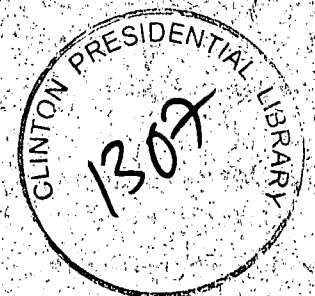
- We put into force the START I Treaty with Russia that will eliminate over 9,000 nuclear warheads -- each with the capacity to incinerate a city the size of Atlanta -- from both our countries. START I is the first treaty that requires nuclear powers actually to reduce their strategic arsenals. We are dismantling weapons literally as fast as we can and the Russians are deactivating theirs years ahead of schedule. And, thanks to the most far-reaching verification system yet devised, each of us knows what the other is doing. START I -- negotiated by a Republican administration and put into force by a Democratic administration -- enjoyed broad bipartisan support in the Senate. It is powerful evidence of what we can accomplish for America when we work together.

negotiated by

I don't understand why you stop the letter treat the library here.

Seems thin. I'd combine w/ list

Ironically, some of the very developments that have allowed us to make progress in reducing the world's stockpile of nuclear weapons have made our non-proliferation efforts harder. The breakup of the Soviet Union scattered nuclear materials through the newly independent states. Opportunities to buy or steal weapons or their components dramatically increased. As countries have moved to market economies, organized criminals have entered the nuclear smuggling business. Add to this volatile mix the fact that a soda can's worth of plutonium is enough to build a crude bomb, and the urgency of the effort to stop the spread of nuclear materials should be clear. That's why we have acted decisively to promote non-proliferation:

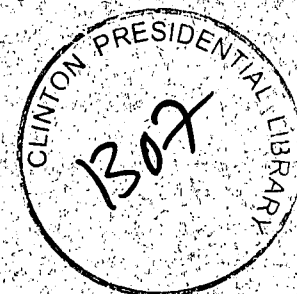


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Our patient, determined diplomacy convinced Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty and give up the nuclear weapons they inherited when the Soviet Union dissolved. One of my administration's critical goals was to assure that these new countries would become non-nuclear nations. Today, they are

- Thanks to farsighted legislation by Senators Nunn and Lugar, we are helping Russia and the newly independent states transport, safeguard and destroy nuclear weapons. We also secretly and successfully completed "Operation Sapphire," the airlift of nearly 600 kilograms of highly enriched uranium -- enough to make dozens of bombs -- from Kazakhstan to the United States for safekeeping. And we've secured agreements with Russia to reduce the manufacture and stockpiling of uranium and plutonium that can be used to produce nuclear weapons.
- And because of our efforts, four potential suppliers of ballistic missiles -- Russia, Ukraine, China and South Africa -- have agreed to stop the transfer of these missiles and related technology. [TK TK TK]

Pulling back from the nuclear precipice has allowed us to cut U.S. defense expenditures for strategic weapons by almost two-thirds -- a savings of some \$20 billion every year. We're shifting these savings to vital needs such as boosting the readiness of our conventional forces, paying down the deficit, and putting more police on the streets. And that has made a real difference in the daily lives of our people.



Low priority

For the year ahead -- a year of decision -- our agenda is even more ambitious. It must be. While we have made great strides over the past two years, our progress can be easily reversed. And we recognize that much still remains to be done if our people are to know real, lasting security.

In four days we mark the 25th Anniversary of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Nothing is more important to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons than extending the Treaty indefinitely and unconditionally. The NPT is the principal reason why the doomsayers were wrong, why scores of nations do not now possess nuclear weapons -- as many in the past believed they would. The non-nuclear weapons states who sign on to the Treaty pledge never to acquire nuclear weapons. Those that already have weapons vow not to help others procure them, while assisting in the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The 172 nations who have made NPT the most universal arms limitation treaty in history have done so for one overriding reason: because it is in their self-interest. And it remains overwhelmingly in America's interest.

can we find an old doomsayer quote?

Let me also be clear that if we fail to secure indefinite extension of the NPT, we will open the door to a world of nuclear trouble. Pariah nations with rigid ideologies and expansionist ambitions would have an easier time acquiring terrible weapons of mass destruction. And responsible countries that have chosen to forego the nuclear option might rethink their decision.

So I say to those abroad and at home who would risk the future of this Treaty by holding it hostage to other goals: we must put parochial interests and partisanship aside and put our people first. Extending NPT indefinitely is vital to the security of all nations and the stability of the

too insane



world. That is why it has been and will remain our goal to achieve universal adherence to the NPT.

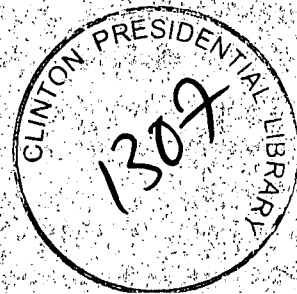
Ratifying START II is a second key goal. When that Treaty is put into effect, it will eliminate more than 5,000 weapons from the Russian and American arsenals. Together with START I, it will reduce by two-thirds the number of strategic warheads deployed at the height of the Cold War. At my urging, hearing on START II have already begun and I call on the Senate to ratify it quickly.

[issue more stirring challenge]

To stop the development of new generations of nuclear weapons, we must also complete negotiations on a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty as soon as possible. Last month, I extended the nuclear testing moratorium -- which I put into effect when I took office -- until a CTB Treaty enters into force. To speed adoption of the Treaty, I have also instructed our negotiators to pull back our proposal for a special "right to withdraw" provision while reaffirming that maintaining a safe and reliable nuclear stockpile is a supreme national interest of the United States.

need to hammer this more

We will also continue to work with our allies to fully implement the agreement we reached with North Korea first to freeze, then to dismantle its nuclear program -- all under international monitoring. And as, under our watchful eye, North Korea fulfills its commitments, then the Korean peninsula, and the entire world, will be less threatened and more secure. And let me repeat that its critics are simply wrong: the deal stops North Korea's nuclear program [in its tracks] and it will roll it back in the years to come. I have not heard anyone propose an alternative that

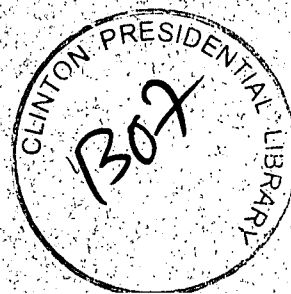


isn't either unworkable or foolhardy, or that our allies in the Republic of Korea and Japan -- the nations most affected -- would support.

The NPT, START II, the CTB and the Korean agreement top our nuclear agenda for the year ahead. But they are not our only critical tasks. We will carry on the fight against international terrorism and redouble our efforts to stop nuclear smuggling by cooperating with our allies, improving safeguards at nuclear facilities, strengthening multilateral export controls, and undertaking unilateral actions such as Operation Saphire when necessary.

This year, we also will seek Senate ratification of the Chemical Weapons Convention, negotiate legally binding measures to strengthen the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention, seek a treaty banning the production of the fissile materials that go into weapons, clarify a controversial distinction in the ABM Treaty so as to preserve its viability while permitting defenses against theater missile attacks, and push for ratification of the Convention on Conventional Weapons, which, among other things, would help us eliminate the world's 85 million antipersonnel mines -- one for every fifty people on the face of the earth. It's a very full and challenging agenda. But we can do no less than to make every effort to complete it.

Speaking to a special joint session of Congress upon returning from his historic trip to Moscow, President Nixon said, "We have begun to check the wasteful and dangerous spiral of nuclear arms. Let us seize the moment so that our children and the world's children can live free of the fears and free of the hatreds that have been the lot of mankind through the centuries."

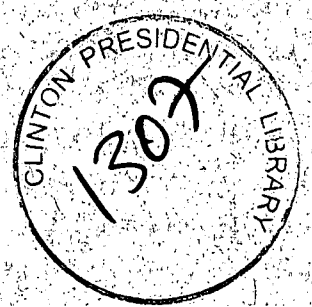
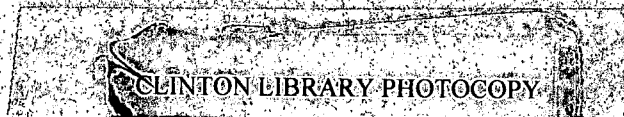


challenge
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real people

Now, in the post Cold War world, we must continue that fight. We cannot let history record that our generation of Americans refused to rise to this challenge... that it withdrew from the world and abandoned its responsibilities... that it judged its prospects in the struggle between hope and fear and blinked.

Instead, let us seize the future and summon a great tradition of American leadership. Let us cast aside partisanship and cast our lot together in the name of our people. We cannot, we must not forget that all our efforts begin and end with them. Every time we reduce the threat that has hung over our heads since the dawn of the nuclear age, we help ensure that, from the far stretches of the Aleutians to the tip of the Florida Keys, our people are more secure. [That is our most serious task and our most solemn obligation. And it is the finest legacy we can leave for the future.]

Handwritten notes:
LFP
Nixon
line
I believe we are equal to this challenge.
The future summons us to this challenge
and we will
let us summon
if we summon the courage and draw
on the strength of those who came
before and to us we
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. speech	re: Air Force Academy Commencement (13 pages)	05/30/1995	P5 1308
002. speech	[Duplicate of 001] (13 pages)	~~05/30/1995~~	P5
003. speech	[Duplicate of 001] (13 pages)	~~05/26/1995~~	~~P5~~
004. speech	[Duplicate of 001] (12 pages)	~~05/30/1995~~	P5

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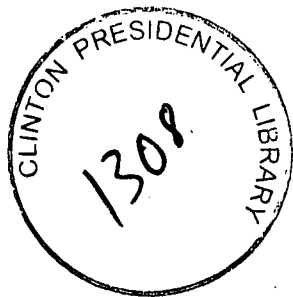
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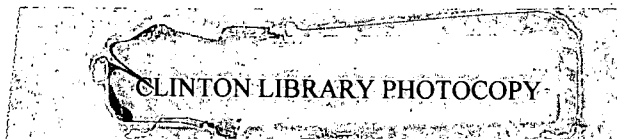
PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
AIR FORCE ACADEMY COMMENCEMENT
COLORADO SPRINGS, COLORADO
MAY 31, 1995

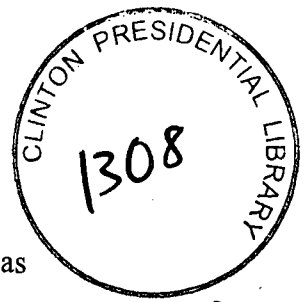
Chaplain Gilman

[Acknowledgments:] Secretary Widnall; General Fogleman; General Stein; faculty and staff; proud parents, families and friends; members of the Cadet Wing: here, at the foot of the magnificent Rampart Range, we gather to celebrate the graduation of this Air Force Academy class -- the "Pride of '95." Gentleman and Gentle ladies of the First Class: this is your day and you are only one short speech away from being Second Lieutenants. I'll try to keep my remarks just like the food service at Mitchell Hall: "fast, neat, average, friendly, good, good."

I'm honored to share the stage with some exceptionally accomplished alumni of the Academy: General Fogleman, the first USAFA [U-SAH-FAH] graduate to be appointed Air Force Chief of Staff...General Hopper, the first African-American USAFA graduate to serve as Commandant of Cadets...and Robert Bell, a member of my staff and the first USAFA graduate to be Senior Director for Defense Policy and Arms Control at the National Security Council. As I look out at all of you, I'm sure it won't be long before our nation benefits from another first: an Air Force Academy graduate in the Oval Office. But I hope we can put that off for a few more years.

By then, if recent tradition holds, the Air Force will have extended its lock on the Commander-in-Chief's trophy. This year's winning squad -- which I was pleased to receive at the White House a few weeks ago -- had a powerful defense and made life miserable for the opposition with its devastating air attack. That's only fitting for the world's finest Air Force.



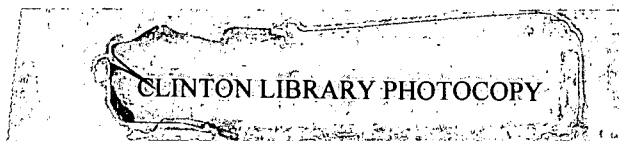


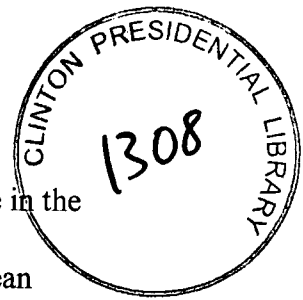
Now, let me do my part in another long-standing tradition. By the power vested in me as Commander-in-Chief, I hereby grant amnesty to Cadets who are marching tours or serving restrictions or confinements for minor misconduct. General Stein, I leave it to you to decide just which offenses are minor.

Members of the Class of 1995, you are about to become commissioned officers in the United States Air Force. You should be proud of all that you have accomplished during your years at the Academy. You have earned our admiration. But you should also be sobered by the important responsibilities you are about to assume. From this day forward, every day, you must defend our nation and protect the lives of the men and women under your command.

As President, my first and foremost responsibility is to work for the safety of every American -- not just this generation, but also the generations of remarkable Americans yet to come. It is a responsibility that you -- the new leaders of our armed forces -- have chosen to share. Today, I want to talk to you about the steps we must take together to build a safer America in a safer world.

You are entering active service in a moment of tremendous hope. In the last five years, we have begun to unravel problems that have plagued us for the past fifty years and more. No Russian missiles are aimed at our cities or citizens... From the Middle East to South Africa to Ireland, former adversaries are turning from conflict to cooperation...on every continent, technology and trade are creating opportunity for people who have never known it... all around the world,





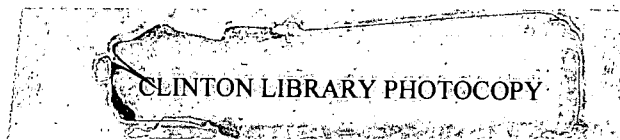
democracy is on the march. And just yesterday, Russia's decision to actively participate in the Partnership for Peace helped lay the groundwork for a secure, stable and unified European continent for the next century.

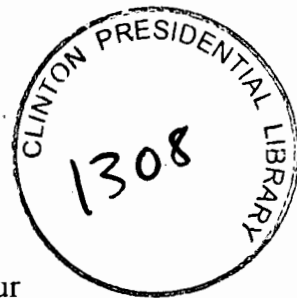
But these powerful forces that are pulling us together have a dark underside -- they carry within them the seeds of disintegration. The free and rapid movement of people and information make us more vulnerable in new ways to the forces of terror, organized crime and drug trafficking.

The technological revolution that is bringing our world closer also brings more and more problems to our shores. The end of communism has opened the door to the spread of weapons of mass destruction and lifted the lid on age-old conflicts.

Nowhere are the forces of disintegration more obvious than in Bosnia. Two weeks ago, the Bosnian Serbs unleashed a 1400 shell assault on the civilians of Sarajevo. The United Nations called this attack "a return to medieval barbarism" and asked for a NATO air response, which we supported. Now, we have joined with our allies to develop a coordinated response to the Serbs continued refusal to make peace. We believe that a strengthened, reconfigured UNPROFOR must remain in place -- it is our best insurance against an even worse humanitarian disaster. And we remain convinced that an end to Bosnia's long nightmare must be found at the negotiating table, not on the battlefield.

In this new era of hope and danger, there are those who would have America turn away from the world. Some believe that, with the end of the Cold War, we can now safely retrench behind our borders. Others trumpet the need for American leadership -- but then deny us the resources we



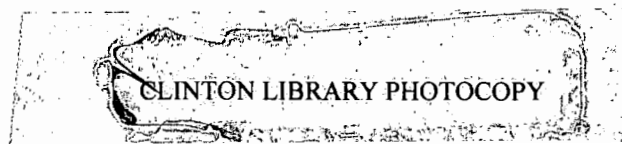


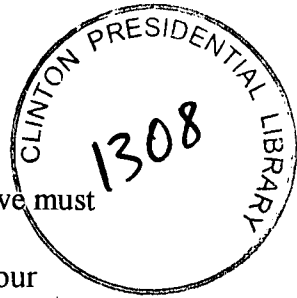
need to lead. But the rising tide of freedom -- and the opportunities it brings -- is neither inevitable nor irreversible. It needs our support. It requires our resources. It demands our leadership. And the new challenges we face have no respect for borders. We must confront them now -- or pay the price for our indifference later.

And we must look at the promise and problems of our time in new ways. For the generations that came before us, there was a clear dividing line between threats to our national security from beyond our borders, and challenges to law and order within our borders. But now, the boundaries between those threats are being blurred. And many of the tools we would use in one area are effective -- and necessary -- in the other.

So, for example, if we are to meet the challenge of international organized crime, some of the conventional law enforcement expertise we've built up here at home can help do the job. And when foreign terrorism or drug trafficking threaten law and order on our own soil, we must not hesitate to use some of the weapons in our traditional national security arsenal -- diplomacy, economic sanctions, military force -- to defeat them. We must, in short, break down the barriers in our thinking between national security and domestic law and order and open our minds to new solutions.

Only if we do that will we succeed in meeting what I believe must be our three priorities to make the American people safer. First, we must combat those who would destroy democratic societies -- the terrorists, organized criminals and drug traffickers -- with all the tools, techniques and technology at our disposal. Second, we must reduce the threat of weapons of mass destruction





and take advantage of the historic opportunity that has been entrusted to us. And third, we must provide our military with the forces and flexibility it needs to keep the peace and protect our interests around the world.

The struggle against the forces of terror, crime and drug trafficking is our most immediate concern. The World Trade Center bombing... the nerve gas attack in Tokyo... the slaughter of innocent civilians in the Middle East... the organized crime plaguing the former Soviet Union... the drug cartels in Latin America and Asia: each of these threats is aimed at the foundation of open societies. And as we have seen in Oklahoma City, they can emerge from within and strike at the very heart of our nation.

Nothing we do will make us invulnerable. The liberties and openness we so cherish and must always defend also benefit the terrible work of the organized forces of destruction. What we can do -- what we must do -- is remain vigilant, reduce our vulnerabilities, and constantly renew our efforts to defeat terrorism.

That's why we're working closely with foreign governments -- sharing intelligence, providing military support and initiating anti-corruption and money laundering programs -- to stop drug trafficking at its source. That's why we've opened an FBI office in Russia and a training center in Hungary to help combat international organized crime.

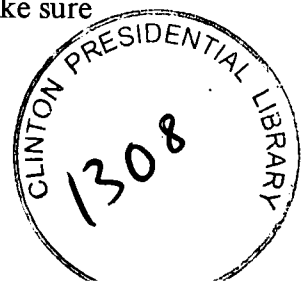
And that's why, over the past two years, we have waged a tough counter-terrorism campaign that has strengthened our laws, increased funding, manpower and training for the CIA and the FBI,



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Congress promised to put an anti-terrorism bill on my desk by Memorial Day -- a commitment I applauded. Memorial Day has come and gone, and we are still waiting for a bill. I know Congress has a full agenda of important issues. Passing a responsible budget is important. Pushing through fundamental welfare reform is important. But all this will take time. And when it comes to terrorism, time is one luxury we do not have.

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Act now
Today, I say to Congress: make good on your pledge to act quickly. Join me in protecting the American people.

Meanwhile, if Congress won't legislate, we must not hesitate in the face of the terrorist threat.

That is why I have directed Attorney General Reno to ensure that law enforcement agents understand the full powers of their authority under the guidelines for investigation of domestic terrorism. If the FBI receives information that a group is planning to attack citizens, the FBI should fully and immediately investigate. If the FBI receives information that individuals are plotting to endanger Federal officials, the FBI should fully and immediately investigate. And if the FBI receives information of any plan to bomb a federal facility, the FBI should fully and immediately investigate. Acting within the Constitution and laws of the United States, agents should follow up on leads to determine whether these groups or individuals have the intent or the ability to carry out violent or illegal activities. We must not wait for evidence that violence is imminent. We must act.

Our obligation to fight the forces of terror and destruction is closely related to our efforts to reduce the threat of weapons of mass destruction. With the end of the Cold War, we have a chance to lift the dark cloud of fear and anxiety that has hung over our heads for nearly half a century. But that very opportunity has also made it easier for terrible tools of destruction to fall into the wrong hands. The breakup of the Soviet Union left nuclear materials scattered throughout the newly independent states. The potential for the theft of these materials and for organized criminals to enter the nuclear smuggling business increased. As horrible as Oklahoma

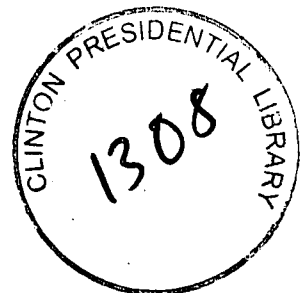
City and the World Trade Center attacks were, imagine the destruction that would have resulted had those explosions been from a stolen nuclear weapon.

The United States will retain, as long as necessary, a broad arsenal of nuclear forces to deter any future hostile regime with nuclear weapons. But I will also continue to pursue the most ambitious agenda to dismantle and fight the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction since the dawn of the nuclear age.

That effort is succeeding. No Russian nuclear missiles are pointed at America and no American missiles are aimed at Russia. Because we put the START I treaty into force, Russia is joining us in dismantling thousands of strategic weapons. Our patient, determined diplomacy convinced Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine to give up the weapons left on their land when the Soviet Union fell apart. We are cooperating closely with these nations and others to safeguard nuclear materials and stop their spread. And just last month, we won the indefinite, unconditional extension of the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

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The NPT extension will benefit not only this generation of Americans, but future generations as well, by preventing scores of nations from acquiring nuclear weapons. More than one hundred and seventy countries subscribe to the Treaty. Non-nuclear states that sign on vow never to acquire nuclear weapons. Nuclear weapons states pledge not to help others obtain them and to pursue arms control and disarmament.

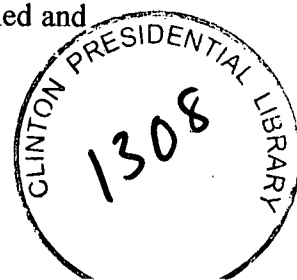


Our success in extending the NPT opens the door to even more far reaching steps to control weapons of mass destruction. There is no excuse for the Senate to go slow in approving two of these vital measures: START II and the Chemical Weapons Convention.

Following on the cuts required by START I, START II will enable us to reduce by two-thirds the number of strategic warheads deployed at the height of the Cold War. The Chemical Weapons Convention requires the destruction of chemical weapons stockpiles around the world and provides severe penalties for those who would sell materials to build chemical weapons to terrorists or criminals. It would make chemical terror like the tragic attack in the Tokyo subway much more difficult and expensive. Both START II and the CWC will make each and every American safer. We need them now.

As we put these critical initiatives into place, we must also complete negotiations on a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty... fully implement the agreement we reached with North Korea first to freeze, then to dismantle its nuclear program... and strengthen the Biological Weapons Convention. This is a full and ambitious agenda -- an agenda worthy of the moment we are living. We must make every effort to complete it.

Finally, let me turn to a third policy priority for building a safer America -- adapting our military to meet the demands of the 21st century. For all the new threats we face, the men and women of our armed forces remain the foundation of American security. You put the power of persuasion into our diplomacy. And you get the job done when all means short of force have been tried and failed.



We saw your strength on display in Haiti. There, the brutal military regime agreed to step down peacefully only when it learned that more than 60 C-130s and C-141s loaded with paratroopers were on their way. Now, the Haitian people have a second chance to rebuild their nation. We saw your speed in the Persian Gulf, when Iraq massed its troops on the Kuwaiti border and threatened regional stability. I ordered our planes, ships and troops into the Gulf. You got there in a hurry. And Iraq got out of the way in a hurry. We saw your compassion in Rwanda, where you flew tons of supplies, medicine and food into a nation torn apart by violence and saved countless lives.

All over the world, you have met your responsibilities with skill and professionalism -- keeping the peace, making the peace, saving lives and protecting our national interests. In turn, America, and your leaders, have a responsibility to make sure you have the resources, the flexibility and the tools you need to get the job done.

From our first day in office, my Administration has sought to make good on that obligation by crafting a defense strategy for our times. One of its principal architects was former Defense Secretary Les Aspin. At the Pentagon, during his many years in Congress, during his every waking hour, he devoted himself to our nation's defense -- we will miss him terribly. But the legacy he left -- a blueprint for reshaping our military to the demands of the new century -- will help ensure our security for years to come.

That blueprint calls for us to make sure the force reductions we began at the end of the Cold War do not jeopardize our strength. And it provides you with the resources you will need to meet the challenges of a world plagued by ancient conflicts and new instability.

After World War II, a major drawdown left us at a major disadvantage when war broke out in Korea. And just five years after the post-Vietnam drawdown, in 1980, the Army Chief of Staff declared that we had a "hollow Army" -- a view shared by most experts. From the outset of my Administration, we have been determined not to repeat those mistakes. We calculated that, even as we drew down the troops, we had to be prepared to engage -- and prevail -- in two nearly simultaneous major regional conflicts. Some argued that this scenario was unrealistic and excessively demanding. Recent events proved them wrong and showed that we have the right strategy, and the right force levels, for our times

Last summer, just before the North Koreans finally agreed to dismantle their nuclear weapons program, we were poised to send substantial air, naval, and ground reinforcements to defend South Korea. Then, just a few months later, we deployed tens of thousands of troops to the Persian Gulf and placed thousands more on high alert. And in between these crises, I gave the go ahead to the 25,000 troops engaged in Operation Uphold Democracy in Haiti.

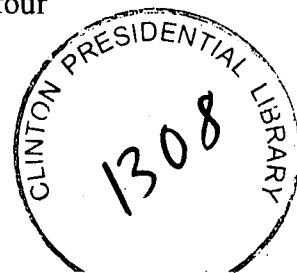
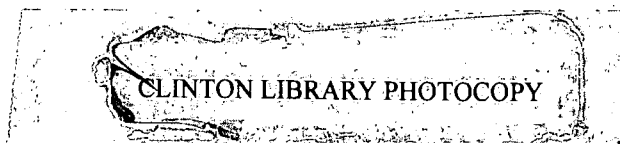
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In Haiti, the four services worked together, drawing on each others' special capabilities. As a result, for the first time, we were ready to launch Army infantry in an air assault from a Navy aircraft carrier. And when we decided to send our troops in peacefully, we were able to do it in

matter of hours, instead of days. This kind of innovation must lie at the heart of our defense policy in the years ahead.

I have also been determined to maintain our military as the best trained, best prepared and best equipped fighting force in the world. Two years ago, I added \$11 billion to our future defense spending plans to ensure that our troops would be ready to fight. Last year, I concluded that we needed an additional \$25 billion to sustain readiness, modernize our forces, and improve the quality of life of our fighting men and women and their families. And both this year and last, when unanticipated crises strained our budget, I asked Congress for emergency funds to cover these costs. The American people ask a lot of our armed forces. In turn, you have a right to ask - indeed, to insist -- that we give you the resources and support you need to defend our interests. And as long as I'm President, you will get them.

This, then, is our mission: to take on terrorism, organized crime and drug trafficking... to take advantage of the extraordinary opportunities to reduce the nuclear threat... to keep our military flexible and strong. These are the cornerstones of our program to build a safer America at a time when threats to our security have no respect for boundaries, and when the boundaries between those threats are disappearing. Abroad as at home, we must measure the success of our efforts by one standard: have we made the lives of the American people safer?

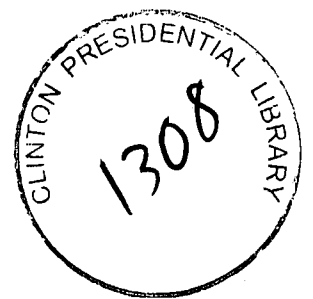
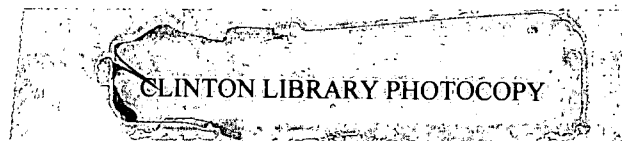
Let me say to the Class of '95: I know that the rewards of serving on the frontlines of our foreign policy may seem distant and even uncertain at times. As President Kennedy noted thirty-four



years ago, "When there is a visible enemy to fight, the tide of patriotism runs high. But when there is a long, slow struggle, with no immediate, visible foe...your choice will seem hard indeed."

Your choice -- to take on the problems and possibilities of our time...to engage with the world, not to run from it -- is the right choice. As you have learned on these Academy grounds, it demands sacrifice. In the years ahead, you will be asked to travel far from home...to be away from your loved ones for long stretches of time... and to face dangers we do not yet know. These are the burdens you bear to make America safer. These are the obligations you assume to help all of us seize the opportunities of this era.

Go forth knowing that the American people support you. They admire your dedication. They are grateful for your service. And they are counting on you -- the Class of '95 -- to help lead us into the 21st Century -- a century in which your most sacred task will be to keep this country and its people safe and secure. On behalf of all Americans, I wish you Godspeed.



Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. speech	re: Air Force Academy Commencement (13 pages)	05/26/1995	P5 1309
002. speech	[Duplicate of 001] (13 pages)	~~05/26/1995~~	~~P5~~

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

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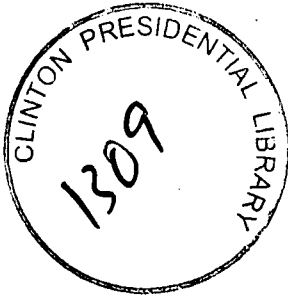
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TONY BLINKEN BERGER

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PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
AIR FORCE ACADEMY COMMENCEMENT
COLORADO SPRINGS, COLORADO
MAY 31, 1995

[Acknowledgments:] Secretary Widnall; General Fogleman; General Stein; faculty and staff; proud parents, families and friends; members of the Cadet Wing: here, at the foot of the magnificent Rampart Range, we gather to celebrate the graduation of this Air Force Academy class -- the "Pride of '95." Gentleman and Gentle ladies of the First Class: this is your day and you are only one short speech away from being Second Lieutenants. I'll try to keep my remarks like the food service at Mitchell Hall: "fast, neat, average, friendly and good."

I'm honored to share the stage with some exceptionally accomplished alumni of the Academy: General Fogleman, the first USAFA [U-SAH-FAH] graduate to serve as Air Force Chief of Staff...General Hopper, the first African-American USAFA graduate to command the cadets...and Robert Bell, a member of my staff and the first USAFA graduate to be Senior Director for Defense Policy and Arms Control at the National Security Council. [As I look out at all of you, I'm sure it won't be long before our nation benefits from another first: an Air Force Academy graduate in the Oval Office. But I hope we can put that off until sometime after the year 2000.]

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By then, if recent tradition holds, the Air Force will have extended its lock on the Commander-in-Chief's trophy for another six years. This year's winning squad -- which I was pleased to receive

strange transition

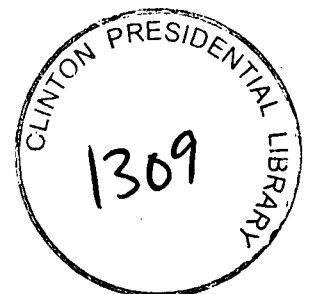
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at the White House a few weeks ago -- had powerful defense and made life miserable for the opposition with its devastating air attack. That's only fitting for the world's finest Air Force.

Now, for those of you marching tours, serving restrictions or otherwise suffering from suspended privileges, let me do my part in another long-standing tradition. By the power vested in me as Commander-in-Chief, I hereby grant amnesty to all Cadets who have received demerits for minor misconduct. General Stein, I leave it to you to decide just which offenses are minor.

