Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Matt Miller to Bob Boorstin; re: The Political Case for Greater Boldness on the Deficit [3 copies] (3 pages)	02/06/1993	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 413

FOLDER TITLE:
Deficit - Message

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2557

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]
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b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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MEMORANDUM

To: Bob Boorstin
From: Matt Miller
Date: February 6, 1993
Re: The political case for **greater** boldness on the deficit

---

You asked me to explain why I feel there's a strong political case for going further on the deficit. Here's the nutshell:

1. Under a plan we'll describe as "bold and historic" (aimed at a deficit target of, say, $225 billion in 1997), Bill Clinton will likely become the **biggest borrowing President in history** (exceeding Bush's four year gross debt record of $1.54 trillion).

2. He'll rack up this record debt with **broad visible tax increases** and **without the fig leaf of divided government**.

3. The Administration will thus be left with **the worst of everything**:

   - We take short-term political heat on taxes and unpopular spending cuts;
   - Yet even **after** these taxes and cuts, deficits at $225-250 billion (and scheduled to soar) remain a powerful issue for Perot and the Republicans in 1996;
   - **This makes "tax and spend" a cinch to sell:** "The Democrats raised your taxes, still borrowed a billion a day, and wasted all this money on so-called 'investments' that turned out to be pork-barrel bridges to nowhere." (Count on harsh media scrutiny of the inevitable white elephant infrastructure projects).

4. The bottom line: If we're going to take the heat for unpopular taxes and spending cuts, let's go far enough for Clinton to be positioned in 1996 as the courageous leader who truly "tamed the demon" (as Reagan could say on inflation in 1984).

5. We'll take as much flak from constituencies for cutting the first dollar of benefits as for the tenth. Calling for shared sacrifice and then not going far enough to show truly dramatic achievements by 1996 imperils re-election.

I think this scenario should be explicitly discussed. The political risks we face in our imminent budget choices are **not** one-sided and short-term; they're really about where we'll be in December 1995. A "modestly bold" deficit plan leaves the President's most visionary initiatives (e.g. national service) pinched into the margins, and the deficit still high. This may be one of those rare moments when courage and political necessity call for the same course.

* * *

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Eli Segal to David Kusnet; re: State of the Union/National Service (2 pages)	02/05/1993	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 413

FOLDER TITLE:
Joint Session Speech - Background

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2556

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

MEMO

TO: David Kusnet
cc: George Stephanopoulos
David Dreyer
Bob Boorstin
FR: Eli Segal
DA: February 5, 1993
RE: State of the Union/National Service

In light of yesterday's Washington Post article and today's editorial, it is especially important for the President to use the State of the Union address to reinforce his commitment to national service. He needs to say that he will not rest until he has fulfilled his promise and given every American the chance to serve our country and get to college. In particular, he ought somehow to convey the points that:

1. He is not going to create a "pilot program"; he is going to ramp-up (or some such) the national service effort and over time build exactly the program he promised.

2. He is moving ahead with both sides of his old national service pledge -- the service side and the income-contingent repayment side. And even the latter will promote service, by enabling people to take low-paying jobs and still pay off their loans. So Clinton is working in a variety of ways to make the "season of service" happen.

Beyond these two key points, here are some thoughts you might use. Forgive the lousy rhetoric; hope you get the idea.

1. If Americans see national service as a jobs program instead of a way of getting things done, we're finished. Building on the language of the twentieth, and in the context of a broader statement of goals, the President should name the specific, unmet social needs that national service will address.

> In the near future, I am going to submit to Congress my plan to give thousands of young people the chance to serve their country and pay for college. Against the odds and much opposition, I have continued to believe in national service -- not for myself or my political party, but for our country. America needs national service. It will reunite us. It will give people who never dreamed of college the chance to go. And it will bring back the excitement, idealism and hope of being American.
>
> Above all, national service will get the things done we need to do. This isn't a social program. It's a movement to rebuild our country, to teach our young people, to clean up our environment, to make our streets safe again, and to help our children grow up to live happy, healthy lives. As we

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move forward with my national service plan, we're going to change our country and lift our young people up. (It'll be the best money...!)