Members of the Class of 1995, you are about to become commissioned officers in the United States Air Force. You should be proud of all that you have accomplished during your years at the Academy ~~to reach this moment~~. You have earned our admiration. But you should also be sobered by the important responsibilities you are about to assume. From this day forward, every day, you must defend our nation and protect the lives of the men and women under your command.

You are entering active service in a moment of tremendous hope. For the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age, no Russian or American missiles are aimed at our cities or citizens... from the Middle East to South Africa to Ireland, former adversaries are turning from conflict to cooperation...on every continent, technology and trade are creating prosperity for people who have never known it...and all around the world, democracy is on the march.



At the same time, the powerful forces that are ~~lifting us up~~ ^{pulling us together} have a dark underside -- they carry ^{Land} within them the seeds of disintegration. The technological revolution that is bringing our world closer ~~together~~ ^{together} also brings more and more problems to our shores. The end of communism has lifted the lid on age-old conflicts and opened the door to the spread of weapons of mass destruction. The free and rapid movement of people and information make us more vulnerable in new ways to the forces of terror, organized crime and drug trafficking.

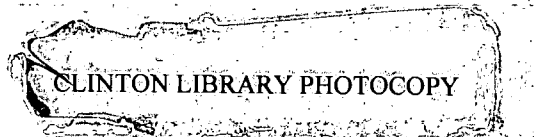
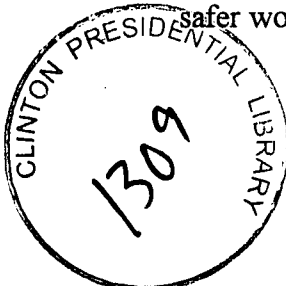
In this new era of hope and danger, there are those who would have America turn away from the world. Some believe that, with the end of the Cold War, we can now safely retrench behind our borders and deal exclusively with problems at home. Others trumpet the need for American leadership -- but then deny us the resources and flexibility we need to lead. Both are wrong.

The plain truth is that, if we are to seize the opportunities and meet the obligations of our time, we must continue to reach out, not retreat. The rising tide of freedom -- and the opportunities it brings -- is neither inevitable nor irreversible. It needs our support. It requires our resources. It demands our leadership. And ~~not one of~~ ^{have so} the new challenges we face ~~has any~~ respect for borders. We must confront them now -- or pay the price for our indifference later.

As President, my first and foremost responsibility is to work for the security and well-being of every American -- not just this generation, but for the generations of ^{start} remarkable Americans yet to come. Today, I want to talk to you about the steps we must take to build a safer America in a safer world.

[how do we know they will be remarkable if yet to come!]

bec. they are Americans



First, we must combat those who would destroy open societies -- the terrorists, organized criminals and drug traffickers -- with all the tools, techniques and technology at our disposal.

Second, we must reduce the threat of nuclear weapons and take advantage of the historic opportunity that has been entrusted to us. And third, we must provide our military with the forces and flexibility it needs to keep the peace and protect our interests around the world. Taken together, these three policy priorities will set the foundation for security into the next century.

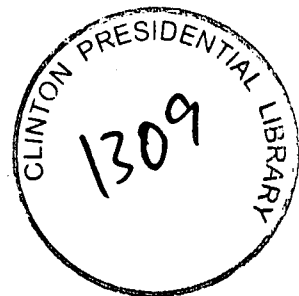
The struggle against the forces of terror, crime and drug trafficking is ^{our} ~~my~~ most immediate and ~~pressing~~ concern. The World Trade Center bombing... the nerve gas attack in Tokyo... the slaughter of innocent civilians in the Middle East... the organized crime plaguing the former Soviet Union... the drug cartels in Latin America and Asia: each of these threats is aimed at the foundation of open societies. And these forces of destruction know no boundaries or single nationality. As in Oklahoma City, they can emerge from within and strike at the very heart of our nation. We must not and we will not let them prevail.

This struggle demands a new approach and new tools. That's why we're working closely with foreign governments -- by sharing intelligence, providing military support and initiating anti-corruption and money laundering programs -- to stop drug trafficking at its source. That's why we've opened an FBI office in Russia and a training center in Hungary to help combat international organized crime.

weah.
not else
are we
doing?

How did
we get
from
terrorism
to drugs?

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY



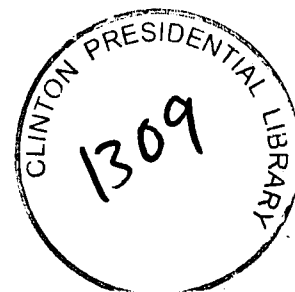
And that's why, over the past two years, we have waged an aggressive counter-terrorism campaign that has toughened our laws, increased funding, manpower and training for the CIA and the FBI, and imposed sanctions on states that sponsor terrorism. As a result, we were able to quickly arrest and convict those responsible for the World Trade Center bombing... stop another terrible attack in New York and a plan to blow up American civilian airliners over the Pacific... and arrest and bring to justice terrorists around the world.

Nothing we do will make us invulnerable. The liberties and openness we so cherish facilitate the terrible work of the organized forces of destruction. What we can do -- what we must do -- is remain vigilant, reduce obvious vulnerabilities, and constantly renew our efforts to defeat terrorism.

In the aftermath of the Oklahoma City tragedy, I proposed legislation that would provide the personnel and tools we need to better protect our people, prevent terrorists from striking, and prosecute to the fullest extent of the law those who would advance their cause through violence, destruction and death.

Alternative Versions Follow in Brackets

[Version A]: Congress promised to put an anti-terrorism bill on my desk by Memorial Day -- a commitment I applauded. Memorial Day has come and gone, and I'm still waiting for the bill. Today, I say to Congress: make good on your vow. Join me in protecting the American people. Let us do our duty.



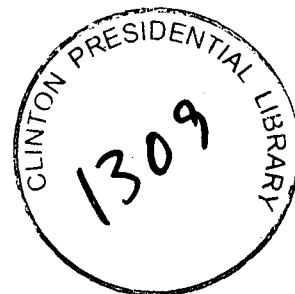
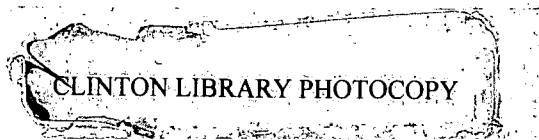
This is no time to abandon the strong tradition of bi-partisanship in national security. A tradition that brought Democrats and Republicans together to defeat fascism in World War II. A tradition that kept them together to create NATO, the Marshall Plan and the other post-war initiatives that produced half a century of peace and prosperity for America and, ultimately, victory in the Cold War. A tradition that proved that when our nation's security and prosperity are on the line, we can -- and we must -- rise above partisan politics.

[Version B: Congress promised to put an anti-terrorism bill on my desk by Memorial Day -- a commitment I applauded. Memorial Day has come and gone, and I'm still waiting for the bill.

~~The speaker of the House indicated a desire to go slow on the terrorism package. I hope the terrorists are going slow today. I hope they're not planning another attack right now because we don't have the 1000 new law enforcement personnel my plan calls for on the case to stop them. I hope they're not building more bombs at this very moment in the belief they won't be caught because the tracing technology my plan calls for is not yet the law of the land. I hope they're not out there dealing in stolen explosives secure in the knowledge that the tough new punishment my plan calls for is not yet on the books. I hope the terrorists are going as slow as Congress.~~

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Today, I say to Congress: make good on your vow. Join me in protecting the American people. Let us do our duty.



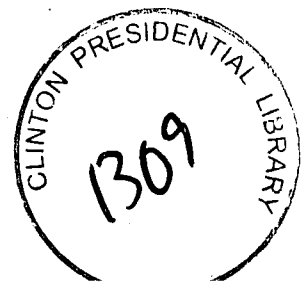
[Proposed addition #2: I have also ordered Attorney General Reno to draft an Executive Order requiring the FBI to report to the American public about the true nature of groups engaged in or planning violent activities. Well-meaning Americans should know the purpose and tactics of these groups before they donate money or get involved. This Order will not cover groups that are simply disseminating ideas -- no matter how hateful. We will not undermine our constitutional rights. But those rights and freedoms would be undermined if we fail to act. No one is free in America when parents worry themselves sick about the safety of their children in day care centers, or when a civilian working in a federal building is even less secure than a soldier serving on the frontlines of a war.

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These are tough, hard-hitting measures. But they are the right response to vicious terrorists who would take away our freedoms and murder innocent Americans.]

Our obligation to fight the forces that would destroy our society from within is matched by -- and related to -- a unique opportunity to reduce the most lethal security threat from beyond our borders: the threat of nuclear weapons. With the end of the Cold War, we have a chance to lift the dark cloud of fear and anxiety that has hung over our heads for nearly half a century. But we also have a duty to stop the spread of nuclear materials. As horrible as Oklahoma City was, imagine the death and devastation that would have resulted had that bomb been wrapped in nuclear materials [smuggled out of the former Soviet Union] We must seize this moment.

*finger
men eye*



The United States will retain a broad arsenal of nuclear forces to deter any future hostile regime with nuclear weapons. *And I will ~~also~~ continue to* But we will also continue to pursue the most ambitious agenda to dismantle and fight the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction since the dawn of the nuclear age. If we meet this challenge, we will make every American safer and maintain our military strength for the decades to come.

Consider what we've already accomplished:

No Russian nuclear missiles are pointed at America and Russia is joining us in dismantling thousands of weapons. Our patient, determined diplomacy convinced Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine to give up the weapons left on their land when the Soviet Union fell apart. We are cooperating closely with these nations and others to safeguard nuclear materials and stop their spread. And just last month, we succeeded in our crucial effort to win the indefinite extension of the Non-Proliferation Treaty -- which has prevented scores of nations from acquiring nuclear weapons. *redundant (p2)*

These initiatives have already yielded tremendous benefits for the American people. Pulling back from the nuclear precipice has allowed us to cut defense spending for strategic weapons by almost two-thirds -- a savings of as much as \$20 billion a year. We're shifting these savings to other defense needs and to paying down the deficit. The funds we've dedicated to keeping or taking weapons out of the hands of our potential adversaries has made America safer, saved billions in arms costs and allowed us to put that money to better use. *need stronger statement of importance of extension*



Now, we must re-double our efforts to ratify START II and the Chemical Weapons Convention... to complete negotiations on a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty... to fully implement the agreement we reached with North Korea first to freeze, then to dismantle its nuclear program... and to strengthen the Biological Weapons Convention. This is a full and ambitious agenda -- an agenda worthy of the moment we are living. We must make every effort to complete it.

Finally, let me turn to our third policy priority for building a safer America -- adapting our military to meet the new challenges of the 21st century.

The force of our ideals, the skill of our diplomats, and the resources America brings to bear are all important parts of what President Franklin Roosevelt called "the arsenal of democracy." But as FDR knew -- and every President knows -- it is the men and women of our armed forces who put the power of persuasion into American diplomacy. And it is you who get the job done when all means short of force have been tried and failed. Your skill, service and dedication are the core of our nation's defense.

We saw your ^{strength} awesome power on display in Haiti. There, the brutal military regime agreed to step down peacefully only when it learned that 60 C-130s and C-141s loaded with paratroopers were on their way -- and now, the Haitian people have a second chance to rebuild their nation. We saw it in the Persian Gulf, when Iraq massed its troops on the Kuwaiti border and threatened regional stability. I ordered our planes, ships and troops into the Gulf. You got there in a hurry.

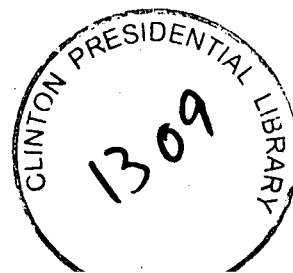
And Iraq got out of the way. And we saw it in Rwanda, where you flew tons of supplies, medicine and food into a nation ravaged by violence and saved countless lives.

All over the world, you have met your responsibilities with skill and professionalism -- keeping the peace, making the peace, saving lives and protecting our national interests. In turn, America, and your leaders, have a responsibility to make sure you have the resources, the flexibility and the tools you need to get the job done.

From our first day in office, my Administration has sought to make good on that obligation by crafting a defense strategy for our times. One of the principal architects of that strategy was Les Aspin. At the Pentagon, during his many years in Congress, during his every waking hour, he devoted himself to our nation's defense. The legacy he left -- a blueprint for reshaping our military to the demands of the new century -- will help ensure our security for years to come.

That blueprint calls for us to make sure the force reductions we began at the end of the Cold War do not jeopardize our strength. And it provides you with the resources necessary to meet the challenges of a world plagued by ancient conflicts and new instability.

After World War II, a major drawdown left us at a major disadvantage when war broke out in Korea. And just five years after the post-Vietnam drawdown, ^{in 1971} the Army Chief of Staff declared that we had a "hollow Army" -- a view shared by most experts. From the outset of my Administration, we were determined not to repeat those mistakes ^{and we have not}.



We calculated that, even as we drew down the troops, we had to be prepared to engage -- and prevail -- in two nearly simultaneous major regional conflicts. Some argued that this scenario was unrealistic and excessively demanding. Recent events proved them wrong -- and our strategy right.

Last summer, just before the North Koreans finally agreed to dismantle their nuclear weapons program, we were poised to send substantial air, naval, and ground reinforcements to defend South Korea. Then, just a few weeks later, I gave the go ahead to the 25,000 troops engaged in Operation Uphold Democracy in Haiti. Only three weeks after that, we deployed tens of thousands of troops to the Persian Gulf and placed thousands more on high alert. Our planning has paid off -- we have the right strategy, and the right force levels, for our times.

Any good strategy must be a work in progress that adapts to new challenges. We have learned from experience to deploy our forces in new ways. In Haiti, the four services worked together, drawing on each others' special capabilities. As a result, for the first time, we were ready to launch Army infantry in an air assault from a Navy aircraft carrier. And when we decided to send our troops in peacefully, we were able to do it in matter of hours, instead of days. This kind of innovation must lie at the heart of our defense policy in the years ahead.

I have also been determined to maintain our military as the best trained, best prepared and best equipped fighting force in the world. Two years ago, I added \$11 billion to our defense spending.

plans to ensure that our troops would be ready to fight. This year, when unanticipated crises strained our budget, I asked Congress for emergency funds to cover these costs. And for the six years to come, I concluded that we needed an additional \$25 billion to sustain readiness, modernize our forces, and improve the quality of life of our fighting men and women and their families.

Taking on terrorism, organized crime and drug trafficking... taking advantage of the extraordinary opportunities to reduce the nuclear threat... keeping our military flexible and strong: these then are the cornerstones of our program to build a safer America in a safer world for the 21st century. These are the priorities we have set to defeat the forces of disintegration and turn the promise of this moment into a lasting reality.

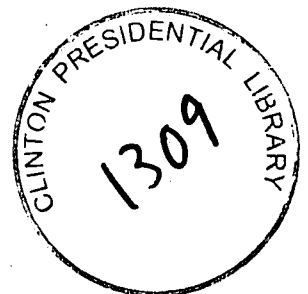
Let me say to the Class of '95: I know that the rewards of serving on the frontlines of our foreign policy may seem distant and even uncertain at times. As President Kennedy noted thirty-four years ago, "When there is a visible enemy to fight, the tide of patriotism runs high. But when there is a long, slow struggle, with no immediate, visible foe...your choice will seem hard indeed."

Your choice -- to take on the problems and possibilities of our time...to engage with the world, not to run from it -- is the right choice. As you have learned on these Academy grounds, it demands sacrifice. In the years ahead, you will be asked to travel far from home...to be away from your loved ones for long stretches of time... and to face dangers we do not yet know. These

are the burdens you bear to make America safer. These are the obligations you assume to help all of us seize the opportunities of this era.

Go forth knowing that the American people support you. They admire your dedication. They are grateful for your service. And they are counting on you -- the Class of '95 -- to help lead us into the 21st Century -- a century in which your most sacred task will be to keep this country and its people safe and secure. On behalf of all Americans, I wish you Godspeed.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. speech	re: U.S.-Japan Auto Trade (2 pages)	06/27/1995	P5 1310

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 3379

FOLDER TITLE:

Japan Agreement-Drafts 6/28/95.

Rob Seibert
2006-0459-F
rs585

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY



Draft Statement of the President
U.S.-Japan Auto Trade
(No agreement reached)

Since the start of my Administration, opening markets for U.S. exports has been a top priority - a central component of my overall economic strategy to create good quality, high paying U.S. jobs. We've created more than 6 million new jobs during my Administration, hundreds of thousands due to expanded U.S. exports. [Check].

During the last 2 1/2 years, we have made historic progress in pursuit of free and open markets. We completed the NAFTA - the largest market in the world, and passed the GATT agreement - the most comprehensive trade agreement in history. We've worked with our trading partners in the Asia Pacific and throughout the Western Hemisphere to set the course toward free trade in the two fastest growing regions of the world.

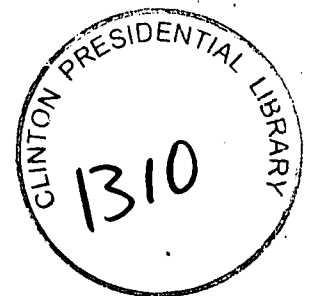
In July 1993, I signed the U.S.-Japan Framework for a new Economic Partnership to address the difficult challenges in the U.S.-Japan trade relationship. Under the Framework, the U.S. and Japan agreed to negotiate agreements that did not just focus on process, but which actually achieved results in opening Japan's markets. And we agreed that, rather than arguing over whether agreements were being fulfilled, we would apply objective criteria, qualitative and quantitative.

We have now negotiated in good faith with Japan for over 20 months to open its auto and auto parts market. Two weeks ago in Halifax, I directed our trade negotiators to redouble their efforts, to go back to the negotiating table and pursue every avenue in pursuit of a meaningful and concrete agreement. This morning I spoke to Ambassador Kantor, who has been engaged in those negotiations in Geneva. Despite our best efforts, Japan has not been willing to reach an agreement that would ensure genuine access to Japan's auto and auto parts market.

Therefore, today I am announcing the imposition of 100% tariffs on Japanese luxury car imports.

In Halifax, I made it clear that I would not extend today's deadline. Americans for two decades have patiently pursued fair access to Japan's auto and auto parts market. We ask for nothing more than the open access Japan enjoys in the United States. For twenty years, our efforts have been frustrated. Today we will wait no longer.

These are serious sanctions. I do not undertake this action lightly. Japan remains a valued friend and ally, and I am hopeful that it will return to the table with a new offer. We will continue to pursue our case in the WTO. But let there be no mistake: Japan's unwillingness to open its auto and auto parts market has precipitated the action I take today.



Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION	
001. speech	re: Remarks at Memorial Service for Robert Frasure... (3 pages)	08/23/1995	P2, P5	1311
002. speech	[Duplicate of 001] (3 pages)	08/22/1995	~~P2, P5~~	
003. speech	[Duplicate of 001] (3 pages)	08/22/1995	~~P2, P5~~	
004. note	Tony Blinken to Andrew Sens and Erskine Bowles re: POTUS Remarks (1 page)	08/23/1995	P2, P5	1312
005a. memo	Joseph Sestak to Anthony Lake re: Nomination of Robert Frasure... (1 page)	08/22/1995	P2, P5	1313
005b. memo	Lake to POTUS re: Award to Robert Frasure... (3 pages)	08/22/1995	P2, P5	1314

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 3379

FOLDER TITLE:

Frasure, Kruzel, Drew Memorial August 23, 1995

Rob Seibert
2006-0459-F
rs570

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

8/23/95 9 a.m.

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS AT MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR
ROBERT FRASURE, JOSEPH KRUZEL AND NELSON DREW
FORT MYER, VA.
AUGUST 23, 1995**

Here's the
original //

love,
Antony

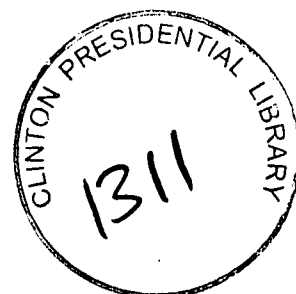
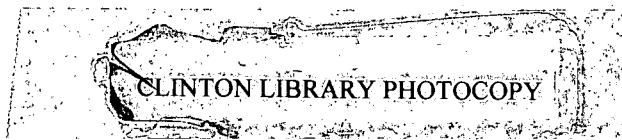
Family, friends and loved ones of Robert Frasure, Joseph Kruzel [CREW-zl] and Nelson Drew;
ladies and gentlemen.

We gather today to honor three peacemakers. They gave their lives seeking for others the blessings we Americans hold so dear: the opportunity to work and to dream, to live and to love in a land at peace.

Robert Frasure made diplomacy the steady dedication of a lifetime. And tens of thousands of people around the world -- from Ethiopia to Estonia -- know better lives for his devotion.

Joseph Kruzel [CREW-zl] put his mind to the test of creating lasting security in a world that has known too much war. And because of his work to bring the nations of Europe together as partners for peace, the world is a more secure place.

Colonel Nelson Drew was a soldier, a scholar, a teacher and a gentle man. He was trained to fight war. But he gave his heart and soul to the search for peace.

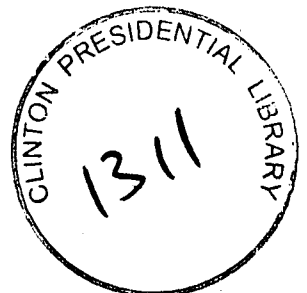


Bob, Joe and Nelson each served as diplomats on the front lines of freedom. And for their sacrifice in the service of our nation, and as a sign of the gratitude of the American people, I have decided to award them the Presidential ^{Citizen's Medal} ~~Medal of Freedom~~ -- ~~the highest civilian honor our~~ government can bestow.

But they were also servants of humanity. And the world, enriched by their presence, is a much poorer place for their passing.

Let me say to Bob Frasure's wife Katharina and their daughters Sarah and Virginia... to Joe Kruzel's [CREW-zl] wife Gail and their children John and Sarah... and to Nelson Drew's wife Sandy and their children Samantha and Philip -- the American people mourn your loss and share your grief. As you cherish the memory of your husband and your father, remember the pride they took in their calling. Remember the passion they brought to the search for peace. Remember their strength and their decency. And be proud. They were extraordinary Americans who made reason their weapon, freedom their cause, and peace their goal. And they were making a difference.

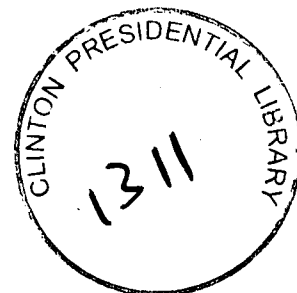
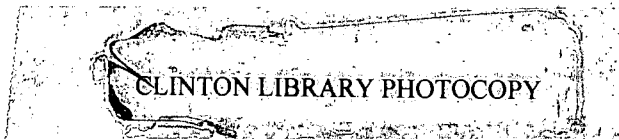
Bob, Joe and Nelson were in Bosnia because they were moved by the terrible plight of so many people in that tragic land. And the bright light of their devotion lit the blackest night with hope. In our hour of darkness, the sorrow we feel reminds us of the suffering Bob, Joe and Nelson sought to ease. And it reinforces the urgency we must bring to the search for a solution.



The great religious teacher Sirach [SEE-rah] celebrates the covenant with the patriarchs and Israel by singing the praises of famous men -- the heroes of Israel's history. Let us now praise Robert Frasure, Joseph Kruzel [CREW-zl] and Nelson Drew -- quiet American heroes who gave their lives so that others might know a future of hope in a land at peace. As it is written, "They were the pride of their times... Their bodies are buried in peace... But their names live on."

Now, for the people of Bosnia, we must carry on and rededicate ourselves to the struggle for peace. Now, for Bob, Joe and Nelson, we must renew our strength -- and sing the praises of their lives with our deeds and our determination.

May God bless and protect Robert Frasure, Joseph Kruzel [CREW-zl] and Nelson Drew.



NOTE FOR ANDREW SENS/ERSKINE BOWLES

FROM: TONY BLINKEN

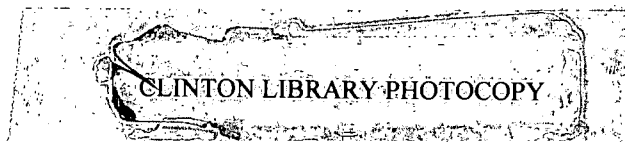
ATTACHED UPDATED BIG TYPE DRAFT OF

TODAY'S POTUS REMARKS REFLECTING

CHANGE TO CITIZENS MEDAL. WE WILL HAVE

SPEECH CARDS AT FORT MYER IF PRESIDENT

PREFERS TO USE THEM VICE PAPER.



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

6411

August 22, 1995

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: ROBERT BELI *LB*

FROM: JOSEPH SESTAK *JS*

SUBJECT: Nomination of Robert Frasure, Joseph Kruzel, and
Nelson Drew for the Presidential Medal of Freedom

At Tab I is a memorandum for the President recommending that he
award the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Robert Frasure, Joseph
Kruzel, and Nelson Drew in recognition of their extraordinary and
selfless contributions in the service of their nation.

Concurrence: Alan Kreczko *AK*

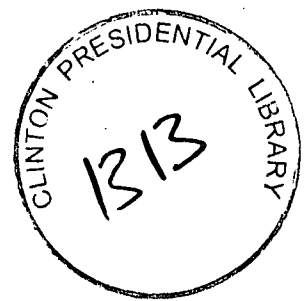
RECOMMENDATION

That you forward the memorandum to the President recommending
approval of the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

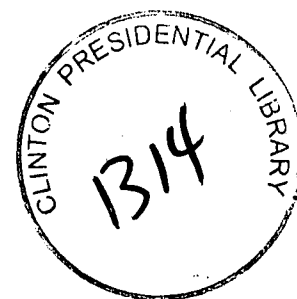
Attachment

Tab I Memorandum for the President

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: THE EXECUTIVE CLERK

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT: Award of Presidential Medal of Freedom to Robert Frasure, Joseph Kruzel and Nelson Drew

Purpose

To obtain your approval to award the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Robert C. Frasure, Joseph J. Kruzel and S. Nelson Drew. Secretaries Christopher and Perry and I strongly support the approval of the award and its mention in your remarks at the memorial service for these three men on Wednesday, August 23.

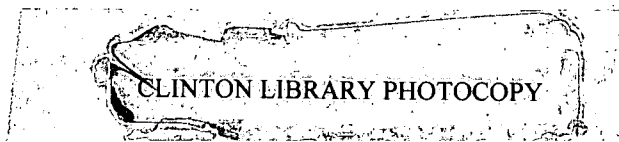
Background

Robert Frasure, Joseph Kruzel and Nelson Drew each demonstrated exceptionally distinguished service during their long careers in government service, most notably in the development and implementation of U.S. policy initiatives aimed at ending the fighting in Bosnia by creating a lasting peace and relieving human suffering.

Ambassador Robert Frasure was the State Department official who led peace negotiations in the Former Yugoslavia. He was regarded within the foreign affairs community as "a man for all crises." He was instrumental in engineering the withdrawal of Russian troops from Estonia, winding down the Angola conflict, facilitating Namibia's independence and shepherding Ethiopia out from under the Mengistu dictatorship.

Ambassador Frasure's vision and quiet wit, in the most difficult of circumstances, inspired those he led. Those most familiar with Ambassador Frasure's career noted his unerring ability, even among sharply conflicting points of view, to identify the elements of common interest that form the basis for resolving conflict. As both the Special Envoy for Former Yugoslavia and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs, he took on modern diplomacy's most difficult challenge -- ending the bloodshed and bringing peace to the Balkans. His

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff



21 years of extraordinary foreign service in Geneva, Bonn, Lagos, London, Pretoria, Addis Ababa and Tallinn culminated in our reliance upon him for much of the most delicate diplomacy regarding the war in Bosnia.

Similarly, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Joseph Kruzel's deep personal knowledge of the antagonists on all sides and his total mastery of their negotiating positions, made him the acknowledged leader inside the Department of Defense on the Bosnian conflict. He was also the leader of the Pentagon on the two other critical issues affecting European security -- NATO enlargement and the reintegration of Central Europe with the West after the forty-five year Cold War. Much of the intellectual leadership and tough bureaucratic management of the strategy to expand NATO eastward belongs to Dr. Kruzel. He was a major architect and builder of the Partnership for Peace initiative designed to prepare this transition, a design recognized widely as ideally suited for a post Cold War Central Europe eagerly breaking with the past but not yet ready to take its place with the West.

No other person in the U.S. Government spent as much time cultivating the current and future leaders of these Central European countries. No one else carried as effectively the message that the price to join the West was genuine democratic reform with a military truly subordinated to democratically elected civilian leadership. No one else launched as many far reaching programs to prepare these countries for this dramatic transition. His service to his country spanning 28 years -- from an Air Force officer in Vietnam and a member of the US Delegation to the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I) to his landmark contributions to peace and security in Europe while negotiating a peace to the four-year war in war-torn Bosnia -- embodied the highest traditions of public service.

Colonel Nelson Drew, USAF, was the person I credit with being most responsible for integrating the multitude of interagency tasks which comprised U.S. Bosnia policy, blending military and diplomatic initiatives into a coherent design. I specifically chose him to be the NSC staff Director responsible for Bosnia and NATO because of his eminent qualifications, which included his six years of serving at the U.S. mission to NATO and as the NATO Branch Chief within the Joint Staff. Nelson Drew was universally respected for his regional expertise of the Former Yugoslavia, his skill at reconciling interagency concerns in the development of policy, and for his strategic breadth in formulating U.S. initiatives for the region. He was also critical to the development of the Partnership for Peace initiative for NATO and was the primary architect of the Combined Joint Task Force concept adopted by NATO for peacekeeping operations, his actions

having a direct and lasting impact upon U.S. policy on NATO expansion.

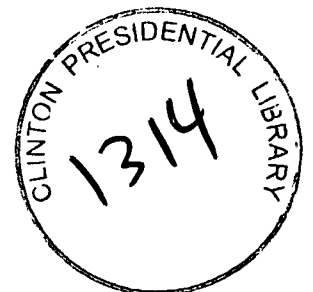
Nelson Drew was an exceptionally talented military officer and policymaker who anticipated the concerns and attitudes of our allies and of the various U.S. agencies involved in formulating policy. Innovative and visionary, intent upon enhancing long-term peace and stability while ensuring adequate defense capabilities within Europe, he was able to simplify and synthesize complex issues and make a significant and important contribution to the framing and execution of U.S. security policy. Extraordinarily dedicated, Colonel Drew's outstanding initiative and exemplary performance of duty during his 23 years of service were the reflection of the highest traditions of the U.S. Armed Services and U.S. diplomacy.

RECOMMENDATION

That you award the Presidential Medal of Freedom posthumously to Ambassador Frasure, Secretary Kruzel and Colonel Drew in recognition of their lifetime of especially meritorious contributions to the national security interests of the United States and to world peace.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____



CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. speech	re: [UNGA Speech Draft, incomplete copy] (3 pages)	ca. 10/1995	P5 1315.

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 3382

FOLDER TITLE:

UNGA Speech-Drafts 10/22/95 [2]

Rob Seibert
2006-0459-F
rs553

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Ponemon

No challenge to our individual safety and our collective security is greater. No call to our cooperation and our action is more clear. And no one represented in this hall is immune:

Not the people of Japan -- where terrorists broke open a small ^{bottle (TK)} ~~vial~~ of nerve gas in the subway and poisoned ^{hundreds (TK)} ~~dozens~~ of commuters.

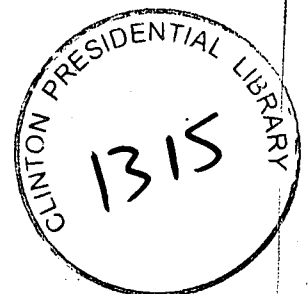
Not the people of Latin America or Southeast Asia -- where drug traffickers wielding weapons sold to them by organized criminals have murdered judges, journalists, police officers and innocent passers-by.

Not the people of Northern Ireland -- where the enemies of peace have used weapons sold to them by arms traffickers to slaughter civilians.

Not the people of Israel -- where those who would perpetuate hate have blown up buses full of children with suitcase bombs made from plastic explosives smuggled in from Central Europe.

Not the people of the new independent states and Central Europe -- where organized criminals prey on decent, hard working men and women trying to build a better life.

And not the people of my own country -- where homegrown terrorists plugged their P.C.'s into the Internet to learn how to build the bomb that blew up a federal building in the heart of



Working with Russia, we are cutting our nuclear arsenals by two-thirds from their Cold War

height. We ^{supported} helped Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus ^{in their} make the farsighted decision to give up the

nuclear weapons left on their land when the Soviet Union dissolved. We ^{secured} convinced North Korea's

^{commitment} first to freeze, then to dismantle its nuclear weapons program. We helped ^{achieve} secure the indefinite

extension of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. And we are working throughout the former Soviet

Union to safeguard nuclear materials or to convert them to peaceful use. Each of these actions

has ^{reduced} minimized the risk of a nuclear confrontation. Each has made it less likely that terrible

weapons of mass destruction will wind up in the hands of terrorists or international criminals.

Working with many of the governments in this room -- by sharing ^{information?} [intelligence] providing military

support, initiating anti-corruption programs, opening FBI offices and training centers abroad --

we're attacking drug trafficking and organized crime at their source. And we're getting results:

with the courageous collaboration of the Colombian government, we closed down the cartels that

controlled the world market in cocaine. Just two years ago, the cartels' leaders lived as

billionaires beyond the law -- now, they are either dead or behind bars. Through Operation Green

Clover, our forces and their counterparts from [TK TK] are shutting down the air bridge that has

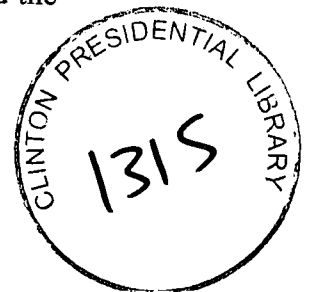
carried cocaine out of South America to our shores. [TK TK organized criminals].

And many of the nations here have joined us in waging a tough counter-terrorism campaign. At

the United Nations, we have stood together to impose and maintain strong sanctions on states

that sponsor terrorism and defy the rule of law. [TK TK Iraq insert]. Our law enforcement

agencies are cooperating more closely than ever before. My administration has increased the



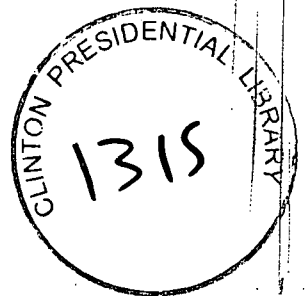
bomb. Every government that produces lethal materials for legitimate military and peaceful ~~use~~ ^g has an obligation to keep them secure and prevent their proliferation. Building on our successful work ^{with} ~~in~~ the former Soviet Union, my country -- together with our P-8 partners -- will seek to establish global cooperative programs to account for, store and safeguard materials with mass destructive power -- including nuclear matter, chemicals, toxic gasses and biological substances. We will also press other countries -- and our own Congress -- to ratify the Chemical Weapons Convention and to strengthen the Biological Weapons Convention.

insert
Rider
B

Ours is a full and challenging agenda. But we must do nothing less than our best to complete it.

Fifty years ago, as the conference that gave birth to the United Nations got underway in San Francisco, a young American war hero recorded his impressions for a daily newspaper. "The average G.I. in the street... doesn't seem to have a very clear-cut conception of what this meeting is about," young John F. Kennedy wrote. "But one bemedaled marine sergeant gave the general reaction when he said: 'I don't know much about what's going on -- but if they just fix it so that we don't have to fight any more -- they can count me in.'"

The United Nations has not ended war. But it has made war less likely and helped bring many that did break out to a close. The United Nations has not stopped human suffering. But it has healed the wounds and cured the ills of millions. The United Nations has not banished repression or poverty from this earth. But it has advanced the cause of freedom and prosperity on every continent. The United Nations has not been all that we wished it would be. But it has been a



Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. speech	re: Remarks to the United Nations General Assembly... (14 pages)	10/19/1995	P5 1316

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 3382

FOLDER TITLE:

UNGA Speech-Drafts 10/22/95 [3]

Rob Seibert
2006-0459-F
rs554

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

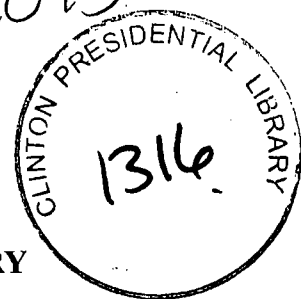
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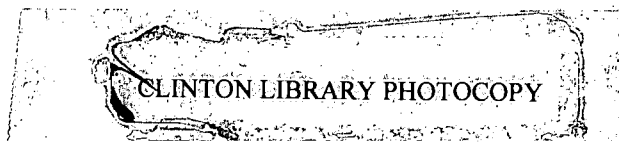


**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
ON THE OCCASION OF THE UNITED NATIONS 50TH ANNIVERSARY
NEW YORK
OCTOBER 22, 1995**

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary-General, Excellencies, Distinguished Guests: A half century ago, a heroic generation gave birth to a new institution conceived in the cauldron of war -- but dedicated to the pursuit of peace, human dignity and economic and social progress for all. That institution carried with it the cherished hopes of people everywhere to rebuild their lives and raise their families with the quiet blessings of security, prosperity and freedom.

This week, the United Nations is fifty years old. The dreams of its founders have only been partly realized. But its promise to humanity endures. The United Nations is the product of faith and knowledge: faith that men and women from disparate backgrounds and cultures can work together for tolerance and peace; knowledge that this faith will forever be challenged by the forces of intolerance and aggression. Now, we must call on that faith -- and that knowledge -- to refocus our own efforts and the United Nations to meet the challenges of a new era.

In its first five decades, the United Nations has been many things: peacekeeper, mediator, adviser, care giver, and, above all, a forum for the world's leaders to work through the most difficult issues of the day. The value of its varied enterprises can be seen all over the world: in the nourished bodies of once-starving children in Central Africa... the hope of former refugees in

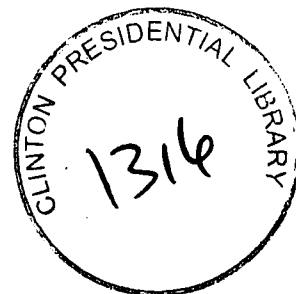


Cambodia... the full lives of those immunized against disease in [TK TK]... and the bright eyes of children in [TK TK] exposed through education to the rich storehouse of human knowledge.

And we see the UN's vital work in keeping the peace and containing the killing and violence that plague our planet. We see it in El Salvador and Mozambique -- where UN peacekeepers helped bring to a close dark chapters of violence. We see it now in Haiti and Angola, where UN forces have maintained the secure climate necessary for reconciliation and rebuilding to begin. And we see it in Bosnia, where the toll of a terrible war -- in lives lost... in wounds left unhealed... in children left unfed -- would have been graver still had it not been for the UN.

In my country, some people say -- why bother with the UN? America is strong. We can go it alone. I say to those skeptics: Yes, if America's vital interests are at stake, we will do whatever we have to do to protect them -- with others, or if need be alone. But our interests are also served by working with the UN. It helps the peacemakers, the care providers, the defenders of human rights, the architects of economic prosperity and the protectors of our planet spread the risk and share the burden of their efforts. We are stronger, more efficient and more effective when we work together.

The United States wants the United Nations to succeed. But in this time of change and even greater challenge, success requires reform. And reform demands that the UN's members make good on their commitments to the UN -- just as the UN must meet its commitments to its members.



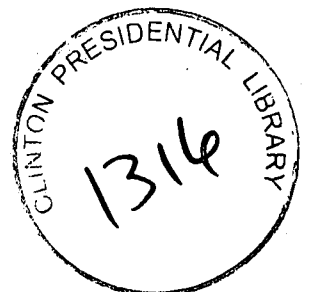
Last year, from this dais, I pledged that the United States would continue to contribute substantially to the UN's finances. And we have. In thirteen months, American direct contributions to UN have totaled \$2.2 billion -- well over twice the amount paid by the next largest donor. Historically the United States has been -- and today it remains -- the largest single contributor to the United Nations.

~~America is doing its share.~~ And I am determined that we ^{also} continue to meet our full responsibility to this institution. That's why I will work closely with the ~~leaders of our~~ Congress to free up the funding America owes the United Nations.

But all who contribute to the UN's work and care about its future should be concerned about bureaucratic bloat. Any head of government who ^{provides their} asks taxpayers' to ~~provide billions of~~ dollars to this enterprise must be able to show that their money is going for needed services, not unneeded bureaucracies. ~~Every nation represented here has a stake in a United Nations that shifts resources from administrative overhead to programs that save peoples' lives or enrich their existence~~

Yes, reform is painful. It requires breaking up bureaucratic fiefdoms... eliminating obsolete agencies... making the UN do more with less. ~~But today, successful governments and corporations downsize, set strict priorities, stress accountability and focus on the bottom line.~~

^{But,} The UN must reform to remain relevant.



Nobody
asked
them.

Same
thought

The United States is determined to lead the effort for reform because a revitalized UN can play an even stronger role in the global struggle for peace and freedom. Today, as never before, nations are moving from fear to security... from hatred to hope.

In the Holy Land, Israelis and Arabs are turning the page on the past and embracing a future of peace.

~~scribble~~ In Ireland, Catholics and Protestants are coming together, after centuries of standing apart. Stet

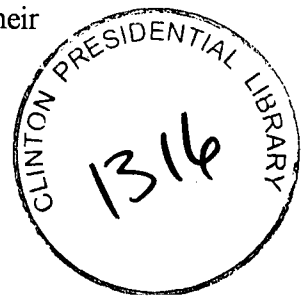
In Haiti, the terror that caused thousands to flee on leaky rafts and is gone and a fragile democracy is gaining strength.

In South Africa, the long night of apartheid has given way to a new day of freedom.

only need 1 Europe line In Europe, the elusive dream of a continent united, peaceful and democratic is within our grasp.

And in the Balkans, the logic of peace is beginning, finally, to supplant the brutal unreason of war. [Insert on Bosnia???].

This moment of hope reflects a powerful truth: people all over the world -- no matter their nationality, race, religion or ethnicity -- aspire to the same goals: to live in peace... to be treated with dignity... ~~to provide for themselves and their families.~~ to build a better life than their

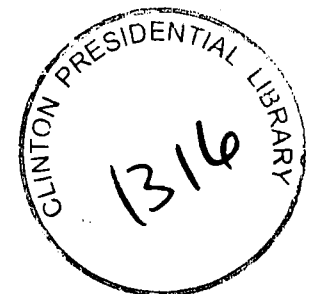


parents had -- and to pass on an even better one to their children. Today, that dream is becoming a reality for more people on this earth than ever before.

But the promise of our time is matched by peril. The false prophets that dominated so much of our century -- the apostles of fascism and communism -- are dead or discredited. But the forces of intolerance live on. They can be seen in new explosions of old ethnic and religious rivalries. They can be witnessed in the reckless aggression of rogue states. And increasingly, they are taking on new and dangerous dimensions: terrorism... organized crime... drug trafficking... the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

~~Just as surely as fascism and communism, these forces would spread darkness over light...~~
~~disintegration over integration... chaos over community. They are our generation's enemies,~~
 and we must refocus our efforts to defeat them and pursue the struggle for human dignity and tolerance for which this institution was founded.

In this great effort, we must work together. Not one of the nations represented here can shut out the world. Ideas, products and money flash across our planet at the stroke of a computer key. They bring with them extraordinary opportunities to build a safer and more prosperous future. In this new global community, we can better share humanity's genius for progress -- to make our people healthier, wealthier and wiser, ~~through advances in medicine and education... to protect our planet from decay and abuse through sustainable development... to create good new jobs for the future by opening markets around the world.~~

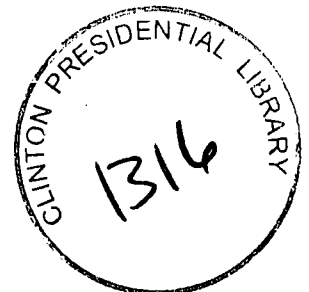


But in turn, we must understand that, more than ever before, problems that originate beyond the borders of our nations can become problems within them. ~~They spread that much more quickly because of the new freedoms and technologies taking hold around the world.~~

We live in a global village where trouble on the far end of town soon becomes a plague on everyone's house. We can't free our own neighborhoods from drug-related crime without the help of countries where drugs are produced or transported. We can't track down foreign terrorists ~~who would wreak havoc in our part of town~~ without help from foreign police. ~~We can't respond ourselves to every conflict far from home that could explode into war -- and call on our sons and daughters to fight.~~ We can't keep nuclear materials stored in warehouses half a world away from falling into the wrong hands -- and threatening our cities and citizens -- with our vigilance alone.

Implication
is that
collectively
we should
respond
to
every
conflict.
Don't think so.

To my own people, I say: If we shut out the world -- if we pull back from the UN and our foreign commitments... if we fail to lead and to work with others -- we won't solve the problems of our time.



check dictionary on
Singular verb form.

Nowhere is the need to cooperate more vital than in our effort to combat the increasingly interconnected groups that traffick in terror, organized crime, drug smuggling and the spread of weapons of mass destruction. No challenge to our individual safety and our collective security is greater. No call to action is more clear. And no one represented in this hall is immune:

Not the people of Japan -- where terrorists unleashed nerve gas in the subway and poisoned thousands of commuters.

Not the people of Latin America or Southeast Asia -- where drug traffickers wielding imported illegal weapons ~~sold to them by gun runners~~ have murdered judges, journalists, police officers and innocent passers-by.

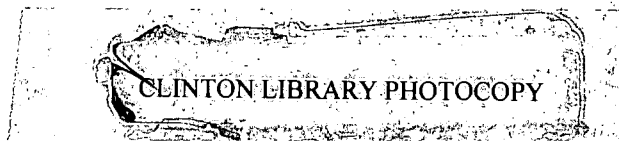
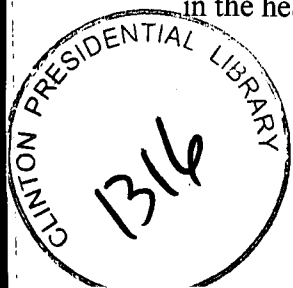
Not the people of Israel and France -- where hate mongers [those who would perpetuate hate] have blown up buses and trains full of children with suitcase bombs made from smuggled plastic explosives.

Not the people of the new independent states and Central Europe -- where organized criminals seek to weaken new democracies and prey on decent, hard working men and women trying to build a better life.

And not the people of my own country -- where homegrown terrorists blew up a federal building in the heart of America [TK: ok w/legal?] ... and where foreign hate mongers tried to topple the

terrorists

you
can
say
twice.



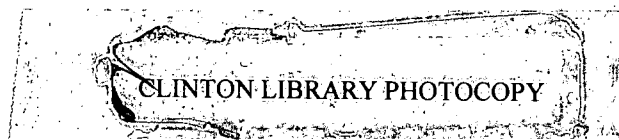
World Trade Center and destroy the very hall we are gathered in today. Americans have been the victims of terrorism, migrant smuggling, drug trafficking, counterfeiting, money laundering and violence fueled by organized crime... all controlled from beyond our borders.

These forces of destruction threaten the ~~powerful trend toward peace around the world~~. They ^{world's} threaten the fragile new democracies that are working so hard to plant solid roots. They threaten the dream we all share to leave a safer, more prosperous world for our children.

Today, I call upon all the freedom loving nations represented in this great forum for progress to join together in the fight against these forces of destruction.

We have work to do -- individually and together. Each of our states must provide for the security of our own borders, the safety and well-being of our own people, the effectiveness of our laws, and the protection of individual rights. But each of us must also step up our cooperation -- bilaterally, multilaterally and through the UN and other organizations -- if we want the forces of freedom to prevail.

The United States will continue to put the power of our example and the strength of our leadership into this fight. We know the value of American engagement from the progress we have already made all around the world.

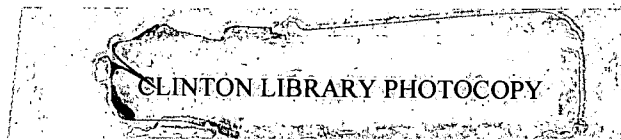
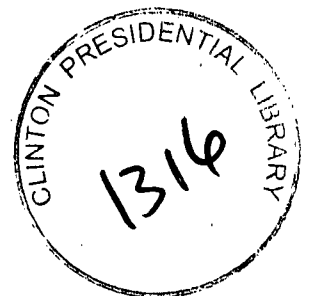


(and to safeguard
nuclear material.)

To reduce the threat of weapons of mass destruction, we are working with Russia to cut our nuclear arsenals by two-thirds from their Cold War height. We supported Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus in their farsighted decision to give up the nuclear weapons left on their land when the Soviet Union dissolved. We secured North Korea's commitment first to freeze, then to dismantle its nuclear weapons program. We worked with others to achieve the indefinite extension of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. ~~And we are working with the states of the former Soviet Union to~~
~~safeguard nuclear materials and to convert them to peaceful use.~~ Each of these actions has reduced the deadly risk of a nuclear confrontation. Each has made it less likely that terrible weapons of mass destruction will wind up in the hands of terrorists or international criminals.

To stem the flow of narcotics and stop the spread of organized crime, we are working with many of the governments in this room -- sharing intelligence, providing military support, initiating anti-corruption programs. And we're getting results: Collaborating with the Colombian government, we're cracking down on the cartels that control the world market in cocaine. Just two years ago, the cartels' leaders lived as billionaires beyond the law -- now, many are living as prisoners behind bars. [TK TK organized criminals e.g.???].

To take on terrorists, we are standing with like-minded nations to impose and maintain strong sanctions on states that sponsor terrorism and defy the rule of law -- such as Iran, Iraq and Libya. Our law enforcement agencies are cooperating more closely than ever before. My administration has increased the funding, the manpower and the training for our own law enforcement.



Nothing we do will make us invulnerable. What we can do -- what we must do -- is constantly renew our efforts to defeat the forces of destruction.

That is why, today, I am announcing new American initiatives to fight international organized crime, drug trafficking, terrorism and the spread of weapons of mass destruction. These initiatives have two parts. First, steps the United States will take on its own -- and which we hope others will follow. Second, a Declaration we will ask others to sign that sets out a plan of action to promote the safety of the world's citizens.

First, the steps America will take unilaterally.

- Yesterday, I directed the United States government to identify and put on notice nations that encourage or support money laundering. ~~Most criminal enterprises commit their crimes for~~

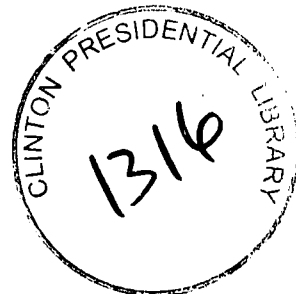
~~one reason: to make money. Especially in the developing world, they rob wealth from the~~

~~most needy and place it in the hands of the most greedy. Now, they are moving these vast~~

~~sums -- larger than the Gross National Products of scores of countries -- through the~~

international financial system with impunity. We must not allow them to launder the blood off the money gained from the sale of drugs and lethal materials, from terror and organized crime.

The United States will insist that nations bring their banks and financial systems into conformity with international anti-money laundering standards.



CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

No
"or
else?"

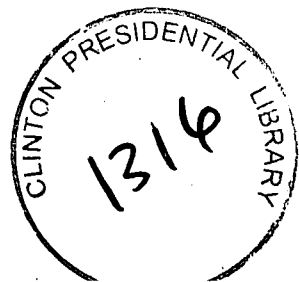
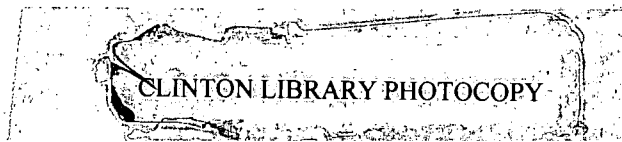
Many international criminal enterprises
of ill-gotten funds

- I also directed my government to identify the front companies and block the assets of the most lethal drug trafficking enterprise in the world: the Cali Cartel. We want to cut off the cartel's economic lifelines. And we want to stop our own people from dealing unknowingly with companies financed by blood money. Cali and the other major cartels are a grave threat to everyone's security and we will do everything in our power to stop them.
- Finally, I instructed our Justice Department to collect, analyze, and turn into legislation the tools other government agencies say they need to better investigate and prosecute all of these forms of international organized crime.

But for all that my country is doing, we know that we must work -- and act -- with others to succeed. Today, I ask every country to join us in negotiating and signing a Declaration on Citizens' Safety and Combating International Organized Crime. Together, we can strengthen every citizen's right to basic safety.

The Declaration the United States is proposing would include:

- A "No Sanctuary" Pledge. Organized criminals, terrorists, drug traffickers and smugglers should have nowhere to run and nowhere to hide. They won't if we strengthen extradition and asset forfeiture procedures and convince more nations to sign on to existing agreements that encourage states to find international fugitives, deny them sanctuary and bring them to justice.



- A Counter-Terrorism Pact: We will urge more states to ratify the eleven existing anti-terrorism treaties and to work with us to shut down the gray markets that outfit terrorists and criminals with firearms and false documents.
- An Anti-Corruption Drive: Building on the steps the nations of this hemisphere agreed to at the Summit of the Americas, we will help other countries improve their own law enforcement tools to fight corruption. [TK: Add detail or cut????]

- An Anti-Narcotics Offensive: The international drug trade poisons our people. It breeds violence. It tears at the moral fabric of our societies. We must strengthen cooperative efforts to stop production by stepping up the investigation and prosecution of drug cartels and their

kingpins) As we put the heat on drug dealers, each of us must do more to help drug users see the light. That is why my administration has increased funding for comprehensive drug treatment and prevention programs in America and why we're working hard to keep our schools safe and drug free.

- An "Effective Police Forces" Partnership: International criminal cartels target nations whose law enforcement agencies are weak or lack the resources and experience to stop them. To help police in the new democracies of Central Europe get up to speed, my country has already established an International Law Enforcement Academy in Budapest. Now, we will join with

if we can
we increase
funding
for
treatment
here at
home.

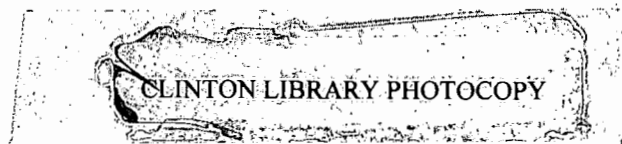
I smell
Dickie
Morris.

others to create a network of centers around the world to teach the latest crime fighting techniques and technology.

- A "Deadly Materials" Control Effort: A package the size of a child's lunch bag held the poison gas used to terrorize Tokyo. A lump of plutonium no bigger than a soda can is enough to build an atomic bomb. Every government that produces deadly materials has an obligation to keep them secure and prevent their proliferation. Building on efforts already underway with the new independent states of the former Soviet Union and our G-7 partners, we will seek to better account for, store and safeguard materials with mass destructive power. We will work to strengthen the Biological Weapons Convention and to ban nuclear testing and the production of nuclear materials for weapons. And we will press other countries -- and our own Congress -- to ratify the Chemical Weapons Convention.

This is a full and challenging agenda. But we must do nothing less than our best to complete it. Our first responsibility as heads of state is to protect and advance the safety of our citizens. To make good on that duty, we must confront the new challenges of our time -- and we must do it together.

Fifty years ago, as the conference that gave birth to the United Nations got underway in San Francisco, a young American war hero recorded his impressions for a daily newspaper. "The average G.I. in the street... doesn't seem to have a very clear-cut conception of what this meeting is about," young John F. Kennedy wrote. "But one bemedaled marine sergeant gave the general



reaction when he said: 'I don't know much about what's going on -- but if they just fix it so that we don't have to fight any more -- they can count me in.'"

or outlawed human nature

The United Nations has not ended war. But it has made war less likely and helped many nations

turn from conflict to cooperation. The United Nations has not stopped human suffering. But it

has healed the wounds and *lengthened the lives* cured the ills of millions. The United Nations has not banished

repression or poverty from this earth. But it has advanced the cause of freedom and prosperity on

every continent. The United Nations has not been all that we wished it would be. But it has been

a force for good and a bulwark against evil. And so, for another fifty years and beyond, you can

underline count the United States in.

the 20th / what does this mean?

My fellow citizens of the world, in the twilight of *the 20th /* our shared century -- marked by so much

progress and too much bloodshed... witness to humanity's capacity for the best and its weakness

for the worst -- we need the United Nations. We need a forum where people of reason can talk

through our collective problems -- and take action to combat them. We need an institution where

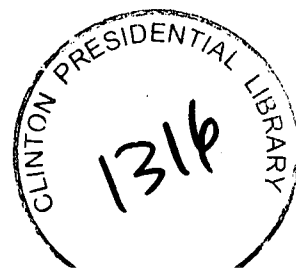
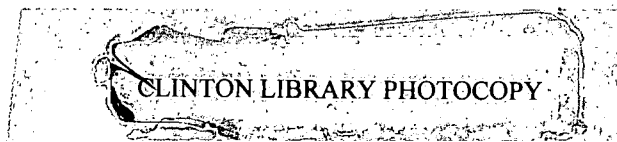
nations of good will can pool their resources and their talents in the struggle for freedom. We

need a *platform* shelter from which the better angels of our nature can shape a new century of lasting peace

and wide-spread progress. The United Nations is that place. Let us use our knowledge of its

shortcomings and its successes to make it better. And let our faith in its enduring promise

animate our drive to fulfill its potential.



Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	re: [Blinken's Notes from Speechwriting Meeting] (3 pages)	ca. 11/1995	P5 1317

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 3382

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia-Newsweek Piece 11/3/95

Rob Seibert
2006-0459-F
rs555

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

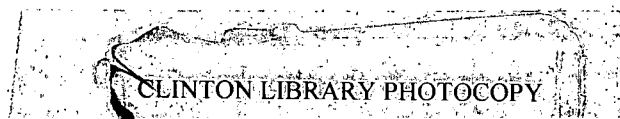
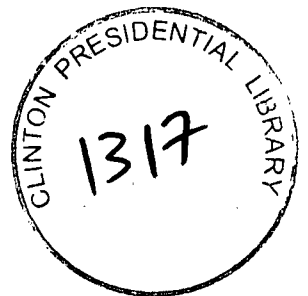
CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Baker, Herman, Lewis
⇒ wide margin list

① 3rd line, 2nd graf

American leadership ⇒ has led
has clarified the way
will piss off Europeans?
America has led the
way

③ 1st graf or 200 of divorce
Human chain → prayer
or pen (santa like
protect others)



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at heart of Am

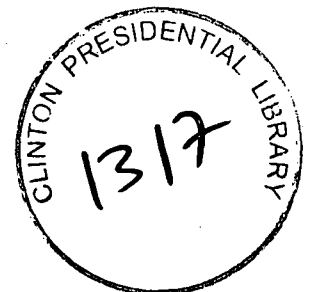
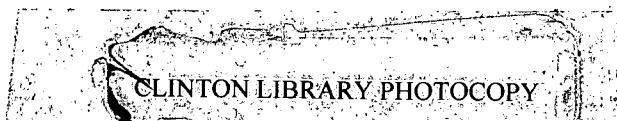
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But there is a
firm who Bm

Now a firm for
Bm to find

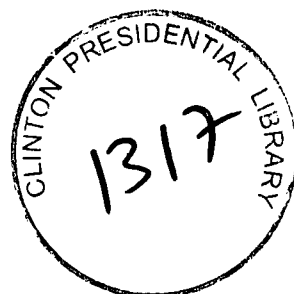
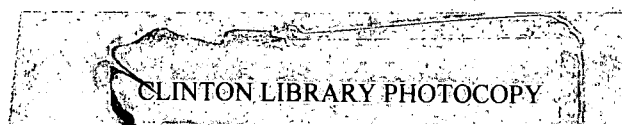
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but unity
again in power



- global village
→ nations states which
can unite people of
diversity

Preserve



Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. speech	re: Address to the Nation on Bosnia (9 pages)	11/24/1995	P5 1318

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 3382

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia-Oval Address [2]

Rob Seibert
2006-0459-F
rs556

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Seems so long.

11/24/95 9 p.m.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
ADDRESS TO THE NATION ON BOSNIA
THE WHITE HOUSE
NOVEMBER 27, 1995

Good evening.

Tonight I want to talk to you ^{about} America's leadership & America's responsibilities in the world.

For nearly four years, a terrible war has torn apart Bosnia -- wasting thousands of lives and

destroying countless futures. Images that we thought had been banished from Europe forever

flooded our television screens and newspapers: sunken-eyed prisoners ^{behind} ~~caged in~~ by barbed wire

^{mass graves?} fences... defenseless men and boys forced to dig their own graves... endless lines of refugees

marching toward a future of despair.

→ not clear.

a little
hard to
say.

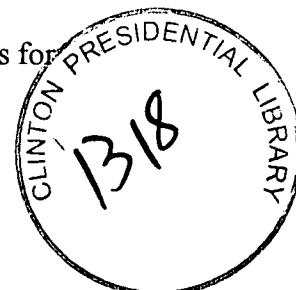
Last week, in Dayton, Ohio, this horror finally gave way to hope. There, with the help of America's negotiating team, the parties to the worst conflict in Europe since World War II made a commitment to peace.

Tonight, I want to speak with you about America's responsibility to help them make good on that commitment -- to secure peace in Bosnia and to turn this moment of hope into an enduring reality.

^{don't start negatively.} But ^{if} the Bosnians can't do it alone. After all there you ^{of - explicit outside forces are needed to do it, y. z.}

There is no guaranty we will succeed. Our armed forces will be asked to shoulder a difficult and dangerous mission. But the goal of a lasting peace in Bosnia is achievable. The risks are manageable. And America's values and interests -- together with our standing in the world as a beacon of hope for all those striving for freedom -- demand that we continue to be leaders for peace.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY



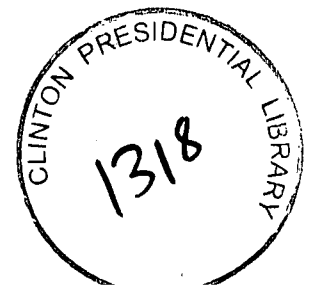
Securing peace in Bosnia can end the terrible suffering of the Bosnian people -- the mass executions... the ethnic cleansing... the campaigns of rape and terror. Nearly 250,000 men, women and children have been shelled, shot and beaten to death. Two million people -- half of Bosnia's pre-war population -- were forced from their homes and into a miserable life as refugees. Now, American leadership has created the chance to end the war -- and the suffering -- for good.

Securing peace in Bosnia will also prevent the war from reigniting and spreading throughout the region. Bosnia lies at the very heart of Europe -- next door to many of its fragile new democracies and just a few hundred miles from some of America's closest allies like Italy and Greece. If we don't stamp out the spark of this conflict now, it could light a much larger fire in Europe -- whose stability is vital to our own national security. That's why hundreds of thousands of Americans fought and died in Europe in two world wars. That's why successive generations of

Americans sacrificed so much to win the Cold War. And that's why our generation must meet its responsibility to end the war in Bosnia now.

makes it sound like Americans will be for Bosnia
Secure Peace -
this about the American recognized through the century how vital Europ. stability is → growth two world wars & maintained the peace
 The American people should understand how we have come to this chance for peace -- and where we go from here.
Through vigilance -- the Cold War.