2. To make these goals even more tangible, Clinton could identify specific programs that work. Building on the rhetoric above (you'd do it much better):

> It's a movement that's happening in Boston, where City Year puts kids in schools to give teachers a hand. A movement in the Mississippi Delta, where the Delta Service Corps will help Older Americans grow old with dignity and company and pride. And a movement in Los Angeles, where the LA Conservation Corps is turning the devastation of the riots into real hope for the future.

At this point, if it is appropriate in the speech as a whole, the President could pull a Reagan and point to a specific individual who is changing her community. The point would not be Reagan's, that government cannot help these people. The point would be Clinton's, that government must help the best in us. National service will give thousands more Americans the chance to become like this person.

3. Based on the meeting Tuesday night, it sounds like the themes of the speech will be consonant with those of national service: contribution to a greater good; giving something now and getting something later; opportunity and responsibility; all in this together. The rhetoric and some of the specifics of national service could frame the discussion of the economic plan. Service is tangible work that brings us all together; we guarantee our rights (to safety and medical care) by fulfilling our responsibilities (to protect the neighborhood and help immunize kids). If paying taxes can come to seem the same way -- as giving that guarantees getting -- you'll be set. Of course, if people see service as another dreaded tax -- another imposed sacrifice with no clear benefit -- we will have ruined the service idea for good.

4. One idea that you can't act on just yet: we'd like to see a youth summit on March 1, the anniversary of JFK's establishment of the Peace Corps. If we can get sign-off on that event before the speech, the President could announce it during the State of the Union.

Hope this helps.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Michael Waldman et al to Roy Neel & Circulation; re: Commuications Strategy for Fall Issues (4 pages)	07/23/1993	P5
002. memo	Mark Gearan et al to David Gergen, Mack McLarty, & George Stephanopoulos (3 pages)	07/19/1993	P5
003. memo	Bob Boorstin et al to Mack McLarty, George Stephanopoulos, David Gegen, & Mark Gearan; re: Fall Calendar (3 pages)	07/19/1993	P5
004. memo	Bob Boorstin et al to Mark Gearan, George Stephanopoulos, David Gergen, & Mack McLarty; re: Crowded Calendar for Summer & Fall (3 pages)	07/12/1993	P5
005. memo	Bob Boorstin et al to Mark Gearan, George Stephanopoulos, David Gergen, & Mack McLarty; re: Crowded Calendar for Summer & Fall (3 pages)	07/12/1993	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 413

FOLDER TITLE:
Summer/Fall 1993 Calendar

2006-0460-F
jp2144

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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July 23, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS
DAVID GERGEN
MARK GEARAN

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN
BOB BOORSTIN
MARLA ROMASH
JODY GREENSTONE

SUBJECT: DRAFT COMMUNICATIONS MEMO FOR MONDAY MEETING

Here is our first cut at a memo suggesting a communications schedule for the three major issue campaigns of the fall.

This is rough, and we'll be working on it during the weekend. But we wanted you to have a first look at it to see if it's heading in the right direction.

Doing this on an actual calendar will make it simpler, and we'll do that this weekend.

Michael Waldman has the master disk, and can be reached at this weekend at (413)528-4827. (I have a fax and modem there, so I can receive changes, too.)

July 23, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR ROY NEEL AND CIRCULATION

FROM: Michael Waldman
Bob Boorstin
Marla Romash
Jody Greenstone

SUBJECT: COMMUNICATIONS STRATEGY FOR FALL ISSUES

This memo addresses the communications -- as opposed to legislative -- aspects of the fall schedule.

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The crowded issue schedule for the fall makes it harder-than-ever to communicate a focused presidency. With three important and contentious issues jostling for presidential time, we run a real risk of seeming unfocused.

One of the lessons of the spring, we believe, is that we are better off devoting full weeks to major issues, rather than trying to "vary the mix" within a week (i.e., two weeks devoted to Issue A, then two weeks to Issue B, and so on, rather than Monday: Issue A, Tuesday: Issue B, Wednesday, Issue C). (It's useful to think of these issues as arising in waves, cresting and then falling, only to be replaced by the new wave.)