At the end of the Cold War, Serbian nationalism forced the break-up of Yugoslavia and started an ugly and dangerous war. Bosnia -- where Muslims, Serbs and Croats had lived together peacefully for decades -- became a killing field.



When I took office, I set three goals for America in the Bosnian conflict: to help our European allies find a peaceful settlement that preserves Bosnia as a single state; to prevent the war from spreading; and to ease the suffering of the Bosnian people. I also decided that while American ground troops should help secure a peace agreement if and when it was reached, they should not become combatants in Bosnia. It was clear that the United States could not force peace on the parties -- only they themselves could make it.

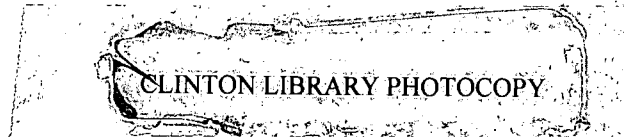
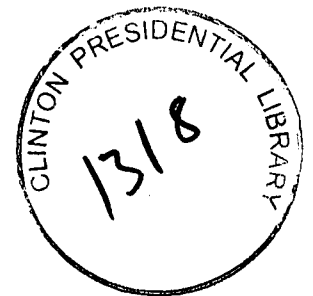
For three years, we worked toward these goals. By sending our troops to neighboring states and imposing tough economic sanctions against Serbia, we prevented the war from spreading. By using our air power to conduct the longest humanitarian air lift in history... to enforce a no-fly zone that took the war out of the skies... and to end the strangulation of Sarajevo, we eased the plight of the Bosnian people. [And our diplomats stopped the fighting between Muslims and Croats and brokered cease-fires that temporarily ended the rain of shells on Bosnia's safe areas.]

what were a joke

and sent elms.

But the search for a comprehensive peace proved frustrating and elusive. On three occasions the international community negotiated detailed peace plans with the parties. Each time the result was the same -- the Muslims and Croats would accept the plan, the Bosnian Serbs would reject it.

This summer, the Bosnian Serbs stepped up their assaults on the safe areas. Sarajevo once again came under siege -- its brave citizens subject to vicious shelling and denied food, medicine, electricity and heat. The towns of Srebrenica and Zepa fell to Serb guns.

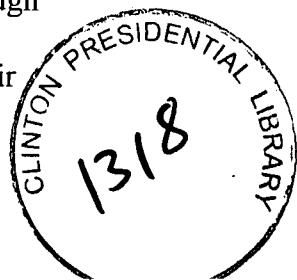


When a Bosnian Serb shell slaughtered 38 people in Sarajevo in August, the United States insisted that NATO take a stand. We demanded that the Serbs stop offensive actions against the safe areas, withdraw their heavy weapons from around Sarajevo and allow road and air access to the city. When they refused, NATO began heavy and continuous air strikes against Bosnian Serb military targets. The air strikes -- many of them flown by courageous American pilots -- convinced the Serbs to comply with our demands.

At the same time, I instructed our negotiating team to push the parties back to the peace table. Their intensive diplomacy convinced the Serbs for the first time to agree to the basic principles of an overall settlement. They forged a Bosnia-wide cease fire. And they brought the parties to Dayton to negotiate a peace agreement. Three devoted American diplomats -- Bob Frasure, Joe Kruzel and Nelson Drew -- were killed in that effort. They gave their lives seeking for others the blessings of peace and freedom Americans hold so dear. Tonight, we remember their sacrifice.

In Dayton, the extraordinary skill and dedication of our negotiating team -- led by Secretary Christopher and Ambassador Holbrooke -- enabled the parties to reach an overall settlement that can end the war in Bosnia for good.

The peace plan preserves Bosnia as a single state -- within its present borders and with international recognition. The state will be made up of two parts: the Bosnian-Croat Federation and the Bosnian Serb Republic, with a fair distribution of land between the two. The capital city of Sarajevo will remain united. There will be an effective central government chosen through internationally supervised, democratic elections. Refugees will be allowed to return to their



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know. by
on an
accident

Americans should be proud of what their govt. has accomplished. They should also want to take the next step & secure the peace

homes... people will be able to move freely throughout Bosnia... and the human rights of every Bosnian citizen will be monitored by an independent commission and an internationally-trained civilian police. And the parties have pledged to cooperate with the International War Crimes Tribunal -- so that those responsible for crimes against humanity are brought to justice.

This agreement is a milestone on the road to a lasting peace, but it does not mark the end of the journey -- or the end of America's responsibility. The parties have made a commitment to peace.

Now, we must help them make good on it so that peace takes hold and endures.

If we fail to live up to that responsibility, the hard won peace in Bosnia would be lost. The war would re-ignite. The slaughter of innocents would begin again. And a conflict that already has claimed so many victims could spread like poison throughout the region and eat away at Europe's stability. In the choice we now face between peace and war in Bosnia, we must choose peace.

Choosing peace means doing our part to secure the peace so that it becomes self-sustaining. All the parties to the conflict want a strong international force on the ground in Bosnia to help them implement their agreement -- to give them confidence that each side will live up to its word and breathing room so they can focus on rebuilding. That force is NATO -- the powerful military alliance of democracies that has guaranteed our security for half a century. The United States, as NATO's leader, must be an essential part of its mission.

NATO is now completing its planning for an implementation force of about 60,000 troops -- to be known as IFOR. Already, more than 20 nations around the world -- including all our NATO

allies -- have pledged to take part. They will contribute about 2/3rds of IFOR's troops. The United States would contribute the rest -- about 20,000 soldiers.

Over the next few days, the final IFOR plan will be submitted to me for review and approval. Let me make clear what I expect it to include -- and what it must include for me to approve the participation of our armed forces:

The mission must be clear and achievable: to oversee the separation of forces and to maintain the cease-fire. The risks to our troops must be minimized and their deployment limited in time. They will only take their orders from the American general who commands NATO -- and no one else. They will be heavily armed and thoroughly trained. By making an overwhelming show of force, they will lessen the need to use force. But they will have the authority to respond immediately and decisively to any threat to their safety or any violation of the peace agreement. And there will be a reasonable timetable for their withdrawal -- which our military planners now estimate at about one year.

If the NATO plan meets with my approval, I will immediately send it to Congress and request its support. I will also authorize the participation of about 1500 American troops in a NATO advance mission that will lay the groundwork for IFOR. This "enabling force" will repair the roads, build the runways and set up the sophisticated communications systems that must be in place before NATO can send its troops, tanks and trucks into Bosnia.



should be much higher

IFOR will create a climate of security in Bosnia. That will allow the international community to begin a separate program of humanitarian relief, reconstruction assistance, refugee repatriation and election organization. This effort is absolutely essential to making peace endure. It will bring the people of Bosnia the food, shelter, clothing and medicine so many have been denied for so long. It will help them rebuild their roads and their schools... their power plants and hospitals... their factories and their shops. It will reunite children with their parents and families with their homes. It will allow them to freely choose leaders devoted to reconciliation and rebuilding. In short, it will give all the people of Bosnia a much greater stake in peace than in war -- and create the conditions for a lasting peace that takes on a life and logic of its own.

The international community will also oversee an arms build-down in Bosnia -- while making sure that the Bosnian Federation has the means to defend itself. By reducing the number of heavy weapons in Bosnia and working toward a balance of forces, we can take away any one side's military advantage -- and make future hostilities much less likely.

After so much bloodshed and loss... after so many senseless violations of human dignity... it will take time -- and an extraordinary effort of will -- for the people of Bosnia to pull themselves from the past and start building the future. There is no guarantee that Muslims, Serbs and Croats will come together again -- and stay together -- as friends, neighbors and citizens of a shared state with a common destiny.

→ explain more & higher: this is the peace we forged.

But thanks to our leadership, the people of Bosnia have the chance to decide their future peacefully -- and in peace. They have a chance to remind the world that, just a few years ago, the

① so ② synagogues ③ 8
mosques, minarets and churches of Sarajevo were a shining symbol of multi-ethnic tolerance --
that Bosnia once found unity in its glorious diversity.
great

Now, we must continue to help the people of Bosnia find that same unity again in peace.

American leadership has brought the people of Bosnia to this chance for peace. We must not turn our backs on them now.

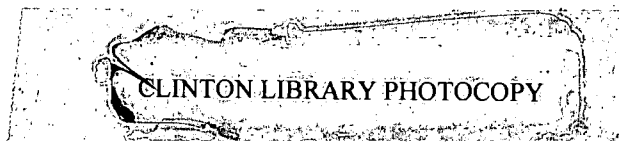
not sure what the point is here. implies there are times that slaughter is okay w/us.
[The American people know that just causes are not lacking in this world. When terrible images of inhumanity dominate our television screens night after night, we want to do something to end the suffering. We are a compassionate people -- and we should be proud of that fact.]

My duty as President is to match those causes to our interests. We cannot take on every fight.

But where our interests and values demand it -- and where we can make a difference -- America should act. Bosnia is such a case. Our interests are plain. The cause is right. And the NATO mission to help the peace in Bosnia take hold is clear, limited and achievable. America is the world's only superpower. Let us act as one.

My fellow Americans, I ask you to think for a moment about the century that is drawing to a close -- and the new one that will soon begin.

The 20th century has been marked by so much progress... and too much bloodshed. It has been witness to humanity's capacity for the best... and its weakness for the worst. Throughout this century, America has stood for progress and human dignity. We have stood with the



1318

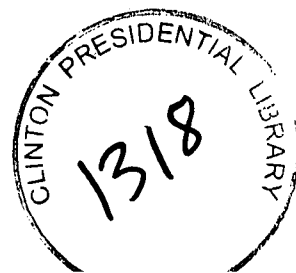
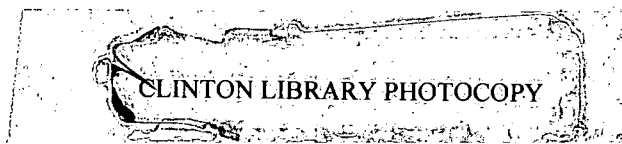
9
+ peace

peacemakers and all those who cherish liberty. We have done so because a world in which nations enjoy peace and people live free will be a much better world for our own children to make the most of their God-given potential. And we have done so because it is the right thing to do.

Through two world wars and a Cold War, previous generations of Americans paid the price for freedom. Because they did -- and because we continue to do so -- more people than ever before live in peace. More people than ever before are treated with dignity. More people than ever before can hope to build a better life than their parents had -- and expect to pass on an even better one to their children.

These are the blessings of freedom -- and America has always been their greatest champion. If we continue to do everything we can to share these blessings with people around the world -- if we continue to be leaders for peace -- then the sacrifices that the American people have made this century will be redeemed. And the next century can be the greatest our nation has yet known.

In Bosnia, a terrible war has challenged our interests and outraged our conscience. Now, because of American leadership, a century that began when a gunshot in Sarajevo sparked the first of two world wars need not end with the sound of gunfire in Sarajevo. But America's job is not yet done. We must help peace in Bosnia take hold and endure. We must remain leaders for peace. This is our responsibility as Americans. Let us go forward and meet it.



Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. speech	re: State of the Union/Foreign Policy Challenge (3 pages)	01/17/1996	P5
002. email	Alexander Vershbow to Anthony Blinken re: [State of Union] (1 page)	01/19/1996	P1/b(1)
003. email	Peter Bass to Anthony Blinken re: SOTU (1 page)	01/22/1996	P6/b(6)

1319.

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 3387

FOLDER TITLE:

State of Union/Foreign Policy Section, 1/23/96 [1]

Rob Seibert
2006-0459-F
rs308

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

STATE OF THE UNION/FOREIGN POLICY CHALLENGE

In this, the American century, our country has led the worldwide fight for freedom and peace -- and won. Because we did, more people than ever before live free, more nations enjoy peace -- and our own people have had half a century of prosperity and security.

V. passive - have enjoyed?

Today, all over the world, people look up to us not only because of our power, but because of what we stand for -- and what we stand against. And though it imposes extra burdens on us, they trust us to help them seek the blessings of peace and freedom.

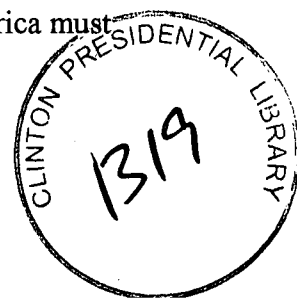
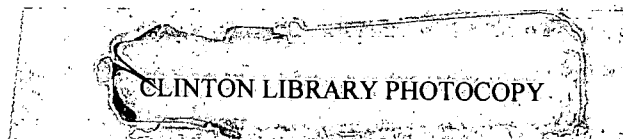
about people beyond
themselves
in us, they are not
who they are but
who they are
against it can
clash.

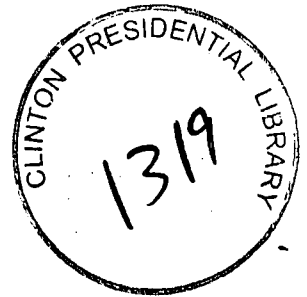
But as the Cold War fades, voices of isolation say America should retreat from the hard work of leadership. I say they are wrong. We face a host of threats that have assumed new and dangerous dimensions -- ethnic and religious hatred... aggression by rogue states... the spread of weapons of mass destruction... terrorism... organized crime... drug trafficking. Each one is an equal opportunity destroyer with no respect for borders. In the enduring global struggle of virtue and values against chaos and evil, America must never be neutral.

framing. Each one is an order?
 during global struggle of virtue ^{otherwise} _{not} ^{parallel} _{parallel} ^{virtue} _{virtue} ^{scene} _{scene} ^{moralistic} _{moralistic}.
 → invent order?
 The aggressor is chaos/evil

But while the isolationists are wrong, so are those who would have us be the world's policeman.

Our reach and resources are limited. We can't be everywhere. We can't do everything. But where we can make a difference -- and where our values and interests demand it -- America must lead.





Tonight, I can report that America is meeting the challenge of leadership.

By keeping our military strong... by using patient diplomacy where we could and force when we had to... by building coalitions to share the risk and the cost of our efforts.... by using the right tools at the right time in the right places... and by being a peacemaker -- America has made a difference for our own people and for people around the world.

historical opp. of end of CW

Because we stayed engaged with Russia, tonight there are no Russian missiles pointed at our cities or citizens.

*just at their own.
think this is asking for
trouble as phrased*

Skadgast pressure

Because we applied hard-headed persuasion, North Korea is dismantling its dangerous nuclear weapons program.

*word choice? firm pressure? otherwise it sounds
for much like reduction... and encourage the
interpretation that we bought them off.*

Because we used the threat of force, in Haiti the dictators are gone, the democrats are back and the flow of refugees to our shores has ended.

X Because we negotiated a better deal for America and opened markets abroad, more Americans have jobs at home.

can't we do more? preempt the anti-Nayler etc. w/ trade figures.

Because we have stood with those who take risks for peace, in Northern Ireland the sound of car bombs and gun shots have given way to the quiet blessings of normal life... and in the Middle

East, Arabs and Jews who once swore to fight to the death now share knowledge, resources and

*seemed destined to fight forever; otherwise it sounds
like they are idiot-ragheads + genocidal Jews*

dreams. [The American people -- and I -- lost a great friend and partner when Yitzhak Rabin was taken from us. But we can be proud that the people of the Middle East are finding the strength to go forward, in part because they know America will stand with them, now and forever.]

And because we stared down aggression and stood up for peace, in Bosnia marketplaces and playgrounds are no longer killing fields.

ask
& preserve
the marketplaces &
playgrounds of Bosnia
are no longer killing
fields -- but are
returning
to life.

Now, we have it within our power to do even more. We can cut the world's nuclear stockpiles by another XX percent... stop an entire new generation of nuclear weapons... control chemical and biological weapons... take the fight to terrorists and organized criminals... and help more people move from hatred to hope.

We can do all these things, but only if we continue to lead... only if Congress ratifies the START II treaty -- this year... If we sign a truly Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty -- this year... If Congress approves the Chemical Weapons Convention -- this year... If Congress finally passes legislation I proposed after Oklahoma City to give American law enforcement even stronger tools to fight terrorists... And if Congress gives us the resources we need to remain leaders for peace.

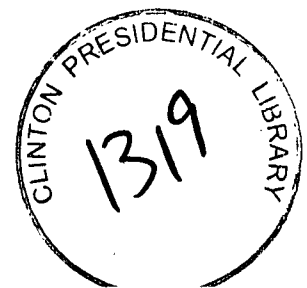
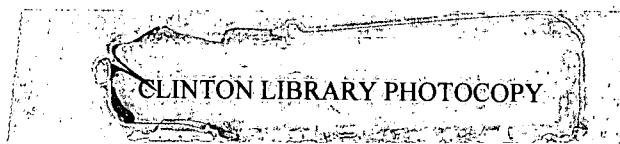
the world's leader

The challenge before us is straightforward: to reject the voices of isolation and the role of policeman... but to live up to the challenge of being a peacemaker. If we do, we can remain a force for freedom and progress around the world -- and for real security and prosperity at home.

summons to act as

And the next century will be an American century, too.

→ even greater



Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Joseph Sestak to Anthony Lake re: Presidential Message to the Navy (1 page)	05/20/1996	P5 1320

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 3381

FOLDER TITLE:

Admiral Boorda Memorial 5/21/96

Rob Seibert
2006-0459-F
rs558

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

3494

May 20, 1996

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: ROBERT BELL *RGB*

FROM: JOSEPH SESTAK *JS*

SUBJECT: Presidential Message to the Navy

At Tab A is a message from the President to the Navy to be released on Tuesday, May 21, following the memorial service for Admiral Boorda.

Concurrence by: Tony Blinken

In draft

Jim Dorskind JM for JS

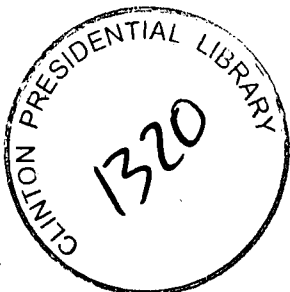
RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum for signature
Tab A Draft Message

5/20 → Joe -
① little too touchy feely for POONS that.
② "we will never know" language - I'm told that, at enlisted level, many who don't accept that Boorda killed himself. Let's not feed that
(B)



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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	George Tenet to Mary McCarthy re: [Attached Items] (partial) (1 page)	ca. 08/1996	b(2)
002. notes	[Notes from Meeting on the George Washington Speech] (2 pages)	07/29/1996	P5 1321
003. email	Robert Bell to Anthony Blinken re: [Draft POTUS Speech] (1 page)	08/03/1996	P1/b(1)
004. email	Daniel Poneman to Anthony Blinken et al. re: POTUS-GW Draft (1 page)	08/05/1996	P1/b(1)
005. email	Bell to Blinken re: [Draft POTUS Speech] (2 pages)	08/03/1996	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 3381

FOLDER TITLE:

George Washington Speech-Background, 8/5/96

Rob Scibert
2006-0459-F
rs321

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

F.P. / Terror Speech Berger 7/29/96

- Not getting enough credit for F.P.

- each terrorist in large union of wlt h's trying to accomplish

⊕ Don't Jimmy Carter analysis. Our F.P. is not just terrorism

⊕ Make it abhorrent

Challenges

⊕ opportunities provided by victory in Cold War
Build sth on debris of collapse.

NATO

Democracy

Harvard Convention

ASIA

Peace

③ Economic → challenge of order property

② New Threats

Naxos

Unique capacity is only spectrum to be broken for peace (CARE, AS, Bosnia, Haiti)

Taking advantage of end of CW to build peaceful, decent world.

How we fight transnational threats, to sovereignty & stability of all nations.

Domestic

- ① find perps / investigations
- ① strengthen capacity (legislation or 24^{hr}, new legislation, airport security)

Intl

- ① get others to do things domestically more clearly done (types - criminalized treaties)
 - ① coop among law enforcement (security)
 - ① pressing harder on state sponsors - U.S. has to
- Needs
legislation
collective
action level! More

Iran/Libya $\Rightarrow$ Signing on Monday.
Event

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION	
001. speech	re: Statement on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (2 pages)	09/09/1996	P5	1322
002. speech	[Duplicate of 001] (3 pages)	09/09/1996	P5	Dup

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 3381

FOLDER TITLE:

Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Statement 9/10/96

Rob Seibert
2006-0459-F
rs550

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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9/09/96 9:10:2058 pm



**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
STATEMENT ON THE COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY**

PLACE
DATE

Today in New York, the United Nations General Assembly voted overwhelmingly to adopt the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and open it for signature later this month. On behalf of the American people, it will be my honor to sign this historic treaty. With the CTBT, we can now realize the decades-long dream of a day when no nuclear weapons are detonated anywhere on the face of the earth.

Beginning with Every Presidents since Dwight Eisenhower and John Kennedy, American leaders
have has-worked tirelessly for this day. My predecessors knew, as I know, that a comprehensive nuclear test ban would greatly strengthen the security of the United States and nations throughout the world. By putting an end to all nuclear tests for all time, This treaty will constrain preventany nation from improving its existing nuclear arsenal, end the development of advanced new types of nuclear weapons and help stop their spread. By putting an end to all nuclear tests for all time, it will bring us closer to our ultimate goal of nuclear disarmament.

With this Treaty, we add another accomplishment to the most far reaching arms control and non-proliferation agenda in history. Over the past four years, we have permanently extended the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty; dramatically cut existing nuclear arsenals with the START treaties; persuaded Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan to give up the nuclear weapons left on their

(Prozen N. K-22 m/ naga pruzin)

land when the USSR dissolved, and reached agreement with Russia to stop targetting each other's cities and citizens. We are lifting the dark cloud of nuclear fear that has hung over our heads for fifty years.f

(For Par dndly)

[prozen]

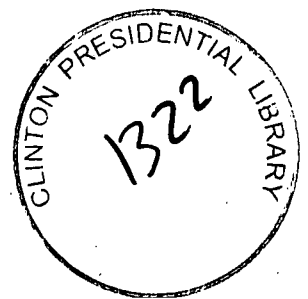
~~Over the last forty years~~, visionary statesmen like Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal ~~Nehru~~ Nehru ~~[British Prime Minister Harold Macmillian — why? who cares?]~~ worked tirelessly to make today's comprehensive nuclear test ban a reality. More recently, John Major, Jacques Chirac, Boris Yeltsin and Jiang Zemin [jeeyahng ZUH-min] made courageous decisions to halt their countries' nuclear test programs. I want to thank them, along with Foreign Minister Downer of Australia and the Chairman of the CTBT negotiating Committee, Netherlands Ambassador Jaap Ramaker *[Yip]* Yip [RAHmahker]. I also want to express my gratitude to our Ambassador to the Conference on ~~Disarmament~~ *Led-e-gar* Stephen Ledogar, along with the entire U.S. delegation, who have worked so hard these last three years to bring us to this day.. I am proud that American leadership has played such an important part in this success.

Together, the United States and the nations of the world have taken another giant step toward a safer world and another step away from the Cold War nuclear precipice. To safeguard our citizens in the next century and in the next millenium, I urge all states to sign this agreement.

Thank you very much.

END

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. speech	re: Remarks for Alfalfa Club Dinner (11 pages)	01/23/1997	P5 1323
002. speech	re: Alfalfa Draft Material (9 pages)	01/23/1997	P5 1324
003. speech	re: Alfalfa 1997 (8 pages)	ca. 01/1997	P5 1325

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 3388

FOLDER TITLE:

Alfalfa Club 1/25/97

Rob Seibert
2006-0459-F
rs559

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Draft 1/23/97 11:30am

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS FOR ALFALFA CLUB DINNER
JANUARY 25, 1997**

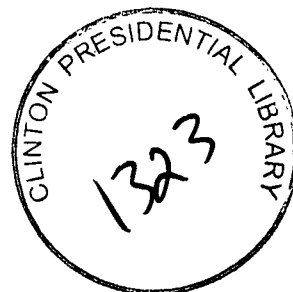
Good evening President Rockefeller, Senator Lott, General Powell, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen of the Alfalfa Club and a special breaker! breaker! to anyone listening to these remarks on police scanner.

It's an honor to be in the same room and share this dais with so many important political figures. Governor Bush, General Powell, Senator Lott, and Mr. Forbes. I spent Inaugural week surrounded by people wanting me to succeed and tonight I'm surrounded by people who want to succeed me.

Improv? ... Which reminds me, I can't stay too late. I'm starting to get nervous about leaving Al Gore alone at the White House.

[It's always a pleasure to be with the members of the Alfalfa Club. I'll have to remind the DNC that there are plenty of corporate fat cats right here in America.]

I am very glad I came here tonight but if you read p. 176 of a recent memoir of a political consultant, you'll learn ^{*even*} this wasn't even my idea.



... And imagine my surprise on page 211 to discover that it wasn't my mom's idea to name me "William".

I remember talking to Dick Morris on the phone one night. He kept saying, "move a little to the right, move a little to the right." I thought he was talking to me!

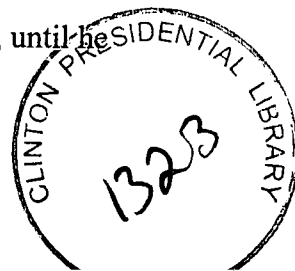
I remember another conversation I had with Dick Morris, this time about Bob Dole. I was amazed at Bob Dole's political courage and indestructibility. I remember telling Dick, "That Bob Dole is Evel Knievil, man!"

6
Senator Lott, I congratulate you on your nomination as the presidential candidate of the Alfalfa Party. *That was a great accept speech, that* I was going to congratulate you on your acceptance speech until I got to page 297 of that book I mentioned.

Last week, Trent was introduced on *Meet The Press* as "the most powerful Republican in Washington." Which I was relieved to hear. After the Welfare Bill, some people started calling me "the most powerful Republican in Washington" . . . and I was worried it would catch on!

If Trent Lott is the most powerful Republican in Washington, then Colin Powell is the most powerful Republican in theory.

General Powell seemed poised to ascend to the highest ranks of national politics, until he



started taking career advice from Mario Cuomo.

?
o He said he didn't hear the call for the 1996 election but I noticed that after dessert, he went to check his voice mail in case someone had called about the year 2000.

Jay Rockefeller - TK

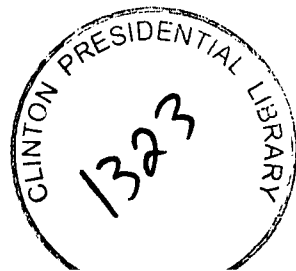
Steve Forbes - TK

I know Elizabeth Dole is here tonight. She was just with us last week at the White House when I presented Senator Dole with the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the highest honor a president can bestow upon a citizen.

✓ It was especially moving because it was the first time in a long time Senator Dole and I have been together in a room without Jim Lehrer.

✓ It was just a small gesture to express my appreciation for Senator Dole's remarkable record of national service. I even offered to invite him and Mrs. Dole to spend the night in the Lincoln bedroom on the house.

✓ That ceremony was one of those moments when you realize the twists of fate that make all the difference between victory and defeat. And as I placed the medal around Senator Dole's neck, I remember thinking: "there but for the grace of God goes Lamar Alexander."

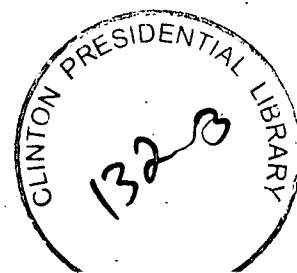


I want to congratulate Senator Rockefeller for his inauguration as president of the Alfalfa Club. I don't like to brag Jay, but anyone can get elected as president of the Alfalfa Club once.
Call me when you become a two-term.

Much has been made of the fact that I'm the first Democrat to be elected to two terms since FDR. Keep it up.

✓ The last time I was here was during my first term, which of course was been followed by this, my second. When you've been elected to this many terms-- "this" being two -- you've entered a special category in presidential history. You may be interested to know that we've had fifteen two-term presidents, of which I am one. So you are looking at one/fifteenth of all the two-term presidents in American history. Or if you prefer, 2/30ths, the operative number being two. As in terms. Which I am serving.

✓ Here's another interesting historical note: of all the presidents who've been elected to two terms -- which includes me -- Grover Cleveland is the only to serve them non-consecutively. One term (like the one I just completed) interrupted by the term of someone else -- then a second term (like the one I just began). In the middle was Benjamin Harrison -- a one-termer who, unlike me, was never elected to two terms.



And as we stand on the precipice of my second term, I believe that we as a nation must prepare to build a bridge over the 22nd Amendment.

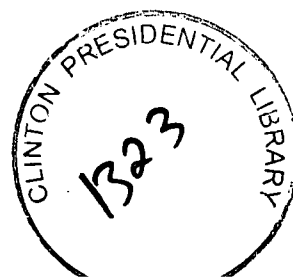
Now that I've won a second term, which I believe I've mentioned, I can turn my attention to the history department of the Electoral College.

I know the media have made a lot of the attention I've been paying to my place in the history of the books. But as usual, they are over-stating the case.

Is that David McCullough I see over there? Professor, I took the liberty of sending that bottle of champagne to your table. Enjoy!

But of course, it's hard to ignore the deliberations of history's verdict. Because one day, my presidency will be analyzed in a wonderful, insightful book like this. [holds up copy of *Truman*] By the way, David, those flowers. Also from me.

Which is why I read the recent *New York Times Magazine* article by the historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. with special interest.



Professor Schlesinger took a poll among leading historians to rate my presidency so far. According to his poll, of the four votes, I received two "near-greats" and two votes for "failure". My staff has been working on a theory to explain this:

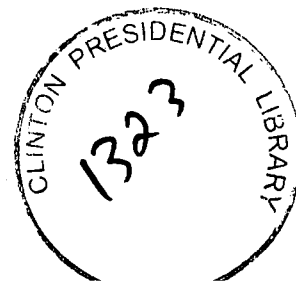
The "failure" verdict was first posted anonymously in a history chat room on the internet, where it languished unnoticed for months . . . until Pierre Salinger brought attention to it in a hastily assembled news conference. The next day, British tabloid historians published the allegations . . . Shortly thereafter, it began popping up in the newsletters of militia historians and right-wing history cultists . . . prompting reports of my "failure" status in conservative outlets like the *Wall Street Journal of History* and the *Historical Spectator*.

David
Brock

. . . Which then led to hearings held by Republican chairmen of Congressional committees on the allegations of my failure, for which they found ample evidence . . . And finally, reports of that assessment found its way to historians like Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and printed in the *New York Times*.

There is an important lesson in this for all of us: Don't believe everything you read -- just what Mike McCurry tells you -- or unless David McCullough wrote it.

So we've decided the White House must be more pro-active in managing our place in history. This week at the White House, we operationalized something called the Posterity War Room.



Just today, James Carville announced he is mounting a full-scale assault on the resident scholars of the Heritage Foundation . . . I can't stop him but God knows I've tried.

Bob Squier is busy putting together spots that will go negative on James Buchanan and Warren Harding. Bring 'em down a peg.

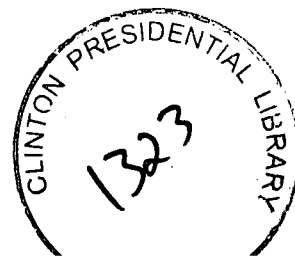
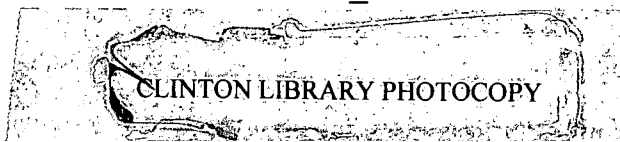
And we'll take our case to the media. Tomorrow morning, McCurry is going on *A&E Biography*, Erskine Bowles will be on the History Channel and Roy Romer is meeting with the editors of the World Book Encyclopedia.