Communications goals

The relative energy expended on the three big autumn issues should be allocated with the President's public image and communications strategy in mind. The communications goals should be:

* Show that the President is in touch with the people and their needs;

* Show that he keeps his promises;

* Show that he is a strong leader willing to make tough (even surprisingly tough) decisions.

Issue communications and timing

* Health care: The health care proposal was promised for May and then delayed until "after reconciliation." The President has repeatedly promised that health care will come after the economic package passes. Surveys indicate that health care remains the second or third priority (behind job creation) for the vast majority of voters, but also that people fear reform is just another promise to be broken. Our core supporters are rapidly losing patience and could block passage by throwing their support to alternative plans.

The launch of health care requires several weeks of almost unbroken presidential attention. This is necessary to show deeply skeptical citizens that we are serious about this plan.

The final decisionmaking process on health care has been delayed, most recently because of fears that numbers would leak in the midst of the reconciliation debate. A detailed policy and supporting data will be ready for release in mid-September but only if a go-ahead on a final policy process is given immediately.

NAFTA: The passage of NAFTA will need two bursts of presidential involvement. The first, anticipated to occur in mid-October, will kick-off the process of crafting the

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implementing legislation (putting the trade agreement and supplemental into legal language). This process is called the non-process and includes a non-markup and a non-conference (there is no floor vote). There is no time limit on this non-process and it is expected to last six to eight weeks. Once the non-conference has generated legislation, it is formally submitted. At this time, the fast track time limits kick in and there must be a vote within ninety legislative days. (Note: it may be possible to shorten this period.) The second time for presidential involvement will be before the floor votes. These are anticipated to occur mid-December.

Those working on NAFTA argue that it needs to be launched as early as possible -- because attacks by NAFTA foes are damaging its prospects, and because President Salinas of Mexico will regard the delay as an abandonment, and may tilt in a more nationalist direction. Two additional factors complicate NAFTA's timing. First, three side agreements (labor, environment, and import surges) must be completed. It is anticipated that this will occur in mid-August. Second, the NEPA lawsuit must be resolved. Oral argument is set for mid-August with a decision expected after Labor Day. Regardless of the outcome, it is anticipated that we can stick to the schedule discussed above.

Reinventing government: The reinventing government task force is scheduled to report on September 7. The National Performance Review is expected to offer significant savings and dramatic changes in government. The task force is preceding on the assumption that it will reveal its findings and recommendations the week of Labor Day, in a series of major announcements. The recommendations will include executive orders and other unilateral actions, as well as legislative proposals.

This issue is particularly important as symbol of the President's commitment to change and a government that puts people first. In addition -- due, unfortunately, to the stigmatization of the economic plan as "tax and spend" -- it is a useful antidote to current political weakness. It also serves as an "only Nixon can go to China" token that Clinton is, in fact, a New Democrat. Finally, it will assuage nervousness about the health care plan, which entails an increase in government involvement in health care.

Secondary issues: In addition, several other issues will be percolating along during the fall, and can be the subject of discrete presidential events:

- International jobs summit
- Crime and the crime bill
- Immigration
- Political reform -- both campaign finance reform and lobbying reform will be acted on by the House in the fall
- Welfare reform

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Proposed schedule

Here is a proposed schedule that gives each major issue proper time to be planted and grow, while seeking to keep some focus:

Tuesday, August 31 -- The President lays down a marker for the second half of the year in a "Georgetown Speech"/mid-year report. This will include an announcement that "my three goals for the fall are a) unveiling health care, b) unveiling reinventing government, and c) passing NAFTA."

Weds. 9/1-Fri. 9/3 -- Reinventing government backgrounders

Labor Day (9/6) -- Worker-oriented event around health care

Tuesday, 9/7 -- UNVEIL REINVENTING GOVERNMENT PROGRAM

Wednesday, 9/8-Tues., 9/14 -- Reinventing government announcements (program cuts and changes, etc.)

Sat. 9/11 -- Radio address on Reinventing Government (possibly President and VP)

During this time -- Presidential signal sent on NAFTA -- i.e., phone call to Salinas giving timetable, or whatever

Weds. 9/15 BEGINNING OF RUN-UP ON HEALTH CARE

9/15, 17, 19 & 20 -- Policy announcements on health care
- Medical malpractice
- Pharmaceutical costs
- health care paperwork
- Health care town meeting with people who wrote in to the WH

9/22 -PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH TO JOINT SESSION

9/23 -- Endorsements of plan

9/24-26 -- Bus trip

9/27 -- Address to UN General Assembly

9/28-30 -- Health care endorsements

10/4-15 -- Health care events

10/18 - NAFTA UNVEILING

10/19-21 - NAFTA events

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ MEMORANDUM

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING Per E.O. 12958 as amended, Sec. 3.2 (c)
Initials: IGP Date: 12/1/09
2006-0680-F

TO: David Gergen
Mack McLarty
George Stephanopoulos

FROM: Mark Gearan
Bob Boorstin
Michael Waldman
Marla Romash
Rahm Emanuel

DATE: July 19, 1993

RE: Fall calendar

Summary

In preparation for the meeting to discuss the Fall schedule and the apparent collision of the three major issues (health care, NAFTA, reinventing government), we have prepared this memorandum to review the timing and the comnmunications issues involved.

This memorandum will be supplemented with a suggested calendar for the balance of the summer thru Labor Day. The team of Boorstin-Waldman-Romash are the Communications Department leads for the long-term policy coordination tracking the planning of Administration initiatives.

Background

During the transition and at the Camp David retreat, the President listed five priorities for his first year in office. They were: 1) an economic growth package, 2) health care reform, 3) political reform, 4) national service and 5) welfare reform. By the August recess, we will have achieved two major legislative victories: the economic package and national service.

But starting Labor Day, a combination of external deadlines, campaign promises and policy priorities will collide. Contrary to the preceding months, we will no longer be able to push issues aside and focus on the economic package.

Our biggest challenge is to set priorities and timetables for the chief issues: health care, NAFTA and reinventing government. If we fail, we face an overcrowded agenda and a reemergence of the "loss of focus" theme that damaged us during the spring.

Issues and Timing

Health care: The health care proposal was promised for May and then delayed until "after reconciliation." The President has repeatedly promised that health care will come after the economic package passes. Surveys indicate that health care remains the second or third priority (behind job creation) for the vast majority of voters, but also that people fear reform is just

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another promise to be broken. Our core supporters are rapidly losing patience and could block passage by throwing their support to alternative plans.

The final decision making process on health care has been delayed, most recently because of fears that numbers would leak in the midst of the reconciliation debate. A detailed policy and supporting data will be ready for release in mid-September **but only if a go-ahead on a final policy process is given immediately.**

NAFTA: Deadlines established under fast-track legislation and worries about the upcoming Mexican elections are driving resolution of NAFTA. The President has continued to express his conditional support for the treaty, but avoided making any public time-specific commitments.

Two factors complicate NAFTA timing. First, successful negotiation of the side agreements on labor and the environment. Second, the ongoing lawsuit demanding an environmental impact statement (which the Administration has promised to appeal.)

Reinventing government: The reinventing government task force is scheduled to report on September 7. The task force is preceding on the assumption that it will reveal its findings and recommendations the week of Labor Day, in a series of major announcements. The National Performance Review is expected to offer significant savings and dramatic changes in government.

Starting as an important priority and part of the President's commitment to change and a government that puts people first, reinventing government has increased in importance in the past several months. As campaign finance reform has lost momentum in Congress and the public becomes increasingly more frustrated with government and politicians, it has become more salient. In addition, surveys indicate that it will prove useful as a watershed issue for those searching for a New Democrat.

Welfare reform: This assumes that the welfare reform task force continues its work through the fall, but that introduction of the plan is delayed until 1994.