. . . And on Monday night, Al Gore is going head-to-head in a debate with Gary Wills on *Larry King Live*.

This is going to be a real war room. I haven't seen Ira Magaziner this pumped in years!

I brought with me a fact sheet the Posterity War Room has put together. At this moment, this is being faxed and e-mailed to surrogates and supporters all across America. I'd like to share some of it with you:

- ✓ • Bill Clinton added 1.5 million acres of land to our national parks; by his own admission, George Washington was personally responsible for the deforestation of cherry trees.



- ✓ • Bill Clinton reduced crime on our streets; Thomas Jefferson's Vice President shot a guy!

- ✓ • Bill Clinton signed more nuclear disarmament agreements than James Madison, Andrew Jackson and James K. Polk combined.

- ✓ • Although later exalted, during his lifetime Abraham Lincoln was never once referred to as "Lincolnesque."

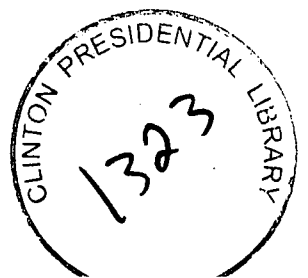
- ✓ • William Howard Taft weighed 340 pounds. 'Nuf said.

- ✓ • Bill and Hillary Clinton have made more of an effort than FDR to seek the counsel of Eleanor Roosevelt.

- ? • Bill Clinton is from a place called Hope. Lyndon Johnson hailed from ~~Stonewall~~.
[a place called...."Johnson"]

- ? • Bill Clinton raised the minimum wage; John Fitzgerald Kennedy never earned the minimum wage.

- ✓ • Socks has been a exemplary first pet; I don't want to disparage Millie but some have described her as -- well it starts with "B" and rhymes with "witch."



Whatever's history's final verdict, it cannot change the fact that 1996 was a wonderful year for me: I won re-election, my family and I enjoyed good health, and made good on last year's resolution to construct a metaphor to the 21st century.

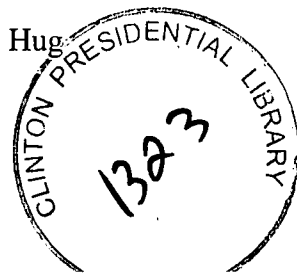
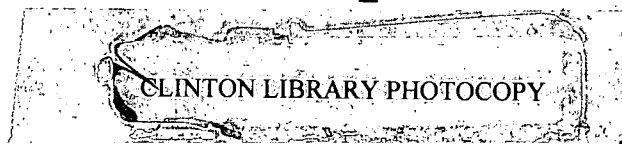
I've heard it disparaged but I am very committed to building that bridge to the 21st century -- a metaphor that has inspired millions of Americans and a good number of dentists.

But as far as the present is concerned, I've been worried over the current rancor that infects our political life. I hope we can put aside pettiness and attend to the important work the American people sent us here to do. And because the American people elected a White House of one party and a Congress of another, we must work extra hard to work together. That's why I watched Newt Gingrich's re-election as speaker with special attention. Because I'm going to spend the next four years trying to garner up the same slim majority of Republicans that he did.

I believe we can and must work together. And in my upcoming State of the Union address, I will lay out my vision for bipartisanship and a renewed era of good feelings.

My fellow Americans, I see a world where.... a president from one party and a House Speaker of another might sit down together in fellowship to split an extra large pizza with sausage and peppers.

I see a world where.... Sunday morning talk shows end with a McLaughlin Group Hug



I see a world where.... Crossfire would be hosted by Richard Holbrook and Dennis Ross.

I see a world where....Newt Gingrich picks up his cell phone and calls Jim McDermott,
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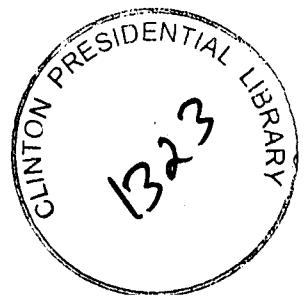
I see a world where....Patrick Kennedy and Strom Thurmond double date on Saturday
nights.

I see a world where....partisan rancor on the Hill pales in comparison to the heated
Gore/Kemp debate.

I see a world where.... the Congressional Ways and Means Committee studies ways to be
nice.

I see a world where....James Carville and Mary Matelin could send their children to a
nonpartisan daycare facility.

I see a world where....Rush Limbaugh and Al Franken co-chair the Publishers'
Clearinghouse Awards Sweepstakes.



I see a world where....The Republican elephant and the Democratic donkey are replaced
with two, big purple Barney's.

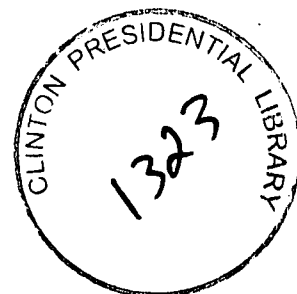
Ed Rollins

I see a world where....Ross Perot invites Republican dirty trick artists to his daughter's
wedding.

I see a world where....Jimmy Carter could hammer out a fragile peace between Dick
Gephardt and Al Gore.

Shine a winter candle
New Hampshire

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Alfalpa draft material

January 23, 1997

9am

Introduction

Good evening President Rockefeller, Senator Lott, General Powell, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen of the Alfalfa Club and a special breaker! breaker! to anyone listening to these remarks on police scanner.

It's an honor to be in the same room and share this dais with so many important political figures. Governor Bush, General Powell, Senator Lott, and Mr. Forbes. I spent Inaugural week surrounded by people wanting me to succeed and tonight I'm surrounded by people who want to succeed me.

.....Which reminds me, I can't stay too late. I'm starting to get nervous about leaving Al Gore alone at the White House.

It's always a pleasure to be with the members of the Alfalfa Club. I'll have to remind the DNC that there are plenty of corporate fat cats right here in America.

I am very glad I came here tonight but if you read p. 176 of a recent memoir of a political consultant, you'll learn this wasn't even my idea.

.....Imagine my surprise on page 211 to discover that it wasn't my mom's idea to name me "William".

I remember one conversation I had with Dick Morris about Bob Dole. I was amazed at Bob Dole's political courage and indestructibility. I remember telling Dick, "That Bob Dole is



Evel Knievil, man!"

Senator Lott, I congratulate you on your nomination as the presidential candidate of the Alfalfa Party. I was going to congratulate you on your acceptance speech until I got to page 297 of that book I mentioned.

Last week, Trent was introduced on *Meet The Press* as "the most powerful Republican in Washington." Which I was relieved to hear. After the Welfare Bill, some started calling me "the most powerful Republican in Washington" and I was worried it would catch on!

If Trent Lott is the most powerful Republican in Washington, then Colin Powell is the most powerful Republican in theory.

General Powell seemed poised to ascend to the highest ranks of national politics, until he started taking career advice from Mario Cuomo.

He said he didn't hear the call for the 1996 election but I noticed that after dessert, her went to check his voice mail in case someone was calling about the year for 2000.

Jay Rockefeller

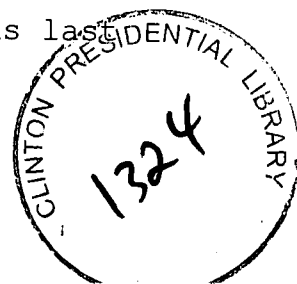
Steve Forbes

a place called "Hope, Growth & Opportunity"

Elizabeth Dole

Bob Dole/ Presidential Medal of Freedom

I know Elizabeth Dole is here tonight. She was just with us last



week at the White House where I presented Senator Dole with the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the highest honor a president can bestow upon a citizen. [applause]

It was also a special moment because it was the first time in a long time Senator Dole and I have been together in a room without Jim Lehrer.

It was just a small gesture to express my appreciation for Senator Dole's remarkable record of national service. I even offered to invite him and Mrs. Dole to spend the night in the Lincoln bedroom on the house.

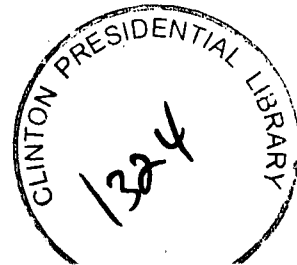
That ceremony was one of those moments when you realize the twists of fate that make the difference between victory and defeat. And as I placed the medal around Senator Dole's neck, I remember thinking: "there but for the grace of God goes Lamar Alexander."

I want to congratulate Senator Rockefeller for his inauguration as president of the Alfalfa Club. I don't like to brag Jay, but anyone can get elected as president of the Alfalfa Club once. Call me when you become a two-termmer.

Much has been made of the fact that I'm first Democrat to be elected to two terms since FDR. Keep it up.

two-termmer

The last time I was here was during my first term, which of course was been followed by this, my second. When you've been elected to this many terms-- "this" being two -- you've entered a special category in presidential history. You may be interested



to know that we've had fifteen two-term presidents, of which I am one. So you are looking at one/fifteenth of all the two-term presidents in American history. Or if you prefer, 2/30ths, the operative number being two. As in terms. Which I am serving.

Here's another interesting historical note: of all the presidents who've been elected to two terms -- which includes me -- Grover Cleveland is the only to serve them non-consecutively. One term (like the one I just completed) interrupted by the term of someone else -- then a second term (like the one I just began). In the middle was Benjamin Harrison -- a one-termer who, unlike me, was never elected to two terms.

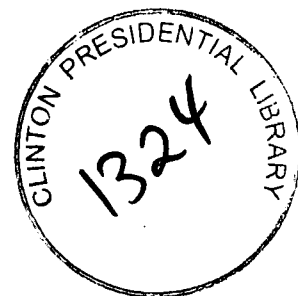
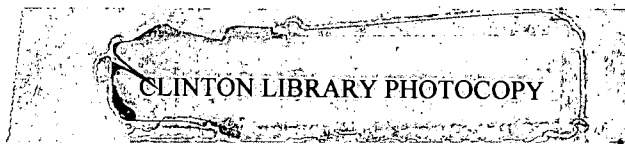
And as we stand on the precipice of my second term, I believe that we as a nation must prepare to build a bridge over the 22nd Amendment.

history

Now that I've won a second term, which I believe I've mentioned, I can turn my attention to the history department of the Electoral College.

I know the media have made a lot of the attention I've been paying to my place in the history of the books. But as usual, they are over-stating the case.

Is that David McCullough I see over there? Professor, would you mind signing this for me after dinner? [holds up copy of *Truman*]
]



historian conspiracy theory

But of course, you can't ignore the deliberations of history's verdict. Which is why I read the recent *New York Times Magazine* article by the historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. with special interest.

Professor Schlesinger took a poll among leading historians to rate my presidency so far. According to his poll, of the four votes, I received two "near-greats" and two votes for "failure". My staff has been working on a theory to explain this:

The "failure" verdict was first posted anonymously in a history chat room on the internet, where it languished unnoticed for months.

.....until Pierre Salinger brought attention to it in a hastily assembled news conference. The next day, British tabloid historians published the allegations.

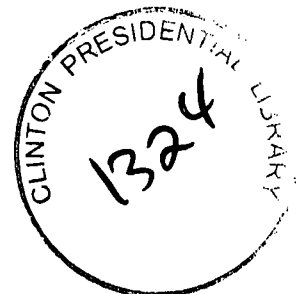
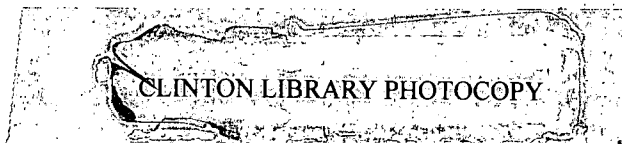
.....Shortly thereafter, it began popping up in the newsletters of militia historians and right-wing history cultists.

.....prompting reports of my "failure" status in conservative outlets like the *Wall Street Journal of History* and the *Historical Spectator*.

.....which then led to hearings held by Republican chairmen of Congressional committees on the allegations of my failure, for which they found ample evidence.

.....And finally, reports of that assessment found its way to historians like Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and printed in the *New York Times*.

There is an important lesson in this for all of us: Don't believe everything you read -- just what Mike McCurry tells you.



Posterity War Room

So we've decided the White House must be more pro-active in managing our place in history. This week at the White House, we operationalized something called the Posterity War Room.

Just today, James Carville announced he is mounting a full-scale assault on the resident scholars of the Heritage Foundation.

....I can't stop him but God knows I've tried.

Bob Squier is busy putting together spots that will go negative on James Buchanan and Warren Harding. Bring 'em down a peg.

And we'll take our case to the media. Tomorrow morning, McCurry is going on *A&E Biography*, Erskine Bowles will be on the History Channel and Roy Romer is meeting with the editors of the World Book Encyclopedia.

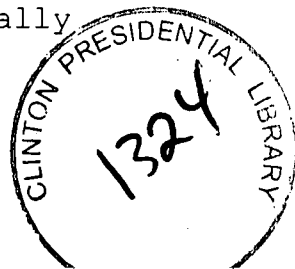
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Talking Points from the Posterity War Room

I brought with me a fact sheet the Posterity War Room has put together. At this moment, this is being faxed and e-mailed to surrogates and supporters all across America. I'd like to share some of it with you:

- Bill Clinton added 1.5 million acres of land to our national parks; by his own admission, George Washington was personally



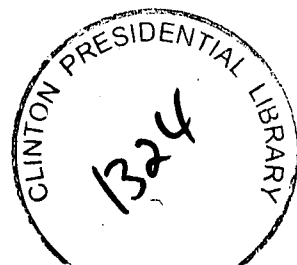
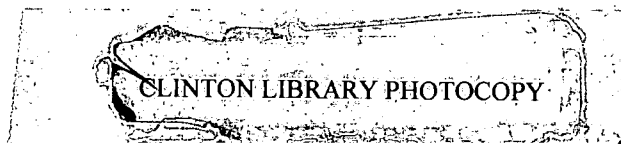
responsible for the deforestation of cherry trees.

- Bill Clinton reduced crime on our streets; Thomas Jefferson's Vice President shot a guy!
- Bill Clinton signed more nuclear disarmament agreements than James Madison, Andrew Jackson and James K. Polk combined.
- Although later exalted, during his lifetime Abraham Lincoln was never once referred to as "Lincolnesque."
- William Howard Taft weighed 340 pounds. 'Nuf said.
- Bill and Hillary Clinton have made more of an effort than FDR to seek the counsel of Eleanor Roosevelt.
- Bill Clinton is from a place called Hope. Lyndon Johnson hailed from Stonewall.
a place called...."Johnson"
- Bill Clinton raised the minimum wage; John Fitzgerald Kennedy never earned the minimum wage.
- Socks has been a exemplary first pet; I don't want to disparage Millie but some have described her as -- well it starts with "B" and rhymes with "witch."

A Bridge to the 21st Century

Whatever's history's final verdict, it cannot change the fact that 1996 was a wonderful year for me: I won re-election, my family and I enjoyed good health, and made good on last year's resolution to construct a metaphor to the 21st century.

I've heard it disparaged but I am very committed to building that bridge to the 21st century -- a metaphor that has inspired millions of Americans and a



good number of dentists.

bipartisanship

But as far as the present is concerned, I've been worried over the current rancor that infects our political life. I hope we can put aside pettiness and attend to the important work the American people sent us here to do. And in my upcoming State of the Union address, I will lay out my vision for bipartisanship and a renewed era of good feelings.

My fellow Americans, I see a world where....

a president from one party and a House Speaker of another might sit down together in fellowship to split an extra large pizza with sausage and peppers.

I see a world where....

Antonin Scalia and John Paul Stevens agree to disagree.

I see a world where....

Energy Institute and the Sierra Club file friend-of-the-court brief on behalf of each other.

I see a world where....

Ralph Reed and Reverend Jackson exchange Christmas cards.

I see a world where....

Sunday morning talk shows end with a McLaughlin Group Hug

I see a world where....

Crossfire would be hosted by Richard Holbrooke and Dennis Ross .

I see a world where....

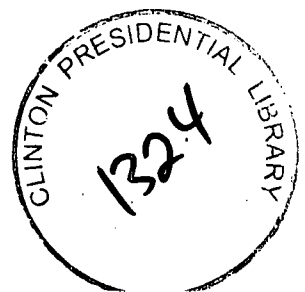
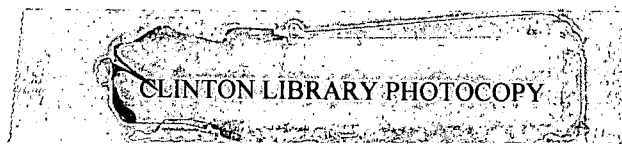
C-SPAN hearings aren't zapped by a V-chip

I see a world where....

Newt Gingrich picks up his cell phone and calls Jim McDermott, just to say "hi."

I see a world where....

David Kessler and Philip Morris can smoke the peace pipe.



I see a world where....

Patrick Kennedy and Strom Thurmond double date on Saturday nights.

I see a world where....

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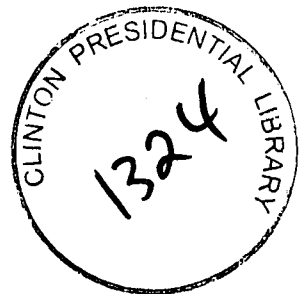
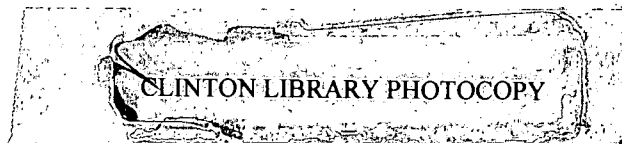
stray Newt line

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Conclusion

tbd

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Alfalfa 1997

topics & outline

Intro/ Alfalfa humor

Dick Morris

other speakers

Colin Powell -outgoing president
Jay Rockefeller - incoming president
Steve Forbes -- reads resolution
Trent Lott -- Alfalfa candidate
Bob Dole/medal of honor

History

Two-termers

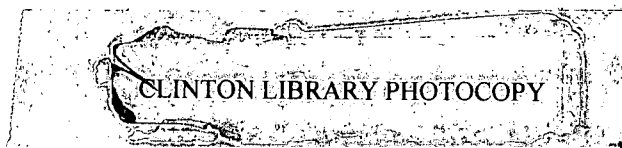
Historian Conspiracy Theory

Posterity War Room

The Bridge to the 21st century

Bipartisanship

|| strange bedfellows



Alfalfa draft material
January 21, 1997



Introduction

Thank you very much. President Rockefeller, General Powell, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen of the Alfalfa Club and a special breaker! breaker! to anyone who might be monitoring these off-the-record remarks on police scanner.

Dick Morris

I am very glad I came here tonight but if you read p. 176 of a recently-published political memoir, you'll learn this wasn't even my idea.

.....Imagine my surprise on page 211 to discover that [it wasn't my mom's idea to name me William].

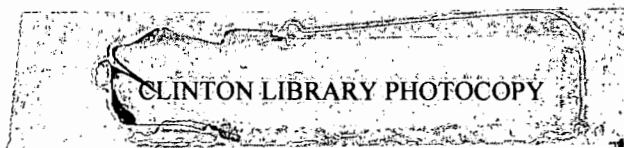
I remember one conversation I had with Dick Morris about Bob Dole. I was amazed at Bob Dole's political courage and indestructibility. I remember telling Dick, That Bob Dole is Evel Knievil, man!

Alfalfa

It's always a pleasure to be with the members of the Alfalfa Club. I'll have to remind the DNC that we have plenty of corporate fat cats right here in America.

No
For the record, I would like to point out that this town is filled with heavy hitters this weekend -- and the Lincoln bedroom is empty tonight!

It's a great honor to be on the same room and share this dais with so many important political figures. Governor Bush, General



Powell, Senator Lott, Mr. Forbes, etc. I spent this inaugural week surrounded with people who want me to succeed and tonight I'm surrounded by people who want to succeed me.

Work
.....Which reminds me, I can't stay too late. I'm becoming increasingly nervous about leaving Al Gore alone at the White House.

Trent Lott

Listening to the compelling, centrist themes of your acceptance speech, I couldn't help but wonder if Dick Morris is on the payroll of the Alfalfa National Committee

This past week, Trent was introduced on *Meet The Press* as the most powerful Republican in Washington. Which I was relieved to hear. After the Welfare Bill, some people started calling me the most powerful Republican in Washington
.....and I was worried it would catch on!

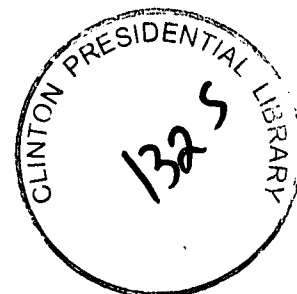
Colin Powell

Work it.
If Trent Lott is the most powerful Republican in Washington, then Colin Powell is the most powerful Republican in theory.

General Powell seemed poised to ascend to the highest ranks of national politics, until he started taking career advice from Mario Cuomo.

Jay Rockefeller

Steve Forbes



Elizabeth Dole

Bob Dole/ Presidential Medal of Freedom

It was a lovely event and I want to thank Jim Lehrer for moderating it.

I know he would have done the same for me. Gladly.

It was just a gesture to express my appreciation for Senator Dole. And he returned the act of good will with a small donation to the Democratic National Committee.

It was one of those moments when you can't help but realize the indiscriminate twists of fate that make the difference between victory and defeat. And as I placed the medal round Senator Dole's neck, I thought: there but for the grace of God goes Lamar Alexander.

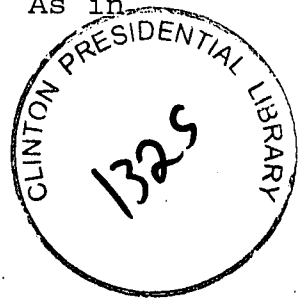
two-termers

I don't like to brag, Jay but anyone can get elected once as president of the Alfalfa Club. Call me when you become a two-termers. Then I'll be impressed.

Uncheck
Much has been made of the fact that I am first Democrat to be elected to two terms since FDR. Keep it up.

The last time I was here was during my first term, which of course was floowed by this one, my second. Presidential terms, of which I've been elected to two, commence with the inaugural oath, which I've now taken twice. We've had 15 two-term presidents, of which I am one. So you are looking at one/fifteenth of all the two-term presidents in American history. Or if you prefer, 2/30ths, the operative number being two. As in terms. Which I am serving.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY



And although I have been dubbed the Comeback Kid, I didn't win my second term Grover Cleveland-style. Of all the presidents who've been elected to two terms, of which I am one, Grover Cleveland is the only to serve them non-consecutively. One term--like the one I just completed -- interrupted by the term of someone else -- then a second term --like the one I was just elected to. In the middle was Benjamin Harrison -- a one-termer who, unlike me, was never elected to two terms. I am a two-term, like George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Theodore Roosevelt, Dwight David Eisenhower, Ronald Reagan and William Jefferson Clinton.

And as we stand on the precipice of my second term, I believe that we as a nation must prepare to build a bridge over the 22nd Amendment.

history

Now that I've won a second term, I can turn my attention to the history department of the Electoral College.

....I've just signed executive order # 23279450, authorizing David McCullough to sit on the dais for the remainder of my speech.

[David McCullough comes on dais]

Please sir, have in my seat.

[POTUS seats DMC and returns to lectern]

historian conspiracy theory

In a recent article, the historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. took a poll among leading historians rating to assess a mid-term report of my presidency.

Of the four votes, I received two near-greats and two votes for failure. My staff has been working on a theory to explain those verdicts. Here's what we've discovered:

The failure verdict was first posted anonymously in a history chat room on the internet, where it languished unnoticed for months.

.....until the day Pierre Salinger brought attention to it in a hastily assembled news conference. The next day, British tabloid historians published the allegations.

.....Shortly thereafter, it began popping up in the newsletters of militia historians and right-wing history cultists.

.....prompting reports of my failure status in conservative outlets like the Wall Street Journal of History and the Historical Spectator

.....which then led to hearings held by conservative congressman on the allegations of my failure, for which they found ample evidence.

.....And finally, reports of that assessment finds its way into the mainstream historians like Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and printed in the New York Times.

There is an important lesson in this for all of us: Don't believe everything you read -- just what Mike McCurry tells you.

Posterity War Room

James Carville is mounting a full-scale assault on the resident scholars of the Heritage Foundation.

....I can't stop him but God knows I've tried.

Bob Squier is putting together spots that will go negative on James Buchanan and John Quincy Adams.

And we'll take our case to the media. Tomorrow morning, Mike McCurry is going on *A&E Biography*, Erskine Bowles will be on the History Channel and Roy Romer is meeting with the editors of the World Book Encyclopedia.

...And on Monday night, Al Gore is going head-to-head in a debate with Doris Kearns Goodwin on *Larry King Live*.

This is going to be a real war room. I haven't seen Ira Magaziner this excited in years!

But I have agreed not to engage in the orchestration of my historical legacy. I will not participate in any of the daily strategy conference calls that intend to influence biographers and chroniclers. And if I did, I would make certain to do so on secure telephone lines.

Facts from the Posterity War Room

Bill Clinton set aside 9.9 million acres of national parks.

George Washington, by his own admission, was personally involved in the deforestation of cherry trees.

Bill Clinton reduced crime on our streets; Thomas Jefferson's Vice President shot a guy!

Bill Clinton signed more nuclear disarmament agreements than Rutherford B Hayes, James K Polk and Chester Arthur combined.

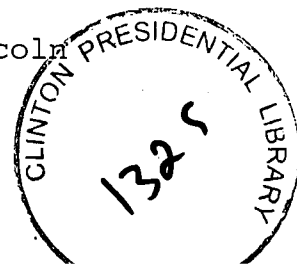
Bill and Hillary Clinton have made more of an effort than FDR to seek the sage counsel of Eleanor Roosevelt.

Bill Clinton is from a place called Hope. Lyndon Johnson hailed from Stonewall.

William Howard Taft weighed 325 pounds. 'Nuf said.

Woodrow Wilson, an otherwise renown scholar, inexplicably and repeatedly referred to World War I as The Great War.

Although later exalted, during his own lifetime Abraham Lincoln



was never once referred to as Lincolnesque.

Socks has been a exemplary first pet; I don't want to disparage Millie but some have described her as -- well it starts with B and rhymes with witch.

a bridge to the 21st century

It's been a wonderful year for me: I won re-election, my family and I enjoyed good health, and made good on my 1996 resolution to construct a metaphor to the 21st century.

You may have heard me mention something about a bridge to the 21st century -- a metaphor that has inspired millions of Americans and a good number of dentists.

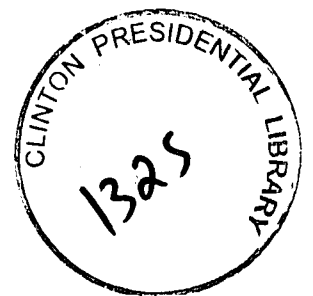
Some have suggested that I placed too much emphasis on this bridge, an assertion that was backed up polling data near the end of the campaign. One poll showed that 29% of swing voters were in favor of a risky tax scheme that would blow a hole in the bridge to the 21st century.

Newt Gingrich/bipartisanship

I watched his re-election as speaker with special attention. Because I'm going to spend the next four years trying to garner up the same slim majority of Republicans that he did.

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY



Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. speech	re: State of the Union Speech Prep (22 pages)	01/31/1997	P5 1326

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 3388

FOLDER TITLE:

State of the Union-Edits 2/4/97

Rob Seibert
2006-0459-F
rs560

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

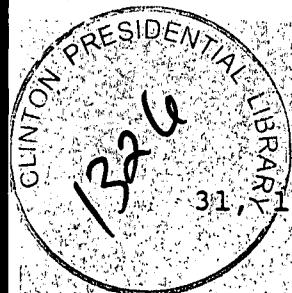
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- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
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31, 1997

STATE OF THE UNION SPEECH PREP BY THE PRESIDENT, January

THE PRESIDENT: -- (in progress) -- in here that we say we do, and that we ain't left nothing out we ought to put in.

Q -- microphone --

THE PRESIDENT: At least it doesn't have hair on it, like those -- (laughter) -- I woke up this morning real early, because I had to get my wife and daughter up. I went in and looked at that and I wish -- when we plan my down days, we don't coordinate with whatever else is going on with my family.

I think the first page is -- I think it's the right message. I'd like to change the rhetoric a little later, but it's the right message. I like the idea of -- I think I like the structure here of saying, let's get rid of the unfinished business first, because it also is two of our good issues here.

Q -- (inaudible) --

THE PRESIDENT: Is the Vice President going to do the economic deal today? Yes. One of the things I think ought to be pointed out is how much our exports have grown and that was what was the central element in our rapid growth this quarter, because I want to set the predicate for going through the trade issue.

I don't think we should say that we can meet all our obligations, because my own view is that we don't meet all our obligations in this plan. We don't do diddly squat about health care, and I just don't think we should say that. I just think it's enough to say that the plan proves we can lift the burden of debt from our children and invest in education.

Also, I like the reference to building on the Vice President's plan to modernize and reinvent government so it works better even if it costs less. But if you're going to say that, then there ought to be some reference down in the body of the speech to something we propose to do that will -- like, what are we going to do in the next round of REGO. It may be in there, I just don't remember.

Q It's not here. And this would be the place to do it.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, but you don't want to do it right here, because you want to get into the -- this is a summary sentence, and I like having a summary sentence.

Q We'll find a place for it.

Q -- (inaudible) --

THE PRESIDENT: Also, my instinct would be to lead with this, to lead with what it proves, invest in our children because -- and invest in education, training and then it says -- and then make the second sentence, the plan provides targeted tax relief -- for education. You know, that's the way I do -- you see what I'm saying?

Q -- referring to you don't need to go through this whole long process, we can do it now.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, then, we don't have to take years to pass a constitutional amendment. But waiting years implies that if we pass the amendment we'll then be able to wait to do this, and that's not accurate. There's no point in being unfair to the proponents of the amendment, there's too much to attack in what is clear.

Q Mr. President, in -- on a constitutional amendment, the one thing I think you need to think of is that I think that when you do say something to the people in that auditorium about balancing the budget, you need a bit of a dramatic moment and where you can get applause. And if you put it right -- constitutional amendment, you've now split the crowd one-third against you. So this will not be an applause line, it would be a murmur line. So I think one thing we just might want to think about is whether you want to have something where you look and say every single person here tonight has a chance to make history with you in the next --

THE PRESIDENT: Well, again, just for openers, if you flip the sentence -- and we can talk about the language later -- just reverse the order of the sentence, take the positive first -- let's balance the budget and do it now and do it in a bipartisan fashion. We can do it together -- something like that. And then say -- you don't have to slam them upside the head. They all know how I feel and when I'm lobbying the hell out of the Senate, so say, we don't have to wait years for a constitutional amendment. We don't have to spend years passing a constitutional amendment that could cripple our country in a time of crisis.

And I wouldn't even say wait another year for an agreement. I would just say -- that's a superfluous -- I'd say, we don't have to wait years for a constitutional amendment that could cripple our country in a time of crisis. Let's just do it, do it now and do it together.

Because that's -- wait another year -- that's sort of a reference to how we did it before, and we just don't have to go around that. And it's going to take until -- you know, if they all just kill themselves, it will be July or August before we do it. It's going to take most of this year to do it. They can't do it any quicker.

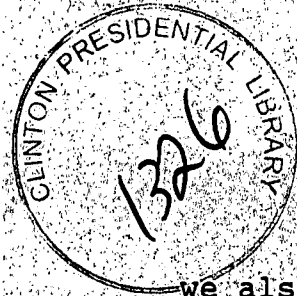
Q -- best opportunity to make clear -- (inaudible) --

THE PRESIDENT: Fine. I don't care if you say more about the balanced budget, I just want to lead with a positive. Gene's right, you want to get them up because the Republicans will hiss me on -- they'll hiss and boo and stuff, and the voters will hiss and boo. Citizens will hiss and boo.