<u>Other issues:</u>

In addition to the three big issues, the fall offers other opportunities. These include:

- International jobs summit
- Crime bill
- Continuing immigration legislation
- Education 2000
- Campaign finance reform
- Wetlands

The question on all these issues: do they clutter or help? Should the President's time commitment and public attachment be limited (i.e. signing the crime bill) or developed into a full-scale initiative?

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The problem:

The problem is pretty simple: neither the President, at least in a public sense, nor the Congress can handle the three big issues simultaneously. By trying to do too much, we raise the possibility that we lose everything. From all perspectives -- policy, politics and press -- we need guidance on how to proceed.

The President has indicated to the Vice President that he is eager to launch the reinventing government initiative during the week following Labor Day. The Vice-President could maintain a high profile on the issue for about 10 days, before turning to the next big issue. The Vice President would then carry the initiative forward throughout the fall, with the President returning to the theme in the State of the Union.

The problem is the competing demands of health care reform and NAFTA. Both will require a substantial, if not exclusive, commitment of Presidential time and public identification for a minimum of several months. Both require consideration by some of the same Congressional committees. And both require assembling difficult, if different, alliances in order to secure Congressional passage.

Some have argued that the very nature of these different alliances may allow, indeed demand, that health care and NAFTA proceed simultaneously. Others doubt that the Congressional process -- and the difficulty of securing passage of either program -- will allow them to proceed hand in hand.

Conclusion

We urgently need guidance on establishing priorities and a chronology for resolving the traffic jam created by reinventing government, health care reform and NAFTA. In the cases of health care and NAFTA, failure to take immediate action threatens the ability of policy teams to present final proposals in time for September action. Failure to decide also means that we could return to the "loss of focus" theme that injured the President's standing during the spring.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ MEMORANDUM

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING Per E.O. 12958 as amended, Sec. 3.2 (c)
Initials: JGP Date: 12/1/09
2006-0690-F

TO: Mack McLarty
George Stephanopoulos
David Gergen
Mark Gearan

FROM: Bob Boorstin
Michael Waldman
Marla Romash
Rahm Emanuel

DATE: July 19, 1993

RE: Fall calendar

Bob
see comments
p. 2
BEK

Summary

Three major issues -- health care, NAFTA, reinventing government -- threaten to collide this fall. We urgently need guidance on how these issues should intersect and can be presented.

Background

During the transition, the President listed four priorities for his first year in office. They were: an economic growth package, health care reform, political reform and national service. By the August recess, we will have achieved two major legislative victories: the economic package and national service.

But starting Labor Day, a combination of external deadlines, campaign promises and policy priorities will collide. Contrary to the preceding months, we will no longer be able to push issues aside and focus on the economic package.

Our biggest challenge is to set priorities and timetables for the chief issues: health care, NAFTA and reinventing government. If we fail, we face an overcrowded agenda and a reemergence of the "loss of focus" theme that damaged us during the spring.

Issues and Timing

Health care: The health care proposal was promised for May and then delayed until "after reconciliation." The President has repeatedly promised that health care will come after the economic package passes. Surveys indicate that health care remains the second or third priority (behind job creation) for the vast majority of voters, but also that people fear reform is just another promise to be broken. Our core supporters are rapidly losing patience and could block passage by throwing their support to alternative plans.

The final decision making process on health care has been delayed, most recently because of fears that numbers would leak in the midst of the reconciliation debate. A detailed policy and

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supporting data will be ready for release in mid-September **but only if a go-ahead on a final policy process is given immediately.**

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Two factors complicate NAFTA timing. First, successful negotiation of the side agreements on labor and the environment. Second, the ongoing lawsuit demanding an environmental impact statement (which the Administration has promised to appeal.)