Q -- (inaudible) --

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Anytime you can lead with the positive, but acknowledge the negative, I think that's what to do. Okay.

Do you want to say in the near future? I think it would



THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q Just say -- (inaudible) --

THE PRESIDENT: We also must -- yes, just get rid of -- we also must come together -- that's right, it's better not to even reference it. I agree with that. We also must come together in a bipartisan process to preserve Social Security and to reform Medicare to preserve its quality and choice.

You want to say to preserve its quality and choice and pointedly leave out the costs problems? Wouldn't it be better just to leave out quality and choice, since we know people like Medicare and they approve of it and they don't think I'm going to destroy it?

Q This is a little bit difficult in the sense that, normally, what we want to say is in your current budget you're reforming Medicare to protect quality and choice -- you'd want to say that in the short term. Usually, in the long term you're saying you want to make sure that these core programs are here for our children tomorrow like they're here for our parents today.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, so why wouldn't you say, to preserve Social Security and reform Medicare so that these core programs are as strong for our children as they are for our parents.

Q (inaudible) --

THE PRESIDENT: Say that. Making sure all people who should work -- how about all people who will be required to work? That's the -- the operative thing is that this law now requires them to move off the rolls.

Q It's actually -- it's a little repetitive to maybe say -- make sure people who now must work can work.

Q -- the last paragraph, use that line that you used so effectively -- maybe that should come right there. We can make a moral obligation right at the outset --

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q I also think there's a -- religious organizations. I think you should keep that -- (inaudible) --

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. I know we don't need anymore new language in here, but isn't it worth pointing out -- keep in mind, this is time when more people listen to specifics and remember them than ever before. Isn't it worth pointing out, saying something like, the reforms of our first four years and the growing economy moved over 2 million people off of welfare rolls -- from the welfare rolls to the work rolls -- a record. Many of those who are left behind will be harder to place -- it will be more difficult. You know, something like that. Our goal must be to lift at least one million more people -- at least one million more people from welfare to work by the year 2000. Here is my plan.

I have a question -- a policy question. In the welfare reform -- the welfare reform bill -- okay.

Q After whatever detail that you -- I think that

THE PRESIDENT: My gut is that the passage of the welfare reform legislation has made people much more sympathetic to the plight of the poor again. And whether they are or not, I need to tell them that. And then we've got to say -- and this is something we are doing for poor people, not to them. Although, to be sure, ending the permanent under class will make the rest of us stronger, too.

And -- but we cannot do it alone. The states now have a heavy responsibility and I challenge them to turn -- but private citizens have a heavy responsibility, too. I challenge every -- religious congregation -- you got to challenge business, too. You can't just say, I challenge the religious congregations and I'm pleased about business. I think you ought to say, religious organizations, community non-profit organization and especially the business community, I challenge you all. You can now get incentives. It is much less expensive now to hire people from welfare to work. Examine the mission of your enterprise -- if you can do it at all, you ought to do this. If every business in America of any size at all would hire one person off welfare, this problem would be over tomorrow. We could solve this problem --

Q We could solve this problem once and for all.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. We could solve this problem in a matter of months if every business with the capacity to do it would do it. Something like that, you know. See what I mean? It's got to be -- this language should be much tougher. It needs to be tough, blunt. You wanted this all over America. Nearly 90 percent of the people wanted this. You got it. Now do something with it. You asked for this; here it is. This was not a program to save money by putting the poor and their children in jeopardy. This is a program to lift poor children and their parents out of poverty. And it cannot be done, as I made clear all along, unless we all do our part.

Q When you signed the welfare bill you had a great line that I thought rang very true which is every person who's ever complained about -- (inaudible) --

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, I like that.

Q -- about welfare and people on welfare -- (inaudible) --

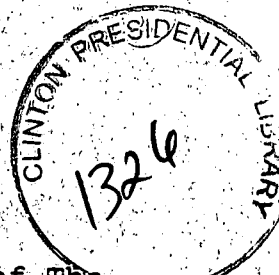
THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q And I thought that really brought it to people.

THE PRESIDENT: There ought to be some -- maybe a little language here about dignity and that kind of stuff.

Q -- (inaudible) --

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Something like, we're going to do our part. If this doesn't work, as a country, we have no one to blame but ourselves. It needs to be very, very tough. It needs to be something that makes people sit up and take notice. You've got to cut through the fog and the crap here. You can't take -- I mean, the tone of this has got to be, if you don't remember one damn thing from this speech, but this, you remember this. You wanted this damn law, you think it's a big damn deal. But we haven't done anything yet.



Q That's good.

Q (Inaudible.)

THE PRESIDENT: By the way, for the benefit of The Washington Post and The New York Times, you ought to -- (laughter) --

Q (Inaudible) -- it makes welfare a natural segue into education.

Q Yes.

Q That's a good idea.

Q And the other thing you should just know about the CEO's -- Eli's recommendation is, he can't have this together by Tuesday and he would like you to just name the five companies that are going to take the lead.

THE PRESIDENT: Fine.

Q We don't have to have them up here.

THE PRESIDENT: Fine. But I think the --

Q (Inaudible) -- make this speech a little longer --
(inaudible) --

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I mean, no, we --

Q It will be -- (inaudible) --

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, I mean -- you can say what I said in two sentences into 12 or however many we've been putting out. But you get the idea.

Q Yes, I think we can do that.

THE PRESIDENT: Do you think we ought to say mistakes were made by both sides? It's not worth doing.

The system is badly broken. The truth is, has this been overtaken -- been overtaken by events, by changes in the way we communicate. Anyway --

Q (Inaudible.)

THE PRESIDENT: From people who are not citizens.

Q (Inaudible.)

THE PRESIDENT: That's right.

Q (Inaudible.)

THE PRESIDENT: I would say, I'm glad to see the members of the majority clapping so loudly. If you feel that way, why don't you tell your party to follow your lead?

Q That's great.

the majority party. And if you feel that way, I hope you'll tell your national committee to follow your lead.

Q We'll see what we can get out of this. (Laughter.)

Q We'll get our wish list --

THE PRESIDENT: No. Well, we can't control how they react, but we can think about it.

Okay. I would say, every state should require -- see, this is -- the way we're writing it here is not right. We have to say what we're doing is, we over the next two years, we must embrace in every state national standards for reading at the 4th grade level and for mathematics performance at the 8th grade. National standards.

Then we must develop a test for 4th grade reading and 8th grade math based on these widely accepted world-class standards. Tonight I issue a challenge: by 1999 every state should test every student to see if these standards are being met.

Keep in mind, the people only support the test as a means of determining whether the standards have been met. Standards are the important thing. The tests are a tool, the standards are the goal. And it's very important that we say it that way, because every parents who's ever been in schools knows that their kids get tests out the wazoo. And in half these states they're told that their kids are above the state average or above the national average on this test, and it's all just crap, you know.

I mean, in Arkansas every year we were in the top 10 states in SAT scores, and the reason was that if you wanted go to a state school you took the ACT. So only 12 percent of our kids took the SATs; they were the kids going to out-of-state schools, so, of course, they looked like a bunch of damn geniuses. Did it mean that we had great high school education? No, everybody would trot that out like it meant something.

Q How did we keep that out of debate prep in 1992?

THE PRESIDENT: What do you mean?

Q Those scores. There impressive scores.

THE PRESIDENT: Because I knew the truth and -- (laughter) -- and because I was afraid they'd figure it out. They probably wouldn't have, but nonetheless --

Q (Inaudible.)

THE PRESIDENT: "We will develop" is not so good either. Bruce, you all can figure out what language we want to use in that -- you go on and explain that.

We should provide the Third International Math and Science Survey to every school district that wants it. I wouldn't say "that will accept it." I'd say "that will accept it." I wouldn't say "wants." I think the "will accept" is better. That's

And then I like this thing -- we must give more of our chance -- give them the chance to test themselves against students of the world, maybe against the standards.

I would say, the point is not to put them down, but to determine how to lift them up. It will help us to show who needs extra help, what changes in teaching need to occur, and which schools need most improvement. Who, what, which -- see? I think because you've got to lead -- and they will help us to end social promotion so that children move from grade to grade only when they're ready.

On this, I think we should mention AmeriCorps. Is national service mentioned anywhere in here?

Q AmeriCorps (inaudible).

THE PRESIDENT: Do we say they're going to work on this?

Q (Inaudible.)

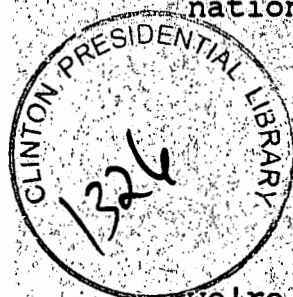
THE PRESIDENT: Here I think we should just say that we're going to use -- I don't know how many we said, 35,000, whatever the number is, tens of thousands, several thousand AmeriCorps volunteers to mobilize an army of tutors, and tonight I'm prepared to announce that 60 college presidents have pledged tens of thousands of work-study students to work one year as reading tutors. That is a very good beginning, but we will need more of you to help.

And I tell you what we need to do, somehow -- Carol, somebody needs to call Carol about this. We need to have an 800 number or something where people who want to do this can call in and then get referred back to their local reading program. We've got to hook them into all the schools somehow. We've got to have a mechanism for referrals here, or we have to be able to say, call your school and volunteer.

But you don't know whether -- see, this is a kind of a cumbersome process, in a way, because it depends upon basically the principals of these elementary schools and the superintendent in the district being willing to identify kids who need help and then organize a way to accept the tutors. Where's the tutoring going to be done? Is it going to be done before or after school? Is it going to be done at the home? Is it going to be done at the local YMCA? I mean, you know, if there's an adult education center, are they going to bring the kids in there and do it?

We just have to -- there's a lot of -- I'm sure she's thought about all this, but we need to figure out -- at some point we need a referral system. I wish to God we had an 800 number to call that I could put in this speech. But I think if you could call over there today and talk about this, they may not be that far along yet, but I'm just telling you, when we say this the White House is liable to get 400 or 500 calls on this. And if we don't have anything to say back to them -- even if we have to say we will get back to you with a -- we've got to do it.

And there probably ought to be in here -- let me just say this, these tests are more than just tests of our children -- that probably ought to be -- you probably ought to reverse these



the help to help the volunteers organize when they can teach the kids and when they -- I'm just telling you, people out there listening to this, this is the kind of stuff they'll be thinking about: "well, you know, my kid's having trouble reading."

And we're not just going to teach 8-year-olds. You know, this whole thing is designed to start helping kids earlier so that by the time they get to be 8 -- so if your child is 8 or younger and is not reading at an appropriate level, we want to be able to provide somebody that can help. There may already be somebody in your community that can help; there will be more. But you have to do this. We need to explain this. This is not enough of a picture to paint. This is a huge deal. Forty percent of the 8-year-olds in this country don't read at grade level. This is a huge undertaking and it's massively important. And, believe me, if you could get a million people to do it, within three to four years you would see a marked difference in the performance of the kids.

Q -- some sort of response mechanism in the -- and some of this we can explain --

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, I understand that. But, I mean, you've got to mention the name of an initiative. And you've got to say that I've made it a special project, with strong leadership, and that we are here to help, but this has got to be done by all -- you know, this is like welfare, this has got to be done by all of you, bum-bum-bum-bum-bum. And we really need to sort of paint a little picture here of the practical steps. And it's really worth -- all this education stuff, it's like this standard stuff is good, especially the extra explanation we did, but you've really got to get it across to people what it is we're doing, why it's big, what we're going to do, what the schools have to do, what the parent have to do, what the volunteers have to do. We have to paint this picture.

We know our children can learn, they can do. But we have to make it possible -- a lot of our children -- you might even want to say a lot of our children's first language is not English, but they have to learn to master the language. And we have to help. That way you get out of this English only thing and you talk about -- instead of getting in that bullshit debate you talk about how people really need this.

See, because when you say, this is a challenge to every governor, every teacher -- like this stuff down here at the end, that's amorphous, it's diffuse; whereas if you nail it in the testings, the standards section, and you nail it in the reading section, you've said it more clearly.

Now, we're going to bring these kids from suburban --

Q That's where they'd --

THE PRESIDENT: That's fine. Just make sure they're not both white.

Q We're working on it.

THE PRESIDENT: There were lots of -- there were some African American kids, some Hispanic kids, and a number of kids that looked like they were Indian or Pakistani in that crowd.

THE PRESIDENT: Okay, on this master teacher thing, again, I think it's worth saying just one more sentence that for years educators have worked hard to establish nationally accepted professional credentials for the best teachers. The first master teachers were certified in -- whenever it was, either last year or the year before last, '95 I think. There are now X number of them -- there won't be many. We want to get 100,000 more and my budget will help them do that. It's really -- you know, that's another thing.

See, because if you play it out like that, for years the educators -- will do it, you know, national standards of professional excellence. And the first teachers were certified nationally in 1995. I think it was '95, Jim Hunt came up here and we did some -- it might have been '96. There are now "blank" of them. But it's just beginning.

So our budget will help more than 100,000 more. You know, you can make this a big thing. This will appeal to people. But the way it is now, it doesn't mean anything because nobody in America except the one percent of us follow this stuff will know what a master's certification or a master teacher is or anything like that. So it's really worth a couple more sentences here to say that.

But there is a national board now and it's not going to have anything to do with the government; it's the National Board of Professional Educators that certify these teachers at master teachers. They work on years of developing the standards of performance and teaching, and they measure not just what you know, but how you teach. And I think that's worth saying because, you know, I'm just telling you, there will be some old boy out there drinking a beer, saying, well, hell, I know a lot of smart people who can't teach anything. Not measure just what you know, but how you teach. This is a major development in America, but it is only beginning. There are only such-and-such certified now; we must have more. My budget gives the -- for 100,000 more.

Again, on this education -- people will love it, but you have to paint a picture. They have to be able to imagine what it is you're talking about.

Now, the governors are here, right?

Q Yes. One question we have -- talking about the -- after this. I think it's a -- (inaudible) -- roundtable on Monday --

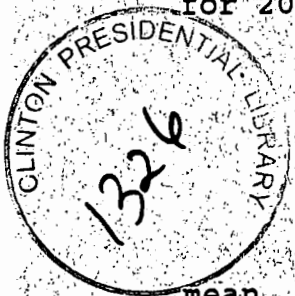
THE PRESIDENT: The other thing you could do, if you only reference this you could talk about how many governors there are in the audience, Republican and Democrat, and say -- and recognize Hunt up in the box because he is the father of this project. See, Jim Hunt was a governor in 1977. I mean, he's worked on this stuff for 20 years.

Q -- 35 governors here --

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, I know.

Q Then you're talking not just to Congress --

THE PRESIDENT: My gut is they'll want to do it. I mean, they can -- okay.



10
\$10,000 a year for tuition costs of all education after high school. You don't want to say "all education," say books and living expenses. And a tax free IRA so families can save for college. And the largest increase in Pell Grant scholarships for needier students in 20 years. With this package, no working family need ever pay a nickel of taxes on money they saved for college.

Now, one problem with this is that that is not quite -- it depends on how expensive the college is. This is for tuition costs. And the money they save for college tuition (end of tape.)

END

DRAFT -- NOT PROOFED

STATE OF THE UNION SPEECH PREPARATION
OVAL OFFICE
January 31, 1997

Q We don't have to wait for everybody -- 10,000. What you really have a \$1,500 -- option, \$10,000 deductible, and an education IRA that allows you to save and --

THE PRESIDENT: I agree.

Q -- explain how it works.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, we ought to say that. You can save in an IRA and then you can withdraw from it tax-free if the money is used to pay for college education. But, see, as I understand it, now that can be used for any college costs, not just tuition. Isn't that right, the IRA?

Q Good question.

THE PRESIDENT: You have to prove that you use it for tuition?

Q -- (inaudible) --

THE PRESIDENT: What's the proof up there? Anyway, we don't have to get into that. But I do agree that you have to explain the IRA.

Q This is particularly important if Republicans are trying to, you know, make it seem like they're the ones that have this program that allow people to save and --

THE PRESIDENT: Yeah.

Q -- and we have one that's -- more generous.

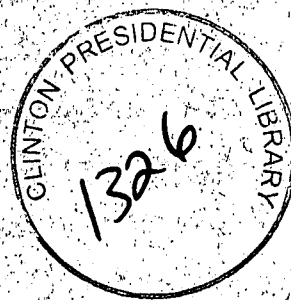
THE PRESIDENT: Yeah, I agree. Okay.

Q -- (inaudible) --

THE PRESIDENT: I'm still bewildered by why the Republicans didn't hop on that likes flies on a June bug when they were passing all that other stuff last year. I mean, this is their kind of deal. I just don't get it.

Q Because it got -- it wasn't even our bill -- got to the end. It was just getting to be a block grant. That's why. You've got to really stress the skill grant part, because that's what gets them. -- you're putting money into people's hands, then it's harder for them just to go, oh, we're just an old ordinary block grant, because they're just transferring from a federal --

THE PRESIDENT: Exactly. So what I thought you ought to say is -- I know you know the governor has wanted some of this



THE PRESIDENT: Workers who are unemployed or underemployed or, you know. Don't imply that every worker in America can get a check in the mail. Workers now eligible for these other programs. Or, you know, you figure out how to say it. But, again, it is worth being explicit, accurate, precise and painting pictures in the education thing because it will be by far the most powerful thing we do.

Now, you didn't have anything in that welfare reform about what we're trying to fix on the immigrants.

Q There's some in there.

THE PRESIDENT: Is it latter?

Q It says, we should do what Democratic and Republican governors have asked us to do, restore --

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, I just missed it.

Q Bottom of page four.

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, okay.

Q Just one possible --

THE PRESIDENT: That's fine. But the balanced budget is, it's unfinished business. I've been out there with a balanced budget for, you know, two years or whatever. You know, don't worry about that. I don't think that's a problem.

Q I just want to mention one -- just possible -- stuff, which is, you close now with the conference on early learning -- one could conceivably put that in the America Reads section and say but we're going to make all our children read, we know we have to work --

THE PRESIDENT: Let me ask you this. These things aren't going to be done simultaneously, are they?

Q -- (inaudible) --

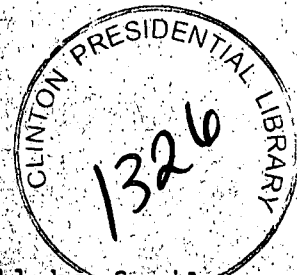
THE PRESIDENT: Well, what's the topic of the family conference this year?

Q -- (inaudible) --

THE PRESIDENT: Well, then, what I think we ought to do is -- who's going to convene this conference on early learning?

Q -- you and the First Lady.

THE PRESIDENT: Yeah. Then I think we ought to mention that Hillary's done a lot of writing and work on this. And I think we ought to mention Al and Tipper and the family conference on the family and learning. And I think one idea is that both of them



it's an annual deal on the family. This year's topic will be family and learning, because in the end, you know, the families, parents are their children's first teachers. And every home must be a place of learning. Something like that.

And then you -- it's a way to mention Tipper that I think is important. It's a way to talk about this, they've been doing this for years and it's a way to highlight -- if you put it that way, it's a way to highlight the challenge to the families. You see?

Okay. And this is -- then I'll say, And we're out of time, so the following is a laundry list of other things I intend to do since -- (laughter) -- toxic waste dumps, family leave, oh, and whatever I've forgotten -- (laughter).

Q You can challenge America to do the -- (laughter).

Q Now, given as much as we have added -- and given what Sandy wrote and talked about and I agree, that --

THE PRESIDENT: Yeah, well let's read it here.

Q -- (inaudible) --

THE PRESIDENT: I think this Net Day, that there's a real problem with the way you've got it here, anyway. Because a lot of states have had Net Days already and it will piss a lot of people off if we mention California in this context because a lot of other states have had Net Days. I mean, you can't -- and I don't think we have time to note -- I don't think between now and speech time we can figure out --

Q How many people.

THE PRESIDENT: -- who's done and how many -- you can say, we began this effort last year and thousands of classrooms have been hooked up all across America in Net Days. But we have a long way to go. And every computer company, every communications company, every computer lover in America should join -- that we've got a great group of volunteers led by communications company executives, and we need your help, we've got to finish this job with every school. Something like that. And punt on that California thing.

Q The only thing -- whenever we do these we always get criticism if we mention wires and hardware and not teachers -- the teachers a little.

THE PRESIDENT: Yeah. Again, I consider this -- yeah, that's good. You want to put the Smithsonian deal in there?

Q It's actually a pretty neat idea, but --

THE PRESIDENT: Yeah, I wish we could do something more on medical research. It's not -- is it spina bifida or spinal cord injuries?



THE PRESIDENT: Now, I don't know -- let me just say this, on this family session. I realize that that's probably an astronomical issue in polling data, but I don't think you should lead with it. I mean, there's something -- we've got our strength in families, and the first thing we're going to do is bust the crap out of families that are already broken to make sure they pay. Look, I'm for this, you know, I'm a fanatic on child support enforcement. I just don't think that that's the way to lead the section.

You know, I mean, I'm virtually for capital punishment for people who -- the child support and don't. But I just think it's -- My own view is that you should start out with family leave and flex time and access to affordable health care and never abandon ways to find, cover 40 million -- doesn't our budget -- do we get the other stuff we were doing last year? What were we trying to do last year in our Medicare budget, Alzheimers, hospice and --

Q -- (inaudible) --

THE PRESIDENT: So I'd put that in there. Because that would -- drive-through mastectomies makes a hell of lot more sense if it's part of a laundry list that says respite care for families who have a member with Alzheimers, regular mammography for women and ending the practice of drive-through, you know, whatever. And you may have to explain a little more. And then what I would do is end with child support.

Now, also on the 40 million Americans who still lack health insurance, I know we don't have -- we need more words, like -- but I called Kerrey yesterday, because he's the Senate finance -- he's the head of the Democratic Senate Finance Committee. So we were talking about that, and so I just said, look, Bob, we tried the health care before and I said, we're not doing shit to increase coverage. I said, I'm doing the best I can in this budget on children, but what do you think I ought to say. And if this is adding 5 million kids to the -- we should say, trying to cover the rest of the 40 million Americans. Because 5 million is not an insignificant number.

I said, what do you think I ought to say about this? He said, the fundamental problem is that -- he's really good on this; of course, he cares a lot about this -- he said the fundamental problem is, guys like Dick Armey believe the market will take care of this problem and it won't. The market won't take care of a hell of a lot of problems. It never has, it never will, and it damn sure won't in this kind of economy. And he says, I don't know if we want to get into this, but he said, I just -- what I would do if I were you. He says, you got screwed when you came up with a plan. But he said, I would challenge them, challenge the Congress. And he said, I think you ought to remind them, he said, you know -- I think Al Hunt wrote about this yesterday, but I didn't read the article very carefully.

But he was talking to me about how he spoke someplace with Colin Powell and he was so pissed off because some family had just contacted him about trying to get some artificial limbs for his kids. And he said, you know, I've got a claim on your income because



That's a long-winded way of saying it, but it's a rather clever way of saying it. It's not a hateful way of saying it because you're not saying -- see, it was hateful when I said it before to them because I was basically saying, you're a greedy bloodsucker if you don't adopt my plan because you know the taxpayers are paying for your health care. So then it was like slapping them in the face. But if I'm not offering a plan and I'm admitting it's a tough problem -- but I'm saying, look, damn it, this is a -- we're all up here tonight, everybody in this room, the taxpayers give us good health care. But nearly 40 million of them are out there working, or in working families, and they don't have it. And I don't think it's right, and I don't think you do either. And we know it's a hard problem, but I challenge you to work with me to help me solve it.

It may not be worth doing.

Q -- challenge -- may come back

THE PRESIDENT: Let's not lose sight of the ultimate goal. This is 5 million, but let's not -- there's a lot of -- but this is 5 million kids, and that's a big thing. But let's not lose sight of the ultimate goal, the rest of the 40 million people out there who don't have health insurance, who are in working families. So they work and they pay taxes to give us health care, and we can't find a way, in the most powerful economy in the world, for them to have health care. And I don't think that's right. I don't think you do either. So let's keep our eyes on the prize, or something like that. That's good.

I think it's really -- I just think there are a lot of people out there, there is a lot of evidence that people are very satisfied with their health care, but they want to know that -- when you get those numbers, 75 percent or whatever the hell, that like their health care, it's still a fact that 40 million people -- it's not all that many. It's what, 17 percent of the population or something. That's lots of folks.

And that way you don't get yourself stuck into -- I agree, tying it to the step-by-step is good.

Is there new money in the budget on the Everglades?

Q (Inaudible.)

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know if this Heritage River --

Q This isn't what the Heritage River has done anyway.

THE PRESIDENT: It doesn't explain it.

Q The proposal -- it's more like enterprise zones or urban -- than conservation.

Q I think it's a great proposal. I think it's too much to explain.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes



the previous 12. But we have to do more now. And hit the toxic waste dumps and passing Superfund legislation and not abandoning the principle of polluter pays. And do it in one paragraph, like that. And then do the Brownfields.

And then my view is, I would -- I think it's a little artificial to pass the -- to tie the enterprise zones and everything we've done to revive America's cities as sort of a subset of the Brownfields initiative. I know it's -- my view is that I would start with -- what you could do is to start -- you could do it the reverse way, with a commitment to bring economic opportunity to areas -- even though this economy produced over 11 million jobs in four years, the first time that's happened in an administration in history, there are still places in America where they're aren't enough jobs and there is not enough opportunity. And because of the success of the enterprise zone in places like Detroit -- we might want to mention Detroit where they cut the -- we propose to double the round of enterprise zones and to provide other incentives like that too. And then talk about the community development financial institutions to spread new small businesses. And then talk about the Brownfields initiative and explain what it is as an environmental issue, and then go from there into the environment and public health. And then go from there -- and that's better than trying to tack on revitalization of America's cities through the environmental section. I think.

(Phone call)

Trigger locks, I like that. That's good. That's all right. Okay, go to 16.

I think it is a mistake -- I mean, I know we need tighter wording, but I think it is a mistake not to say that in the past four years we've laid the foundation for a new architecture of peace and prosperity, based on a worldwide system of open and fair trade, reducing the nuclear threat, supporting the unification of democracies in Europe and a partnership with Asia, fighting against the threats -- the new security threats of this time, terrorism, drug running, racial, ethnic, and religious fights, advancing the cause of peace from Bosnia to the Middle East and Northern Ireland.

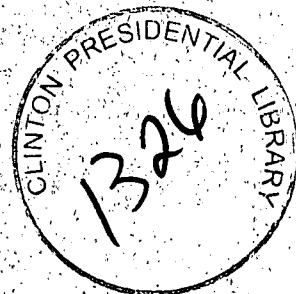
I think you really --

Q Up front.

THE PRESIDENT: Up front. Just like that. And get it out of the way. Just say -- and it will save you the language later. And I think that's -- my own view is that you don't really need that first paragraph. You can say, after World War II we created the institutions that provide the resources that brought the United States and its allies security and prosperity and victory in the Cold War.

I think that's quite enough to say there. You save all the rest of that language.

And then say, in the past four years we have laid the foundation for a new architecture of peace and prosperity in the 21st



Q (Inaudible.)

THE PRESIDENT: And then -- this is fine; the rest of it's fine. But we ought to claim what we've done here. And then you don't have to spend so much time in each section talking about what we have done, although in --if you just rattle it off, you can talk about what we've done on terrorism and stuff.

Q This is the first time --

THE PRESIDENT: We ought to be able to say actually what we have done. There's not a sentence in here that talks about how we've moved aggressively against terrorism, getting our allies to sign on to a common strategy, extraditing more terrorist -- whatever -- we ought to say something about what we've done -- terrorism at home and abroad. And we ought to say it that way.

Q The value of -- when you lay out your strategic objectives --

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

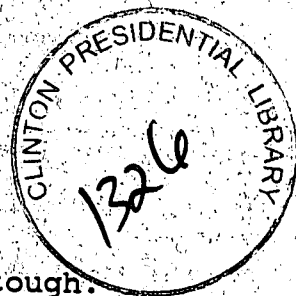
Q Okay, at that point, go back one step and say, here's what we've done, here's where we've got to go.

THE PRESIDENT: I agree with that. But the way it's written now, it's like we ain't done -- you act like we're starting in a new world. That's why all I'm saying is, what we ought to do is -- you know, I like -- the way it's written is fine. I just think you don't need all of that World War II stuff. You can just say, after World War II, we created the institutions that provided -- that brought the West -- provided the resources, brought the United States and its allies -- don't say the West; that won't mean anything to Joe Sixpack -- security and prosperity and victory in the Cold War. And say, in the past four years, we have worked to build a new architecture of peace and prosperity for this new era.

Maybe you don't want to illuminate, then, what we've done, but maybe -- later, maybe you want to say it later -- a new architecture of peace and prosperity for this new era, and now we must finish creating the institutions and understandings that will make the world work for our children and that will keep America the indispensable nation for the entire world. And then you don't even have to mention whatever we did there, and then go into it the way it is. And it will save you a minute or so in talking --

Q -- (inaudible) --

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I like that, because -- what I'd rather do is much rather put it at the end of the section, and talking about trimming and mention Vandenberg helping it. And say -- put at the end, and say, that happened 50 years ago, and it's carried us for 50 years. It won't carry us for another 50 years, and we can't run away from our obligations now.



You don't have to be hateful, but it needs to be really tough. That's how you need the Truman stuff to end. You know, go through all the stuff we have done, all the stuff we've got to do, and say, instead of can't be done on the cheap, which is the sort of Washington speak for it, say, look, I know this costs money and there's not a lot of popular support for it most of the time until something terrible happens, but the truth is that we make a lot of good things happen and we prevent a lot of bad things from happening by making investments that don't seem so urgent today. That's what they did 50 years ago. And I'm sure a lot of what they did 50 years ago wouldn't have been all that popular at the time, but it took care of the American people for 50 years. Now, we have to decide whether we're going to take care of the American people for 50 years, and it's our job to look into the future and make those decisions.

That's what I think we ought to do. This ought to be a kind of a kick-ass, take names deal here at the end, because that's really the thing -- and that's the thing that all the people that care about this are looking for, anyway.

Q -- (inaudible) --

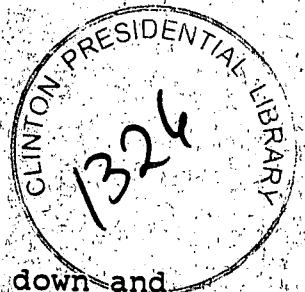
THE PRESIDENT: See, I mean, it's -- because this, you see, the way it's written now, even though it's very good, it's like, well, hell, we didn't -- you know? We starved the State Department last time, they still made peace in Bosnia, damn near made peace in the Middle East, got the thing going in Ireland. You see what I'm saying? So it needs to be done at the end.

I think that one percent against 16 percent is good. What do you say about fast track here?

Q -- talk about -- page 18 -- making -- is, in fact, the phrase itself, people will know --

THE PRESIDENT: Think it's a mistake. I think we should be explicit, and I think we should say -- one thing we need to do is, tell the country that you know, we did this thing with NAFTA and here's what's happening to American exports in Mexico. We -- our volume exports in Mexico and China. And when we helped our Mexican neighbors, a lot of people thought it was a mistake, but we did it for economic reasons and we did it to be good neighbors, and we did it because we wanted a stable future, and they paid their loan back early, we made \$500 million on it, and it was the right thing to do. You know, the truth is, it would have been the right thing to do if they hadn't paid it back by now.

But we ought to say that we did it. I don't believe every American knows that that loan has been paid back, and I think we ought to flat out say it. And now we have Latin American partners, and you might even say soon. The President of Chile is coming here soon -- a country that has gone from a dictatorship to a democracy, with a thriving, growing economy. Is Chile and the other countries south of our border going to be part of a trading network with us, or will we tell them that it's all right with us if they instead find their future in trading relationships with other countries. That is the decision we have to make. And it is a



But I think -- you know, I think if we lay down and slither like an eel on this, we ought to be whipped. Speaking for the eel -- (laughter.) Equal time for weenies.

Q I'm pretty inclined to want you to speak -- let me just mention -

THE PRESIDENT: I didn't mention expansion of NAFTA or fast track, but if you use it like this, everybody will know what you're talking about.

Q The only thing that we want -- is, is it possible that the AFL-CIO -- agree to kind of not -- issue.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, you say that, but you're talking about a phrase here.

Q -- talking about negotiation for the last seven and a half months --

THE PRESIDENT: But did it do -- but you can make -- what you could do -- no, what you could do is say, when we made the previous agreement, there were those who said, you know, trying to be sensitive to labor and environmental concerns would weaken the commercial benefits of the agreement or undermine American business, and that is not -- it did not happen.

Q I like the idea of being tough, explicit -- what we need. But -- that what are the terms and conditions of --

THE PRESIDENT: Well, how about this -- how about acknowledging that we have our differences about how it should be done, but surely we can resolve them in a way that's good for the American people and good for our future.

Q I think what was -- I think what was good about what you were saying before is that you were taking a very forthright defense for your -- and in doing that, you will greatly inspire and encourage your free trade supporters. So in making that defense, I think that strong defense -- we're all for, and I think the question just is when you start signaling more -- whether then we have to --

Q -- if you start getting into the details of --

THE PRESIDENT: I don't want to -- well, what about -- well, I think you can acknowledge that there are differences. We have honest differences about how best to achieve this goal, but we must resolve them and achieve the goal.

Q Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: How's that?

Q Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: As we did -- as we have in the past.

Now, the other thing you could do is talk about how we all want America and a -- instead of having Mackey (sp.) there, you could honor Jesse Brown's request and have the black veteran I gave the Medal of Honor to and talk about -- he had -- there were six others and we didn't even do it for them when they were alive. You don't want to say that because some of them died in combat. But you get the idea. Jesse wrote me this letter and I thought it was a good idea because even though the guy got massive national publicity, you just think about -- I mean there's a -- the church has been rebuilt -- I mean, I don't know. But Terry, you might have a better feel for this than I do.

But I just think that what you really want to say is, it is not enough not to burn churches. We have to be repairers of the breach. We have build this path. We've got to build this path together. When we get an award, we know that. Here's this fellow waited 51 years for his Medal of Honor because he was black. And we can't have any of that anymore. And you want to talk about this in a positive way.

I still think people got to understand. It is a great thing that we are as diverse as we are because of the world in which we are living and the one in which we are going to live. It is a good thing, not a bad thing.

Q -- (inaudible) --

THE PRESIDENT: Because so much of our future will be tied to how we relate to the rest of the world. And the rest of the world can look at America and see part of them there. And they can see a free society. There's 1.2 billion Chinese moving to Shanghai quick as they can get there -- somewhere on the ocean. Flipping on CNN or whatever -- they know that Chinese people can live free here. They can run for office. They can -- Is Gary Luck (sp.) Chinese or Japanese-American or Korean-American?

Q -- (inaudible) --

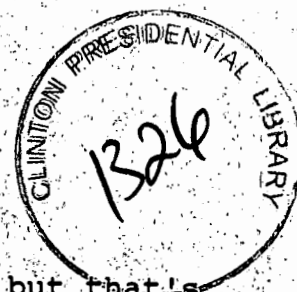
THE PRESIDENT: He may be Korean -- That's another thing you might think about --

Q -- (inaudible) --

THE PRESIDENT: You might think about putting Luck (sp.) up there. And I'd like to do it because it's a real finder in the eye to all those Asian bashers. (Laughter.) It's a real -- I'd really like to do that. And Jim Hunt -- hell, I can mention him in the crowd if he's out there. He's got an Asian wife too. And she's beautiful. She's a fine person. So you just think about that.

You'd have the black soldier and the Asian governor. He had to wait 51 years for his Medal of Honor. Now we've got an Asian-American governor in the state of Washington.

And in Africa, they can look at us and see -- when they see people, they can -- it works because people look at us and they see themselves. And because when we're making these cultural



THE PRESIDENT: That's what it meant then, but that's not what it said. That's not what it said. And so, I think we have to -- we have to get people to understand this.

I got the most moving letter from a guy who's a liberal Democrat who lives in the mountains of north Arkansas which is virtually -- it's 99 percent white. Living in the hills -- it's Ozarka. He's a doctor and a wealthy doctor. He worked for me when I ran for Congress in 1974. He's been with me every step of the way. And he and his wife came up to one of these receptions the other night. They came to the Inaugural. And he wrote me a letter and said the most important thing you said in that Inaugural address is what you said about race. He said because as liberal as I am, I know, I catch myself sometimes having bigoted thoughts. And you made me promise myself I would purge myself of this. This guy is 70-years-old.

I'm just telling you, this needs to be a big thing and it needs to be a tough thing. And my gut is if you had the soldier there -- the Asian governor there and the preacher who called us to be repairers of the breach, who is identified with the conservatives but is not a right wing kook, that it's got a texture that works.

Q -- (inaudible) --

THE PRESIDENT: Well, you do or you could pay -- the other thing I could do is pay homage to Frank Tajeda (sp.) who just died last night -- a young Hispanic Congressman that we're going to award the Silver Star at his funeral.

Q -- at the beginning --

THE PRESIDENT: I mean -- And you can say, he served his country in Vietnam. I have awarded him the Silver Star posthumously. He may be buried on this day -- today or yesterday. And he lived the last of his life up here fighting to give other Hispanic-American children a better chance. You think of it as a -- and you might even ask somebody from his family to sit in the box. You could ask -- maybe you could ask his wife, his mother or whatever. They may not feel like doing it. You could -- we ought to call Henry and ask him about it. Henry Cisneros is very close to his family. He's down there with him. And somebody needs to work that through.

Q -- (inaudible) --

THE PRESIDENT: But you see the feel of that and especially, if you get that -- I mean, but I really won't lock up there. I mean, I think it's important that we do something.

Q -- (inaudible) --

THE PRESIDENT: But don't you think. And I know all we've done today is make it longer. But now we've got something we can go with. Now we've got some meat and potatoes. We can figure out how to distill, distill, distill.

Q I mean I think that what we need to do is get you a

Q Mr. President, remember yesterday, we sent in the paragraph that came from the Inaugural preparation to substitute for the paragraphs that's in there now on the Constitutional Convention, which is the line you had about they wouldn't send us here -- different parties to fight. They said, you're in the same boat. Here are the orders to --

Right now, there's nothing in here that's a call to bipartisan cooperation.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q -- right in the end.

Q -- forget that.

THE PRESIDENT: Well or you could -- yes, but it's -- funny. What you could do -- well, you put it at the end. You think about it. The other option is to end on this picture of America and put it up near the front. Start off with it. As I said in the -- as I -- but before we get into any of this agenda, let me say the spirit in which we approach this work will determine its outcome. And the American people sent us here. They put -- they gave the Republican majority in the Senate and the House and the Democratic minority and a Democratic President. And they did not do it for gridlock and partisan fighting. They just put us all in the same boat together with them and gave us the oars and told us to row.

Q -- (inaudible) --

THE PRESIDENT: Or however I said it before. I said it before a little funnier. But you figure it out. My gut is, it's better to just put it right up there in the beginning and reach out an olive branch to me. Say, I'm going to try to meet you halfway. I'm going to try to do my part or whatever you want.

END

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FOLDER TITLE:

NATO-Russia Signing 6/27/97

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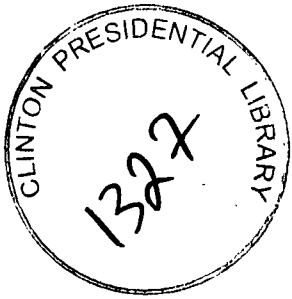
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5/22/97 5 P.M.



PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
STATEMENT ON THE SIGNING OF THE
NATO-RUSSIA FOUNDING ACT
PARIS, FRANCE
MAY 27, 1997

Secretary General Solana; President Yeltsin; President Chirac; fellow leaders of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization:

On this day, in the twilight of the 20th century, we set our sights on a new century of possibility working in partnership in a new Europe with a new Europe, a new Russia and a new NATO. The NATO-Russia Founding Act we have just signed bridges this continent's great divide -- joining a proud nation and history's most successful defensive alliance in common cause for a peaceful, democratic, undivided Europe.

From this day forward, NATO and Russia will consult and coordinate regularly. Where all agree, we will act jointly -- as we already are doing in Bosnia. This practical partnership will make America, Europe and Russia stronger and more secure.

The historic change in the relationship between NATO and Russia reflects a fundamental change in the way we think about each other. NATO's member states recognize that the Russian people are building a new Russia -- defining themselves in terms of the future, not the past. In turn, we are building a new NATO not directed against anyone, designed to advance the security of everyone -- NATO's old members, new members and non-members alike.

VB et al -
Parts very good.
Parts squishy soft.
Speaks well to Russian
part of equation; not as well

to rest of fabric of United
Europe: enlarged NATO, P4P,
etc. Mandelbaum will
like it; Kissinger will hate it.

doesn't
ring
for me.
Does it
for you?
Very
tentative

[sounds like
wedding vows] ?

Q: will
Europeans
be offended
by upstart
Americans
talking
about
new Europe?

shapes
and helps

could make
more of
Bosnia
example:
extraordinary to
think, x
years
ago, Nat...
?!

sounds
pretty squishy
to me. Kissinger
and Friedman
are right: NATO is
mush.

not quite right.
Russia's past, it's
from history from the
years so what is part of its
greatness

President Yeltsin, the most hopeful act of our lifetimes came when your nation broke with communism to build a future in which people control their own lives and pursue their dreams.

a little breathers

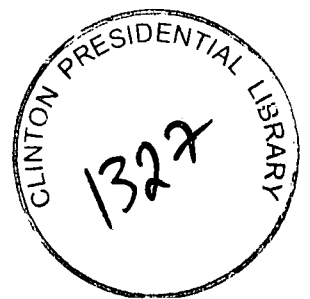
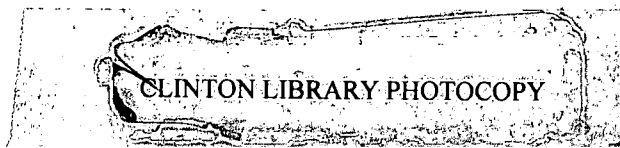
The transition to democracy and open markets has been as difficult as it is dramatic -- but your steadfast commitment to reform and progress has earned the world's admiration.

I know that some ~~people~~ in Russia still see NATO through the prism of Cold War -- especially its intent to welcome new members from among Central Europe's new democracies. I ask them to look again. The new NATO we are building will work with Russia -- not against it. By reducing rivalry and fear... by strengthening peace and cooperation... by joining forces with Russia to meet common challenges to our security... NATO will promote greater stability in all of Europe -- and Russia will be among the beneficiaries.

As we enlarge NATO, we are adapting it to new realities. NATO has cut its nuclear weapons deployed in Europe by 90 percent. ~~The United States has reduced its forward military presence in Europe from 325,000 to 100,000 troops.~~ The European NATO allies have significantly modified their force structures. And the NATO countries are now 20 to 30 percent below their equipment entitlements under the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe Treaty.

100 technical for his speech

The partnership between NATO and Russia is the most ^{*compelling*} powerful proof ~~of all~~ that European security is not a zero sum game in which NATO's gain is Russia's loss... and Russia's strength is our alliance's weakness. That is old thinking -- these are new times. Together, we are



-- inextricably tied to America --

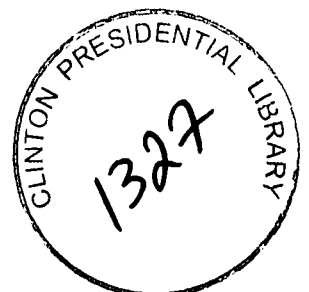
summoning the vision and seizing the opportunity to build a Europe in which every nation is free -
- and every free nation joins in strengthening the peace and stability of Europe.

*400
awkward
to make
this all
a
personal
stunt
to by,
talking
to
world.*

[President Yeltsin] a half century ago, on a continent darkened by the ~~long~~ shadow of evil, brave men and women from Russia and the world's free nations fought a common enemy with uncommon valor. Their partnership -- forged in battle, strengthened by sacrifice, cemented by blood -- gave hope to millions in the West and in Russia that the Grand Alliance would be extended in peace. But in victory's afterglow, we missed an opportunity to shape a new Europe... and the dream of peace gave way to the hard reality of Cold War.

Now, we have another chance. Russia has opened itself to freedom -- and the veil of hostility between East and West has lifted. Together, we can see a future of partnership too long delayed - and that must no longer be denied. The Founding Act that we have signed today shows the way. We must build on the promise of this day -- making our new alliance real, making it work, and making a difference in the lives of the generations who succeed us. That is our most sacred task and solemn obligation. ~~Let us do our duty.~~

++



Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. notes	re: [State of the Union Meeting] (5 pages)	12/08/1997	P5 1328

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 3389

FOLDER TITLE:

State of the Union '98 Background 12/97

Rob Seibert
2006-0459-F
rs562

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

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

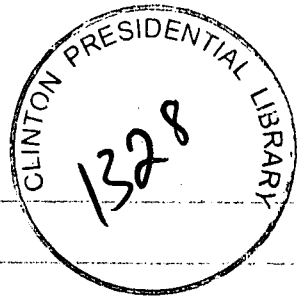
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

S of U



12/8/97

Mtg. w/ Potus.

Potus

What we're doing - what we have done.
What works / doesn't

- Conflict b/w Progressives + Conservatives. Almost entirely
Conservative. But common sense of Liberty + Common
purpose. Can be summed in essence:

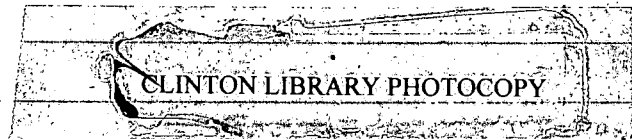
Progressives! but challenge.
Then also progressive $\Rightarrow$ conservative.

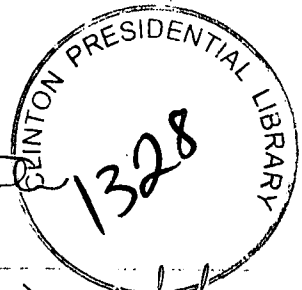
Progressive! abiding imp't. of nation (vs. ^{clique} party)
entirely Constitutional/Bill of Rights logically to meet
challenge of moment. - Logical extension of meaning.

So successful that Repub stayed in Ht for 40 yrs. full
TR. New principle. Rubbed concept of nation
entirely Constitutional.

Wilson

Ever since, demands party of nation + extension of
Constitution.





- Need to run as conservative liberal or liberal conservative
- Robert Kennedy and! Re-establish progressive identity but can get north + support.

Compliment by me (long Southern Dems)

Nixon is liberal conservative who plays to split majority.

[Great work! Reps: power for power's sake
Dem: don't like power even when they have it.
(South)]

Carter: Redefine purpose of nation - Right in big direction - Why no details.

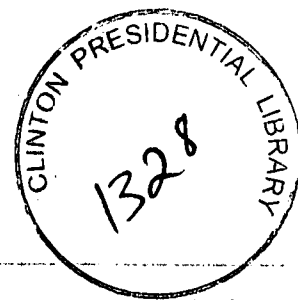
Reagan: Reaching out again clocked in defining nation of national terms - started up for nation in actual terms - Defend it in new context, Belated from collapse of communism.

Bob: Reagan at of stem. Can't ~~make~~ make it without the day at home no wrong.

POTS: New synthesis

Need Δ be. world has Δ fundamentally.
(before, Δ not acts and in world)

Redefine what it means to be American + what American means in global economy w/ new set of challenges.



Russell Ammir is greatest nation

Completed talk of goals + wk. others monthly.

- Still great deal to do. New ideas/new way.

* - But also define what we are doing is content to what they are doing.

Create new conceptual wisdom.

[Try to revive Reagan even tho wrong in currency.]

* - Must be future oriented. Don't dwell on current problems
But in big broad strokes, make clear what we
did.

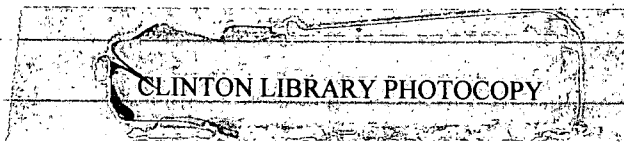
Meaningful work in 1992

Best defines nation
logical extent of contribution for times.

Results dramatically greater ability to hold country together
Intl. corporate interests will prevail.

- Unlikely at difficult times.

- Strong in doing things



- still looking at world thru Reagan lens - Lib'l/conserv.

- Booming, Hudi, Mexico, Tobacco etc. not pop. ally
Certo -
(Dick Army best indicator in article)

- What pcty of int'l + progress is:
Fragments

- Break L/pst.

But Reagan economic policy in '92.

~~stop first~~ But soil policy after 194. (in '95)

96-97 $\Rightarrow$ Repubs coming to Dems on soil policy
(health - collection)

- What's life going to be like in 21st C. Int'l forces / big challenges. How well we respond to them.

Benefits of new world $\Rightarrow$ pathbreaking ideas
(e.g. reform)

But energy opposed to completely reorganizing
to cross it / spread it / not undermine.

throw it out there

e.g. access but to build.

Choice D $\Rightarrow$ if whole ensures

* - Don't pretty picture of future, but are real blocks in the way / what do we have to do to achieve it

$\Rightarrow$ How do we know we can do it? Look how far we've come. Reprise of what we did.

- ① Make our politics more attractive than this
- ② Built from past
- ③ Buy into our agenda for future.

[Okay to admit s/thing big that you can't pass.]

* - lift up, make us think about nation

deficit what we've been doing in terms of it we've got to do.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	Daniel Benjamin to Anthony Blinken et al. re: NATO Event (1 page)	02/09/1998	P5 1329

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 3380

FOLDER TITLE:

NATO Event for Poland, Hungary and Czech Republic 2/11/98

Rob Seibert
2006-0459-F
rs563

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Gray, Wendy E.

From: Benjamin, Daniel
Sent: Monday, February 09, 1998 6:32 PM
To: Blinken, Antony J.; @PLANNING - Strat Plan & Comm; @EUROPE - European Affairs;
@CEE - Central/Eastern Europe; @RUSSIA - Russia/Ukraine
Subject: nato.event [UNCLASSIFIED]
Importance: High

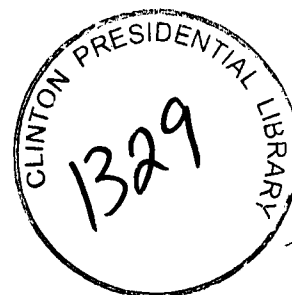
Attached is a draft of the remarks for the NATO event -- a rough-ish cut of a much longer remarks done by Jeremy Rosner. Given that the event is Wednesday, we need to get comments quickly.

RUE: We are going to put in another sentence or two on Russia. Recognize it is a gap, but need to move the draft along.

EUR/CEE: Request for a reality check: 2/11 is the day on which the Yalta Conference ended. We have always and scrupulously avoided mention of Yalta, which is not, after all a good story. Is this the one time when we should reconsider -- say something about healing wounds first inflicted 53 years ago or somesuch? Our instinct in planning is not -- that there never will be a good time to mention Yalta. What say you?



nato proto.doc



CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. report	U.S.-China Summit Watch (1 page)	06/18/1998	P1/b(1)
002. speech	re: Sandy Kristoff's Proposed Edit of Tiananmen Section (1 page)	06/22/1998	P5 1336

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 3380

FOLDER TITLE:

China Trip-Press Statement with Jiang, 6/27/98

Rob Seibert
2006-0459-F
rs379

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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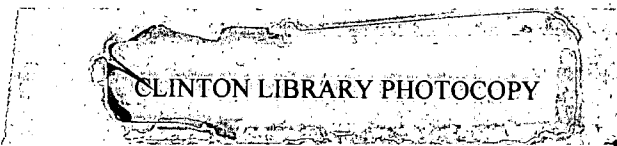
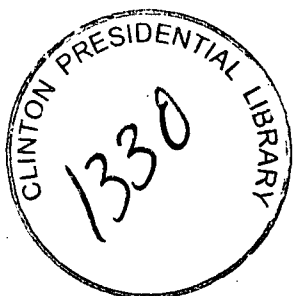
Sandy Kristoff's Proposed Edit of Tiananmen Section:

America has marveled at China's economic and social transformation, which has lifted hundreds of millions of people from poverty, brought them greater access to information, and given them local elections, freedom to travel and choose their jobs. We welcome the recent release of several prominent political dissidents ~~and~~ China's decision to sign the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the resumption of a human rights dialogue between China and the United States. ~~But~~ I told President Jiang, we firmly believe that it is through the freedom, choice and debate that sustain creativity, enterprise and social peace that China will fulfill the true measure of its greatness. In ancient times, fair and peaceful governance was said to reflect the "mandate of heaven." In the 21st century, the mandate of heaven is the mandate of democracy.

Earlier this morning, as I stood near Tiananmen Square, I could hear the echoes of China's rich past -- and the call of its promising future. Tiananmen Square is a sacred place. It is where, 100 years ago, China's quest for constitutional government was born. It is where young people rallied in May 1919 against foreign occupation, and launched a powerful movement for China's political and cultural renewal. It is where, in 1976, public mourning for Zhou Enlai led to the end of the Cultural Revolution. And it is where, nine years ago, [liu si [lee oh suh] demonstrators

Chinese citizens, young and old,
raised their voices for freedom

I believe, and the American people believe, that the use of force to crush those demonstrations -- with its tragic loss of lives -- was wrong. I believe, and the American people believe, that freedom of speech and association are ~~basic human rights~~ and the birthrights of people everywhere. All nations must draw lessons from our past, if we are to move forward. Greatness lies both in having a remarkable history and in coming to terms with it as well. In our experience, that is the best way to secure the public trust on which stability and progress depend.



Let's discuss.
Maximum
pain, minimum
gain?

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	Phil Caplan to Tony Blinken re: Zachary Fisher (1 page)	09/10/10	P5 1331

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 3378

FOLDER TITLE:

Zachary Fisher Medal of Freedom 9/14/98

Rob Seibert
2006-0459-F
rs566

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 9/10

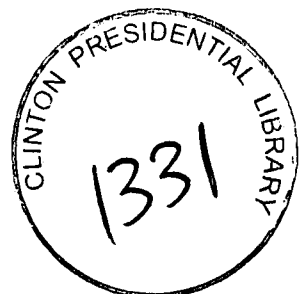
To: Bay Blinken - 3310B0B
From: The Staff Secretary

As discussed ...

1) close to final citation

2) propaganda from Fisher's people

Mante,
Phil



Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. email	James Baker to Anthony Blinken re: Draft POTUS Speech on Iraq (1 page)	11/13/1998	P1/b(1)
001b. speech	POTUS Address to the Nation on Iraq (10 pages)	11/12/1998	P1/b(1)
002. speech	[Duplicate of 001b] (8 pages)	11/13/1998	P1/b(1)
003. email	Bruce Riedel to Anthony Blinken re: Iraq Speech (1 page)	11/14/1998	P1/b(1)
004. speech	re: Address to the Nation on Iraq (8 pages)	11/13/1998	P5 1332
005. speech	[Duplicate of 004] (⁸ / ~~9~~ pages)	11/13/1998	~~P5~~ Dup
006. speech	[Duplicate of 004] (8 pages)	11/13/1998	~~P5~~ Dup
007. speech	[Duplicate of 004] (8 pages)	11/13/1998	~~P5~~ Dup
008. talking points	re: Questions (1 page)	11/13/1998	P5 1333
009. note	re: [Samuel Berger's Notes for Speech] (1 page)	ca. 11/1998	P5 1334
010. speech	[Duplicate of 004] (8 pages)	11/13/1998	~~P5~~ Dup
011. speech	[Duplicate of 004] (8 pages)	11/13/1998	~~P5~~ Dup

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 3378

FOLDER TITLE:

Iraq Oval Office Address, 11/98

Rob Seibert
2006-0459-F
rs383

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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012. speech [Duplicate of 004] (9 pages)

11/12/1998

P5 *dup*

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 3378

FOLDER TITLE:

Iraq Oval Office Address, 11/98

Rob Seibert
2006-0459-F
rs383

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

- ~~Not~~ w/ today
Dev

- Use them Somewhat
- explain sanctions

JCS/
DOD

11/13/98 8 p.m.
Blinken

2151C

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
ADDRESS TO THE NATION ON IRAQ
THE WHITE HOUSE
DATE TBD.**

For eight years, since the end of the Persian Gulf War, Saddam Hussein has refused to account to the world for his weapons of mass destruction. Now, he has shut down the international inspection system established by the United Nations to ensure his compliance. If we allow Saddam to proceed with impunity, he will rebuild his weapons of mass destruction. And just as he has before, he will use them -- endangering one of the most vital regions of the world. If we do not act decisively now, there is no doubt in my mind that in the not too distant future -- in a year or two or three -- Americans will again be called upon to fight the Persian Gulf war. We cannot permit that to happen. JCS would delete: "no value added, may prove untrue"

OR

no value added, may prove untrue
no value added, may prove untrue

Sanely

That is why, earlier today, I ordered our armed forces to strike Iraq. They were joined by British forces. We have, with the support of many of our friends and allies. Their mission is to attack Iraq's Saddam's weapons of mass destruction program and his capacity to threaten its Iraq's neighbors. Their mandate is to protect the national interests of the United States -- and indeed, the interests of people throughout the region and around the world.

I want to speak with you about why we have decided to use force in Iraq and what we hope to accomplish. To that end, I would ask you first to think back to the beginning of this decade -- and the end of the Gulf War.

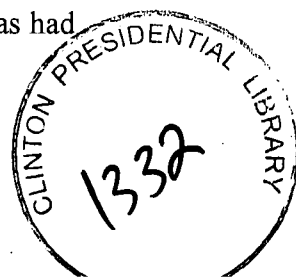
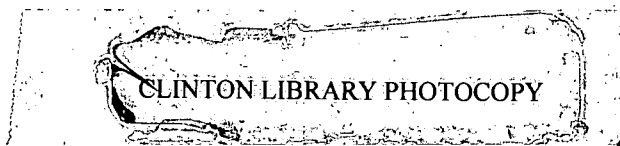
CLINTON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY
1332

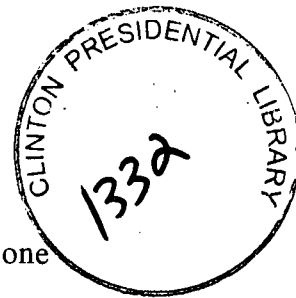
CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

As a condition for the cease-fire, the United Nations demanded and Iraq agreed to declare and destroy all of its chemical, biological and nuclear weapons and the missiles to deliver them. The international community had very good reason to insist that Saddam Hussein disarm. Other countries have weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles. With Saddam, there is one big difference: he has used them. Not once, but repeatedly -- unleashing chemical weapons against Iranian troops during a decade-long war of attrition. Not only against soldiers, but against civilians -- firing SCUD missiles at the citizens of Tel Aviv, Riyadh and Manama. Not only against a foreign enemy, but against his own people -- gassing Kurdish civilians in northern Iraq. The international community had little doubt then -- and I have no doubt today -- that, left unchecked, Saddam Hussein will use these terrible weapons again.

To ensure that Iraq made good on its commitment to disarm, the United Nations kept in place tough economic sanctions -- exempting food, medicine and other supplies, and later allowing Iraq to sell oil to buy on average \$225 million worth of humanitarian aid for its people every month. In 1991, the U.N. also established a highly professional group of weapons inspectors from dozens of countries -- called UNSCOM -- to oversee the destruction of Iraq's arsenal and to verify that Iraq did not attempt to rebuild it. Back then, Iraq agreed to disclose its weapons of mass destruction capability and to prepare for its destruction within 15 days.

Iraq could have put itself on the path to ending sanctions and its isolation long ago simply by meeting its obligations. Instead, Iraq has played a deadly game of cheat and retreat -- withholding vital information from the inspectors, harassing them, blocking access to suspect sites, destroying evidence in plain view. Throughout this decade of defiance, Saddam has had one central purpose: to retain and rebuild his weapons of mass destruction.

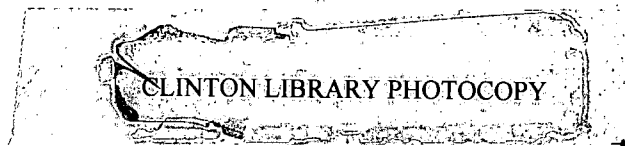


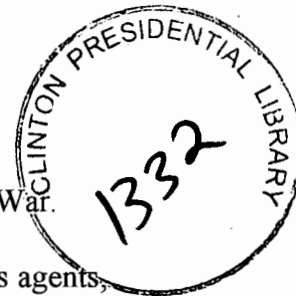


Saddam Hussein says he has complied with his obligation to destroy his arsenal. But no one outside of Baghdad remotely believes that. Let me give you a few examples of Iraq's flagrant failure to comply with its obligations.

- In 1995, following the defection of the head of its weapons program, Iraq admitted what it had denied for four years: that it had developed an offensive biological warfare capability, including half a million liters (= 130K gallons) of biological agents such as anthrax, botulinum and ricin. ~~That is enough to fill nearly 1.5 million soda cans. [JCS says trite, would prefer tanker trucks or "37,000 3.5 gallon drums"]~~ Iraq also was forced to reveal and destroy ~~that~~ a huge factory that it had said was making livestock feed and pesticides -- but was in fact producing biological weapons. ~~That factory has been destroyed.~~
- For nearly five years, Iraq denied that it had produced VX or placed it in weapons. VX is the most advanced, deadly and long-lasting chemical weapon in the world. Evidence to the contrary forced Iraq to reveal the existence of a VX program. A panel of international experts confirmed the findings of an American laboratory that VX was present on the remnants of Iraqi missile warheads.
- Just this summer, an Iraqi air force document discovered by the inspectors shows that after the War, Iraq retained far more chemical munitions than it had disclosed to UNSCOM.

Despite the run-arounds and road blocks, the weapons inspectors have done a remarkable job. Through dogged determination and tremendous skill, they found and destroyed more of Iraq's





weapons of mass destruction and missile capability than was destroyed during the Gulf War.

This includes nearly 40,000 chemical weapons, more than 690 tons of chemical weapons agents, 48 operational missiles and 30 warheads specially fitted for chemical and biological weapons.

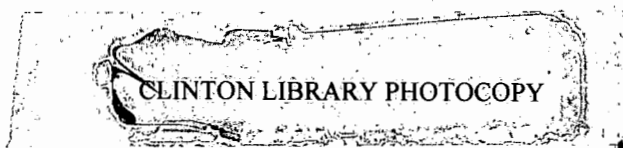
But UNSCOM's mission is not yet finished. UNSCOM has said that Iraq has not adequately accounted for stockpiles of chemical and biological munitions and a small number of missiles. ~~remain unaccounted for.~~ Iraq has failed to explain the many discrepancies between what it claims to have destroyed and the evidence. And ~~it~~ Iraq still has the capacity to rebuild its production program for chemical and biological weapons and, perhaps most importantly, the missiles to deliver them. As UNSCOM has closed in on Iraq's remaining weapons capacity, Saddam's intentions have become all the clearer: to break the inspection system.