Reinventing government: The reinventing government task force is scheduled to report on September 7. The task force is preceding on the assumption that it will reveal its findings and recommendations the week of Labor Day, ~~Plans call for extensive Presidential involvement~~ in a series of major announcements. The National Performance Review over→

~~Although not one of the four state legislative goals for the first year~~, reinventing government has increased in importance in the past several months. As campaign finance reform has lost momentum in Congress, it has become more salient. And surveys indicate that it ~~may~~ will prove useful as a watershed issue for those searching for a New Democrat.

and the public becomes increasingly more frustrated with government and politicians,

Other issues:

In addition to the three big issues, the fall offers other opportunities. These include:

- International jobs summit
- Crime bill
- Continuing immigration legislation
- Education 2000
- Campaign finance reform

o wetlands

[This assumes that the welfare reform task force continues its work through the fall, but that introduction of the plan is delayed until 1994.]

The question on all these issues: do they clutter or help? Should the President's time commitment and public attachment be limited (i.e. signing the crime bill) or developed into a full-scale initiative?

The problem:

The problem is pretty simple: neither the President, at least in a public sense, nor the Congress can handle the three big issues simultaneously. By trying to do too much, we raise the possibility that we lose everything. From all perspectives -- policy, politics and press -- we need guidance on how to proceed.

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DRAFT

profile on the issue for about 10 days, before turning to the next big issue. The Vice President would then carry the initiative forward throughout the fall, with the President returning to the theme in the State of the Union.

The problem is the competing demands of health care reform and NAFTA. Both will require a substantial, if not exclusive, commitment of Presidential time and public identification for a minimum of several months. Both require consideration by some of the same Congressional committees. And both require assembling difficult, if different, alliances in order to secure Congressional passage.

Some have argued that the very nature of these different alliances may allow, indeed demand, that health care and NAFTA proceed simultaneously. Others doubt that the Congressional process -- and the difficulty of securing passage of either program -- will allow them to proceed hand in hand.

Conclusion

We urgently need guidance on establishing priorities and a chronology for resolving the traffic jam created by reinventing government, health care reform and NAFTA. In the cases of health care and NAFTA, failure to take immediate action threatens the ability of policy teams to present final proposals in time for September action. Failure to decide also means that we could return to the "loss of focus" theme that injured the President's standing during the spring.

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MEMORANDUM

Reconciliation
Victory Lap
Vacation
Week before Labor Day

TO: Mark Gearan
George Stephanopoulos
David Gergen
Mack McLarty

FR: Bob Boorstin
Michael Waldman
Rahm Emanuel
Marla Romash

DATE: July 12, 1993

RE: Crowded calendar for summer and fall

This memo identifies issues that are going to arise this summer and fall and suggests a communications/policy strategy for avoiding issue overflow.

Summer: Between the time the President returns on July 15 and Labor Day, the following issues will require some level of Administration effort and attention:

(1) Conference report/economic plan and subsequent victory lap;
(2) gays in the military;
(3) Flood relief activities;
(4) Immigration/terrorism legislation;
(5) Passage of national service legislation;
(6) Crime bill introduction;
(7) Community development banks;
(8) Workforce 2000 Conference

welfare hearings

- Climate control
- wetlands
- Regulatory review
- HUD bill

The economic conference should clearly dominate the President's calendar and schedule. As Stan Greenberg has said, we have a limited amount of time to define the program, and we must grab the high ground. The principles of our economic plan -- progressivity, investment and deficit reduction -- must once again be articulated. If the President is deeply involved in the conference negotiations -- and if that is the public message we want to send -- that will necessarily limit his participation in public events surrounding other issues.

The other issues should, for the most part, claim the President's time only when absolutely necessary, or if they buttress the case on the economic plan. One negative issue -- gays in the military -- threatens to swamp mid-July while one positive issue -- National Service -- offers a great opportunity to spotlight momentum on achieving the President's agenda.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Week of July 12
Conference begins
Gays in the military
Community development banks (July 15)
Flood relief

Week of July 19
Conference continues
Immigration/terrorism announcement (July 19)

Week of July 26
Conference continues
Workforce 2000 event (July 26)
National Service passage (?)