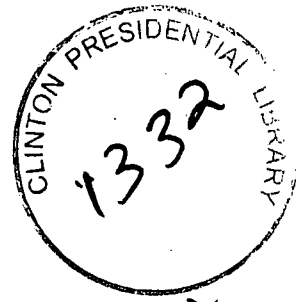
(JH)

This crisis did not come upon us suddenly, nor have we acted precipitously. Twice before in the past year, Saddam tried to cripple the inspectors. Both times, at considerable cost and effort, we built tremendous diplomatic pressure on Iraq, backed by overwhelming force. Both times, at the 11th hour, Baghdad reversed course.

This time, in August, Iraq suspended cooperation with the inspectors and placed before the international community a brazen demand: despite all of the evidence to the contrary, declare Iraq in compliance with its obligations and lift economic sanctions. Get rid of the sanctions, but let Iraq keep its weapons of mass destruction capability. That is an offer that no one in the world could accept. And no one has. The United Nations Security Council recently voted 15 to zero to condemn Saddam's actions as a "flagrant violation" of its resolutions and demand that he immediately come into compliance. This week, eight Arab nations -- Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia

JH





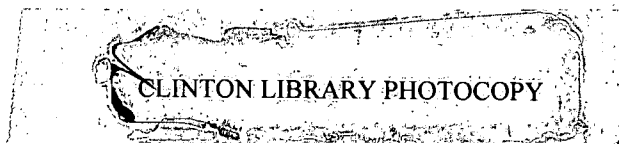
and five other Gulf states -- warned Saddam that Iraq alone would bear the blame for the consequences of defying the United Nations.

Since August, we have sought a peaceful and principled solution. Accomplishing our goals peacefully is always preferable, and the threshold for using military force should be high. But Saddam has not reversed course. And his decision to end the inspection system creates a clear and present danger to the stability of the Persian Gulf and the security of people everywhere. That danger cannot go unanswered. *unchecked*

Without a robust inspection system, Iraq is free to begin rebuilding an arsenal of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons and the missiles to deliver them -- in a matter of months, not years. At the same time, if Iraq can unilaterally terminate inspections with impunity, and we do not respond firmly, the message to Saddam will be clear: The international community has given you a green light. Our threats of force are hollow and meaningless. Saddam will conclude that the world has lost its will. He will rebuild an arsenal of weapons. And he will use them.

As you can understand, I will not go into the specifics of our strike at this time ~~until it is over~~. But let me say that this campaign has a clear purpose and is part of a long term strategy. By attacking Saddam's weapons of mass destruction program and his military infrastructure, we will deliver a powerful response to his decision to end the inspections and make it more difficult for him to threaten his neighbors.

I very much hope that Saddam will realize what his actions have wrought and come ~~back~~ into cooperation with UNSCOM. But we have to be prepared that he will not -- and we must deal

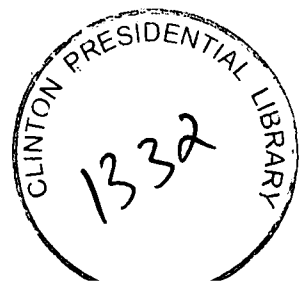


with the very real danger he poses. What is our long term strategy? Our goal is the same as it has always been -- to contain the threat Saddam poses to his neighbors, including by weapons of mass destruction and the missiles that deliver them.

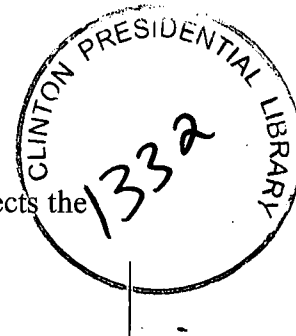
First, we must remain^{stet} ~~be~~ ready to use force ~~again~~ if Saddam attempts to rebuild his weapons of mass destruction or their delivery systems, threatens his neighbors, challenges our aircraft or that of our allies in their mission over Iraq, or takes other threatening actions, including moves against his own Kurdish citizens. We will step up our intelligence gathering and maintain the No Fly Zone in the North and from the southern suburbs of Baghdad to the Kuwaiti border to alert us to Iraq's activities. The credible threat ^{of force} ~~of force~~ -- made more credible today -- is the surest way to contain the danger that Saddam poses.

Second, working with the international community, we will maintain and enforce what have been among the most extensive sanctions in history. Sanctions hurt the Iraqi regime. The proof can be found in Saddam's desperate attempts to lift them. To date, sanctions have cost Saddam more than \$120 billion -- resources that could and almost certainly would have been used to rebuild his military. The sanctions are aimed at the Iraqi regime, not the Iraqi people. We will continue to allow Iraq to sell oil and use the proceeds to pay for the food, medicine and other humanitarian supplies its people need.

But the hard fact is that so long as Saddam remains in power, he represents a potential threat to the well-being of his people, the peace of his region and the security of the world. Over the long term, the best way to end that threat once and for all is with a different government -- a



government that is prepared to live in peace with its neighbors... a government that respects the rights of its people. [JCS would use "leader" instead of "government"]



(Set)

Let me be clear: bringing about change in Baghdad won't happen over night. It will take time and effort, but we will actively pursue that goal. We will strengthen our engagement with the full range of Iraqi opposition forces and work effectively and prudently with them to hasten the day of deliverance for the Iraqi people. *when Iraq has gained unity of its people* The Iraq Liberation Act passed by Congress, and which I recently signed, adds greater resources to this long term effort.

Aug 156

My fellow Americans, throughout this decade, only our steadfast determination -- in liberating Kuwait under the leadership of President Bush and, since 1991, in strongly supporting the effort to disarm Iraq, maintaining sanctions, enforcing a No Fly Zones and responding firmly to Iraqi provocations -- has contained the threat posed by Saddam Hussein. The weeks and months ahead will require more of our determination, our strength and our resolve.

John

The decision to use force today inexorably carries with it costs. Whenever American armed forces are placed in harm's way, we risk the loss of life. And while our strikes are focused on Iraq's military capabilities, there will be unintended Iraqi casualties. Indeed, Saddam has not hesitated to victimize his own people in order to divert the world's attention. We must be prepared for these realities. Moreover, Saddam should have absolutely no doubt: if he lashes out at his neighbors, we will respond powerfully.

OK

But these costs, heavy as they are, must be weighed against the price to the American people and to the world of inaction. If Saddam defies the world and we fail to respond... if he escapes from

inspections and we turn our backs... we will face a far graver threat in the future. Saddam will lash out again at his neighbors. He will make war on his own people. Even worse, he will develop weapons of mass destruction. He will deploy them. And mark my words, he will use them. By acting today, it is less likely that we will face those dangers in the future.

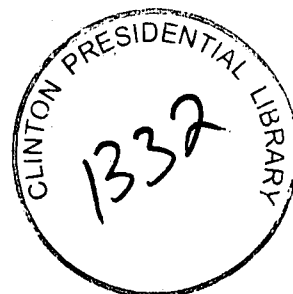
We must be equal to this challenge. In the century we are leaving, America has often made the difference between tyranny and freedom... chaos and community... fear and hope. Now, in a new century, we have a remarkable opportunity to shape a future more peaceful and secure than the past -- but only if we stand strong against those who would destroy peace and threaten security. Our course is clear. Our cause is right. Our resolve is unshakable.

May God bless and protect the brave men and women who are carrying out this vital mission.

And may God bless America.



CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY



QUESTIONS FOR X+

As of: November 13, 1998/4 p.m.

MILITARY OBJECTIVES

What are the specific military objectives for the strike?

- Our military strike is substantial. Given Iraq's interference with the UNSCOM and IAEA inspections, we are attacking his weapons of mass destruction program and his military, security and command and control infrastructure.
- At this point, I'm not going to discuss specific targets.

How does this support your policy, since it's likely to mean UNSCOM is finished?

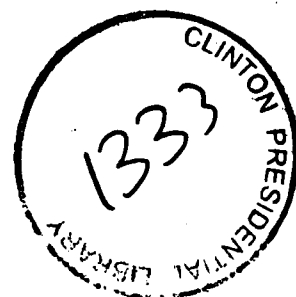
- UNSCOM has not been able to do its job for eight of the past 12 months and has been effectively out of business since August.
- The goal of our policy toward Iraq is to counter the threat that Iraq poses to its neighbors, including the threat of weapons of mass destruction and the means to deliver them. The use of force is consistent with these goals, namely to degrade his capacity to develop and deliver WMD, and to degrade his ability to threaten his neighbors.

How long will this go on? Do you contemplate further action in the future?

- I'm not going to discuss operational details, given that action is ongoing.
- We are prepared to use force if he tries to reconstitute his WMD, threaten his neighbors or take other threatening actions, including moves against the Kurds.

Was the strike designed to compel UNSCOM inspectors back in?

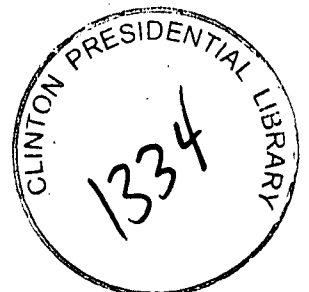
CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY



For 8 years since the
Gulf War, SA has refused
to account ^{to the world} for [his
word] [the word we know
he has] Now he has

BUS4

~~has~~ shut down
the international inspectors
~~who were sent~~ sent
by the UN to assure
his compliance. If we
permit him to ~~do this~~
~~do this with impunity~~,
~~get away with this~~,
he will rebuild his
word and, just as he
has before, he will use it
again. If we do not
act decisively now, there is
no doubt in my mind that
in the not too distant future -
a year, two, three, Americans
again will be called upon to
fight the PG War. We cannot
permit ~~it~~ that to happen.



Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. briefing paper	re: Televised Town Hall Meeting with Japanese People (2 pages)	ca. 10/1998	P5 1335
002. memo	Anthony Blinken to Samuel Berger et al. re: Televised Town Hall Meeting in Japan [incomplete copy] (1 page)	10/22/1998	P5 1336

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 3378

FOLDER TITLE:

Tokyo Town Hall Event 11/18/98

Rob Seibert
2006-0459-F
rs567

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

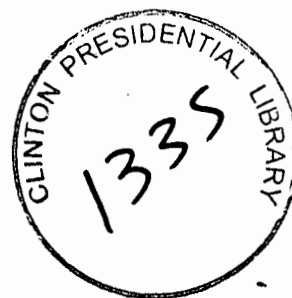
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

TELEVISED TOWN HALL MEETING
WITH JAPANESE PEOPLE



KEY OBJECTIVES

- Bring your message of economic reform directly to the Japanese people -- going around the sclerotic bureaucracy -- and make compelling the steps we believe Japan must take to help lead Asia out of economic stagnation.
- Appeal in a positive, forward looking way to Japan's ability and responsibility to lead -- and to the dynamism of a new generation.
- Emphasize the centrality we attach to our relationship with Japan -- our key economic and security partner in Asia -- and help assuage feelings of neglect exacerbated by your successful trip to China.
- Show you interacting directly with broad cross section of Japanese citizens, speaking easily and openly to wide array of subjects (in contrast to Japanese leaders).

DESCRIPTION OF EVENT

Tokyo Broadcasting System (TBS), the leading commercial broadcaster in Japan, will produce the town hall, working closely with the White House and Embassy Tokyo. We have agreed on these key points:

Duration and Air Time: The program will run for 60 minutes, enough time for between 12 and 15 questions. Taped Thursday afternoon to fit your schedule, the Town Hall will be broadcast that night at 10:50, which is prime time in Japan. Commercials will bracket the program, but will not be interspersed.

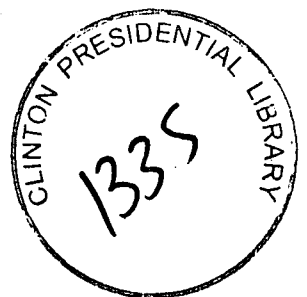
Audience and Locations: TBS will gather an audience of between 75 and 100 people in their Tokyo television studios, representing a broad range of professions and pursuits (e.g. education, the arts, the media, government, business, sciences and technology, sports) and focusing on the younger generation (21 to 45 years old.) In addition, there will be a remote site in Osaka, Japan's second largest city, with between 25 and 40

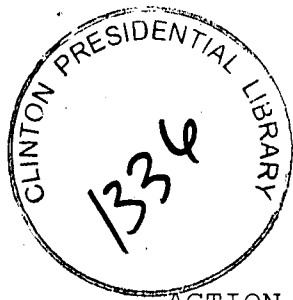
people. And questions will be taken from the internet, making the town hall truly national.

Setting: The audience will surround you on three sides, with a video backdrop behind you linked to the remote site. You will sit on a stool or in a chair, with no lectern, to emphasize the informality of the session and to allow you to approach the audience and roam freely in answering questions.

Format: You will make brief opening remarks. The host, a prominent Japanese television journalist, will then solicit questions, alternating between the live audience, the remote site (moderated by another journalist) and the internet. The audience will have free reign to ask questions on any subject; we will not know the questions in advance. We have told TBS that you hope to address the key political and economic questions of the day, i.e. the international financial crisis, U.S.-Japan relations, security and stability in Asia. But you can also expect a few light, human interest questions (for example, your favorite song or film.) You will have an opportunity to make closing remarks.

Translation: You will wear an ear-piece for simultaneous translation, and the audience will be given headsets. However, TBS plans to sub-title the broadcast as opposed to over-dubbing your voice with a translator. This is the preferred method in Japan and will allow television viewers to hear your voice.





NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

7236

October 22, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER
GENE SPERLING
JIM STEINBERG
LAEL BRAINARD

FROM: ANTONY BLINKEN *AB*

SUBJECT: Televised Town Hall Meeting in Japan

*More
changes -
return to
me (K)*

*Y. L. ...
I edited the
part and all
clear, it will
Tong. P*

I. PURPOSE

That you seek agreement from other senior staff to hold a televised town hall meeting with the President in Tokyo next month and authorize NSC/Planning, NSC/Press and WH Communications, in coordination with NEC, to take the steps necessary to produce it.

II. DISCUSSION

One of the President's key objectives during his trip to Japan next month will be to bring his message of economic reform directly to the Japanese people -- going above, below and around the sclerotic bureaucracy. From a communications perspective, the most effective way to achieve this goal is a televised town hall meeting with a broad cross-section of young Japanese leaders. This is a format that the President enjoys, and at which he excels. It would show him interacting directly with Japanese citizens, speaking easily and openly to any subject. It would make a much stronger impression in Japan than a speech.

We have raised this idea with senior staff (i.e., Podesta, Echeveste, Begala, Lockhart, Lewis). While not everyone has weighed in, some have expressed strong reservations, ~~based not on the merits, but on the contrast such an event would raise with our reluctance to hold town halls in the United States.~~ We need to litigate this issue as soon as possible -- producing a town hall is complicated logistically and time is getting short. We recommend that you seek a decision from senior staff at your earliest convenience and let us know whether or not to proceed.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. speech	re: Address to the Palestinian National Council (8 pages)	12/09/1998	P5 1337

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 3378

FOLDER TITLE:

Middle East Trip-Gaza Speech 12/14/98 [1]

Rob Seibert
2006-0459-F
rs569

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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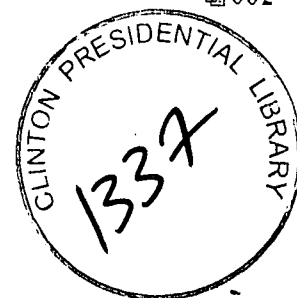
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY



12/9/98 5:30 p.m.

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
ADDRESS TO THE PALESTINIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL
SHAWA CENTER, GAZA
DECEMBER 14, 1998**

Chairman Arafat; members of the Palestinian National Council; members of the Palestinian community; people of Gaza:

Today, the sun is shining on Gaza -- and the eyes of the world are on the Palestinian people. I am honored to be the first American president to address the Palestinian ^{people} National Council... and to speak to you here, in Gaza City administered by ~~the~~ ^{the} Palestinian people, for the Palestinian ^{step} people. And I am gratified to be among you on this day, when you turn a page on the past and look toward a future of peace and possibility.

The Palestinian people stand at a crossroads ^{of hope}. Behind you lies a history of dispossession and dispersal. Before you is an opportunity that previous generations of Palestinians have yearned for, but that is yours to realize: the opportunity to shape a Palestinian destiny with your own hands, on your own land. You have come to this ^{milestone?} ~~crossroads~~ through a commitment to peace and negotiations -- and as a result of Chairman Arafat's tenacious leadership in the service of the Palestinian people. I come before you today to urge you to stay on the path to peace. It is the surest way -- indeed, it is the only way -- to fulfill your aspirations as a people, which the world knows and which the world understands.

[Maybe a bridge too far for them to accept up front]

within over the line - Brown / Bob?

This moment would have been inconceivable just a decade ago. Then, there was no Palestinian Authority. There were no elections for leaders to represent the interests of the Palestinian people

in Gaza, in the West Bank and around the world. There were no official U.S.-Palestinian relations. There were no Israeli troop redeployments from the West Bank and Gaza. There were no Palestinians in charge of running Gaza... Ramallah... Bethlehem... Hebron... Tulkarem... Janin... Nablus... Jericho and [TK: dozens] of other towns.

sounds like negotiation

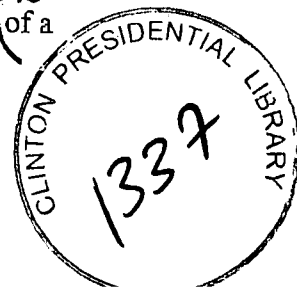
And there was no Gaza International Airport. Earlier today, when I landed there, I saw a sleekly modern terminal and planes bearing the colors of countries from throughout the Middle East. More important, I saw a future taking shape before our eyes. A future in which Palestinians can travel directly to the far corners of the world or to Jedda for the Haj. A future in which it is easier and cheaper to bring materials, technology and expertise -- the lifeblood of a modern economy -- in and out of Gaza. A future in which tourists and traders can flock here, spurring growth and creating jobs. A future in which the Palestinian people are connected to the world.

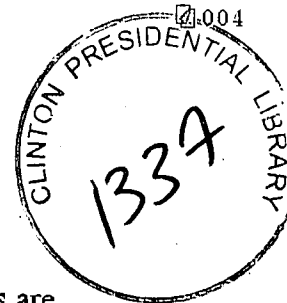
Just a few months ago, at a time of profound pessimism in the peace process, your largest exporter of fruit and flowers was prepared to plough under a field of roses, convinced that the airport would never open. But Israelis and Palestinians came to agreement at Wye, the airport has opened, and now that company plans to export roses and carnations to Europe and throughout the Gulf -- a true flowering of Palestinian promise.

Your progress is all the more remarkable because of the challenges you faced -- and that still remain. Creating ~~or~~ ^{and} strengthening government institutions to help citizens make the most of their potential. Building roads and bridges, factories ~~or~~ ^{and} utilities -- the ~~basic infrastructure~~ ^{building blocks} of a ~~functioning~~ ^{real} economy. Developing a civil service and deep rooting democratic traditions.

Making the most of limited land and resources.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY





I know that for many Palestinians, progress is not yet your partner -- lives are hard, jobs are scarce, and prospects uncertain. I know that tremendous pain remains because families are still separated by borders and ~~prison doors~~ and refugees scattered around the globe. Change takes time. And it takes ~~patience~~ ^{waiting} determination and courage to persevere for peace. But those are qualities the Palestinian people have in abundance. And slowly but surely, the ink on the agreements your leaders have had the wisdom to sign are turning into concrete progress, like the airport, that will make a difference in your lives.

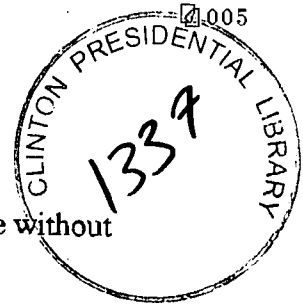
*waiting
patience
tough
sell*

America is determined to help. I am proud that the roads we traveled on to get here were paved with our assistance -- as were some 400 miles of roads that knit together towns and villages throughout the West Bank and Gaza. Two weeks ago in Washington, we joined with other nations to pledge hundreds of millions of dollars toward your development. Today, I am pleased to announce new fellowships to train Palestinian health care providers and airport administrators and in increase in our contribution to the U.N. to help Palestinian refugees [TK: more specifics?]. One of the best ways to strengthen the camp of peace is to give people a tangible stake in its success.

*make that
more
real,
personal,
individual*

All of this progress and possibility came about because, starting in Oslo five years ago, Palestinians and Israelis made a choice for peace. This choice was not based on illusions or a sudden surge of mutual affection. Rather, it reflected a clear eyed assessment by the mainstreams on both sides that the logic of peace is more powerful than the prospect of perpetual confrontation. Mr. Chairman, let me thank you again, before your own people, for the courage you showed to the world in embracing the idea that Israelis and Palestinians -- both children of

*wouldn't
use that
here --
"know
that
you
hate
Israelis"*



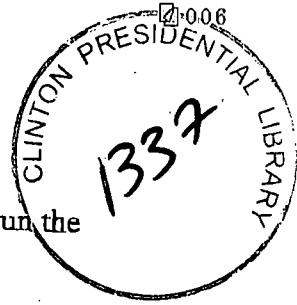
Abraham -- can share this land in peace. You have led the way. We would not be here without you.

Peace means security for Israel. It means legitimate rights for the Palestinians. Most fundamentally, it means mutual recognition. Recognition by Palestinians of the reality of Israel and the right of its people to live secure in the Holy Land today, tomorrow and forever.

Recognition by Israelis of the reality of Palestinian aspirations and the right of its people to live in the land of their ancestors. Recognition by both parties that neither side has a monopoly on pain, or the exclusive possession of virtue. Recognition, in short, that the fulfillment of one side's aspirations must come with, and not at the expense of, the fulfillment of the other side's dreams.

It is in this spirit that the historic step you took in 1996, and that you have reaffirmed today, is so important. The passages in the Palestinian Charter calling for the destruction of Israel were the ideological underpinnings of a struggle that is now obsolete. By revoking them once and for all, you send a powerful message to the people of Israel and to the world that you have renounced that struggle and embraced a transformation of the Palestinian heart and mind.

I know, from the many Israelis who have spoken to me about your Charter since I became President, how deeply felt this issue has been. Imagine growing up and reading, as countless Israeli schoolchildren have, that your neighbor was determined to drive you into the sea and had inscribed that goal in its most important political text. Is it surprising that this hardened hearts to compromise and reconciliation, just as your own hearts were hardened by the refusal to



acknowledge your existence as a people? By turning this page to the past, you have begun the process of lightening hearts and lifting spirits in Israel and around the world.

But let me be very clear: declaring a change of heart is not enough. You must demonstrate change every day. Every influential Palestinian – from school teachers to journalists to the political leaders in this room – must assume his or her share of responsibility. You must make it your mission to banish from television images of children praising violence and idolizing suicide bombers. To end the practice of some ^{of talking} to ~~talk~~ peace abroad while preaching hatred at home. To

denounce violence and terror clearly and consistently. To teach your schoolchildren the value of (I urge you to do this because not for someone else but for yourselves) peace and the profound waste of war. To break the cycle of violence ~~because~~ ^{As our great}

American leader, Martin Luther King once said, "The old law of an eye for an eye leaves everybody blind." Not just today, but tomorrow and beyond you are on the world stage, in the spotlight. The world is watching. Do not let us down. Do not let your children down.

Especially, I implore you, continue to stand strong against terrorism. Terrorism is a fact of your past. It must never again be a part of your future. Let me speak plainly and clearly: no matter how legitimate your grievance or how deep your hurt, there is no justification for the killing of innocents. It is murder. [Chairman Arafat, you said at the White House that no Israeli mother should have to worry if her son or daughter is late coming home. May your words be invested with the weight of reality.]

I think this will work/go down better if you start w/ Arafat; legitimize the subsequent lecture

I feel this all the more strongly because the acts of the few can stereotype the image of the many. As a result, it is easy for some to associate Palestinians in particular and Islam in general with terrorism and to see a fundamental conflict between the values of Islam and the values of the

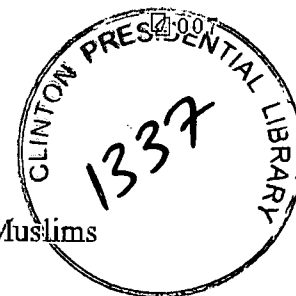
I would state this positively. We both know that there is no

sounds very preachy

I don't find this argument very persuasive. What is logic of non-violence? That it is more effective way to achieve your goals.

too rough?

needs to be as strong as the Israelis

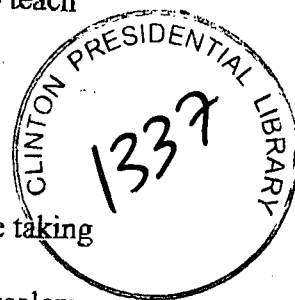


non-Islamic world. They are wrong. For the vast majority of the more than one billion Muslims in the world, tolerance is an article of faith, while terrorism is a travesty of faith. When it comes to U.S.-Palestinian relations, we have ~~traveled a great distance~~ ^{come far} these past few years to overcome our misperceptions of each other. In the United States, we have gone from reducing Palestinians to terrorists ~~or folding you into an abstract, monolithic Arab world~~ to appreciating the sweep of your history, the richness of your culture and the strength of your identity. You, too, are overcoming your stereotypes of America as anti-Islam and anti-Arab. This is progress to cherish -- and to nurture.

If I have taken the liberty of speaking plainly to you, it is because I took the same liberty yesterday in speaking to an Israeli audience. I talked to the Israelis about the need to see one's own mistakes, not just those of others... and to recognize the steps others have taken for peace, not just one's own. I talked about the need to break out of the politics of the zero sum, in which one side's gain is the other's loss and one side's strength the other's weakness. I talked about the need to treat one's neighbors with respect and accord them dignity. And I talked about the profound courage both peoples and their leaders must continue to ~~demonstrate~~ ^{show} in order for the secure, just and lasting peace that is within your grasp to become a reality.

The courage of Israelis to continue turning over territory for peace and security. The courage of Palestinians to take action against those who resort to violence against the peacemakers. The courage of Israelis to guarantee safe-passage for Palestinians between the West Bank and Gaza and to allow for greater trade and development. The courage of Palestinians to confiscate the illegal weapons of war and terror. The courage of Israelis to curtail the closures and curfews that remain a daily hardship. The courage of the Palestinians to resolve differences at the negotiating

table -- not in the streets. The courage of both peoples to abandon the rhetoric of intolerance that still poisons your public discourse. You have accepted to live in peace with each other -- teach that to your children and show that to the world.



And the courage to move ahead with final status negotiations together, without either side taking unilateral steps that could prejudice their outcome. Refugees. Settlements. Borders. Jerusalem.

It will take ~~extraordinary reserves~~ of good faith, mutual respect and compromise to forge a final agreement. ^{I'm sure there} ~~There~~ will be more breakdowns -- and more breakthroughs -- along the way. There

will be more challenges to the peace from its enemies. But just a decade ago, who ~~among you~~ ^{Israelis are horrified!} and who among the Israelis could have imagined that you would come this far, this fast.

Through the leadership of Chairman Arafat, you already have accomplished what was once said to be impossible. The seemingly intractable problems of the past can find practical solutions in the future. The United States will work with you every step of the way.

As we approach a new century, one of the most powerful lessons of the ~~latter half of the~~ century ^{This is an "equivalence" sentence that will drive the Israelis crazy. A truth} we are leaving is that there are no hereditary enemies. Our eyes have seen the ~~glory~~ ^{marvel} of French and Germans, Americans and Russians, Protestants and Catholics, Chinese and Japanese, Blacks and Whites turn from conflict to cooperation. In each case, the vision of greater peace, prosperity and security propelled former antagonists forward, as did the prospect of the alternative -- more violence, fear or heartbreak. And so we are right -- you are right -- to ask: why not Israelis and Palestinians? And if not now, when?

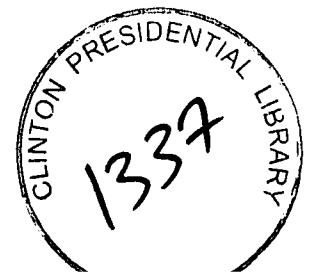
You know from history that nothing condemns Jews and Arabs to conflict. In Biblical times, they lived and toiled side-by-side. They contributed to the flowering of Alexandria, an oasis of

There are hereditary enemies - hate passed on to the next generation. permanent? irreversible?

commerce and ~~erudition~~ ^{knowledge} at the crossroads of three continents. And during the Golden Age of Spain, Jews, Muslims and Christians came together in a remarkable era of tolerance, justice and learning. A third of the population laid down its tools on Friday, a third on Saturday, a third on Sunday. They were scholars and scientists, poets and musicians, merchants and statesmen. They set an example of peaceful coexistence and cooperation that speaks to us still, across the centuries.

You can make this past prologue. But just as nothing condemns you to conflict, nothing guarantees that you will turn the fragile hope so many Palestinians and Israelis share into a history all of your people can be proud of. So let me say to the Palestinian people, as I have said to the Israeli people: you have shown the world a fierce and independent spirit, a remarkable steadfastness in the face of extraordinary hardship. You have been victims and wanderers, slaves and sufferers, foreigners in your own land and refugees in foreign lands.

Now, the challenge before this generation of Palestinians is to make ~~waging peace~~ ^{act on heroic struggle for peace} heroic. To think not in terms of what you have lost, but of what peace will allow you to gain. To seize the opportunity that is uniquely yours to build a better life than ~~your parents know~~ ^{was known by}, and to pass on even brighter possibilities to your children. That is your challenge. That is your chance. God willing -- Inch' Allah [inch Ah-lah] -- may you seize it.



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002. speech	POTUS Address to the Nation on Iraq, The White House (6 pages)	12/14/1998	P1/b(1)
003. speech	[Duplicate of 002] (5 pages)	12/14/1998	P1/b(1)
004. speech	re: Address to the Nation on Iraq [partial] (1 page)	12/16/1998	P5 1338

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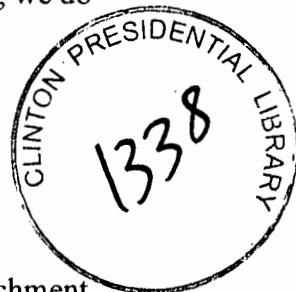
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for these realities. At the same time, Saddam should have absolutely no doubt: if he lashes out at his neighbors, we will respond powerfully and decisively.

Heavy as they are, the costs of action must be weighed against the price of inaction. If Saddam defies the world and we fail to respond, we will face a far graver threat in the future. Saddam will strike again at his neighbors. He will make war on his own people. And mark my words, he will develop weapons of mass destruction. He will deploy them. And he will use them. Because we are acting today, it is less likely that we will face these dangers in the future.

[**Podesta version:** Let me close by addressing one other issue. Saddam Hussein and the other enemies of peace may have thought that the grave debate currently before the House of Representatives would distract Americans, or weaken our resolve to face him down. But once more, the US has proven that although we are never eager to use force, when we must act, we do so without hesitation, united in our commitment to America's vital interests.]

[**Ruff cleared version:** Let me close by addressing one other issue. All of us would have preferred that the need for this action had not arisen on this day – on the eve of the impeachment debate in the House of Representatives. But world security cannot await the outcome of even the most serious domestic events.



The independent UNSCOM inspectors decided when to begin to test Iraq's cooperation – and when to end that test. We made it clear, when we suspended action in November, that if Saddam failed to cooperate with UNSCOM, a military response would follow – without delay and without warning. The one thing I cannot do, if I am to fulfill my constitutional responsibilities, is to ignore, for any reason, my responsibility to protect the Nation's security or to be swayed