Week of August 2
Conference concludes/budget legislation passes

Week of August 9
Budget victory lap
[note: Papal visit]

Week of August 16
Vacation

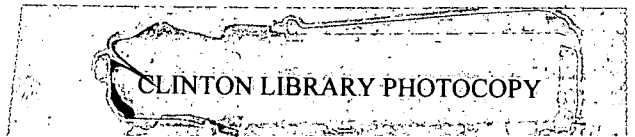
Week of August 23
Vacation

Week of August 30
Run-up to reinventing government begins (?)

Fall: Starting prior to Labor Day and carrying on through the fall, a number of priority issues threaten to collide. Contrary to the preceding months, we will no longer be able to push issues aside and focus on the economic package. Our biggest challenge will be to move between issues and maintain a theme.

The issues include:
Reinventing government (report due September 7)
Health care
NAFTA
International jobs summit

At the same time, three issues -- crime, political reform, Education 2000 -- can be stressed as desired. (i.e. Should the President's commitment to crime be limited to signing legislation emerging from Congress or should we develop a full-scale initiative with a number of public events to highlight our commitment.)

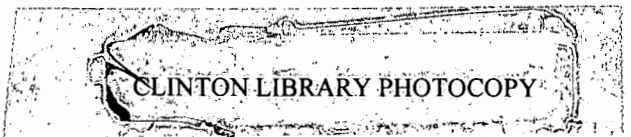

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

From all perspectives -- policy, politics and press -- we urgently need guidance on which issues will be emphasized during the fall and which issues will be delayed until 1994.

One possible calendar envisions parallel development of and stress on the reinventing government and health care initiatives, with NAFTA staying quietly on track. (The obvious bottlenecks remain the Senate Finance and House Ways and Means committees, which have jurisdiction over both health care and NAFTA.) Another envisions a quick look at reinventing government, followed by parallel development of health care and NAFTA [the 1994 State of the Union would reinforce health care and and set up welfare reform for election-year passage.]

The President must decide immediately which of these calendars -- or some other variant -- should be used as a blueprint. Otherwise, we face an overcrowded agenda and a reemergence of the "loss of focus" theme that damaged us during the spring.

Our group will meet regularly to begin developing a detailed plan that can be completed the week of August 16. We can either develop a plan based on two scenarios (as above) or proceed from a predetermined list of priorities.



MEMORANDUM

TO: Mark Gearan
George Stephanopoulos
David Gergen
Mack McLarty

FR: Bob Boorstin
Michael Waldman
Rahm Emanuel
Marla Romash

DATE: July 12, 1993

RE: Crowded calendar for summer and fall

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Doris Meissner to VPOTUS; re: Immigration Policy Priorities (4 pages)	07/20/1993	P5
002a. memo	Tom Epstein to Rahm Emanuel; re: Immigration (2 pages)	05/27/1993	P5
002b. memo	Tom Epstein to Rahm Emanuel; re: Immigration/Refugee Asylum Strategy (3 pages)	06/11/1993	P5
002c. memo	Tom Epstein to Rahm Emanuel; re: Announcement for INS Commissioner (1 page)	06/14/1993	P5
002d. memo	Tom Epstein to Joan Baggett & Rahm Emanuel (1 page)	07/07/1993	P5
003a. memo	Cindy Lebow to The Clinton Campaign; re: Immigration Policy (3 pages)	08/08/1992	Personal Misfile
003b. talking points	re: Talking Points for Governor Clinton - On Immigation Issue (1 page)	08/08/1992	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 414

FOLDER TITLE:
Immigration - Key Policy Issues

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp1650

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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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).
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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

July 20, 1993

To: Vice President Gore

From: Doris Meissner, INS Commissioner-designate

Subject: Immigration policy priorities

This responds to your request for an outline of my priorities for immigration policy. All are issues where substantial progress can be made within 12 to 18 months.

As a framework, I believe that these propositions should guide policy:

- We say no so that we can continue to say yes.
- Illegal immigration, not immigration, is the enemy.
- Immigration is a source of national strength and vitality. Our employers, ethnic communities, foreign policy, economic interests, and self-image all reinforce a continuing immigration tradition.
- An effective, professionalized INS can play an important role in defusing the tensions that inherently surround immigration processes.
- Our track record in making a multi-ethnic society work is unparalleled and can continue to be so.
- Leaders must explain and inspire confidence in the nation's ability to regulate immigration and integrate newcomers.

I. Priority initiatives for INS and the Department of Justice

A. Prompt, fair political asylum decision system

- Expedited exclusion legislation must be followed by procedural and policy reform of asylum system.
- Likely to require other remedies for parts of backlog and limits to the degree of due process available to aliens.
- May require significant resource reallocations or new resources.

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B. Fully automated immigration records and information systems

- INS records are the backbone for effective immigration law enforcement and service to immigrant communities.

- Automated files and systems integrated among INS functions (deportation and non-immigrant admissions, for example) and with those of other agencies (State's consular service and Customs, for example) would dramatically improve the government's ability to detect abuse, support enforcement officers, provide timely decisions, and transform INS' poor public image.

- Current budget allocations may require re-evaluation.

C. Back-to-Basics management

- Exotic, new answers are not needed.

- Strategic planning, resource allocations based on workload, clear lines of authority, good internal and public communication, training and professionalism, fiscal integrity, a diversified workforce, timely decision-making, rewards for innovation, strong analytic capabilities, fully incorporating technology into operations -- these and similar good-management approaches will enable us to address immigration enforcement effectively.

D. Naturalize persons newly-eligible for citizenship

- In 1994, the three million people who were granted legalization (amnesty) by 1986 reform legislation are eligible for citizenship.

- An aggressive education campaign to encourage naturalization combined with access to English language instruction and prompt, transparent government procedures for granting citizenship will empower large numbers to petition for the immigration of relatives through legal avenues, emphasize the positive characteristics of immigration, and enable large newcomer communities to participate more fully in American life.

II. Priority interagency/administration initiatives

A. Employer and workplace enforcement

- Sweatshops have reappeared, employment discrimination is aggravated by employer sanctions legislation, employers who want to comply with the law have a difficult time discerning valid identity documents, etc.

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- Effective workplace enforcement is a central element in controlling illegal immigration that requires interagency and federal-state coordination, labor standards enforcement resources, vigorous anti-discrimination enforcement, improved work authorization documents, and legislation that strengthens penalties against egregious offenders.

B. Refugee policy

- Almost 90% of those admitted today as refugees are from the former Soviet Union, Vietnam and Cuba. Our policy is a relic of the Cold War and state and federal expenditures for the program are substantial.

- Refugee policy needs to be comprehensively reviewed and updated so that the U.S. is responding to the most urgent humanitarian needs and states and localities can pay the costs of refugee resettlement.

C. Emergency response and contingency planning

- Unanticipated crises like the Chinese boats will recur. Clear roles and procedures to respond should be established, including pre-arranged funding sources, on-call facilities for detaining or processing large numbers, transportation for repatriation, bilateral or multilateral agreements where possible, etc.

- Emergency flows from countries like Haiti and Cuba are likely; contingency planning is needed in case they occur and careful monitoring of developments that could lead to sizeable migrations should be put into place and should trigger appropriate diplomacy and policy adjustments.

D. Integrating immigrants and immigrant impact

- The greatest source of tension among immigrant and established communities is language use. Immigrants want to learn English and knowledge of English is the most important characteristic of success for immigrants. Classes are in woefully short supply. Access to instruction for those who want it should be a national policy goal that will require federal assistance.

- The impact of immigrants at the local level should be addressed by vigorous community renewal initiatives that apply to all disadvantaged, economically-besieged groups. Programs specially aimed at newcomers (with the exception of refugees) will pit immigrants against other needy groups for limited resources. This is counterproductive social policy.

E. Immigration policy for the future

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- The initiatives being proposed to the Vice President are, with one or two exceptions, not Presidential and I recommend against presenting them as the administration's immigration policy. If something is needed immediately, the President could announce a funding initiative to support strengthened enforcement and the expedited exclusion and anti-smuggling legislation he is forwarding. He could also announce and launch a process for addressing broad immigration policy questions, as below.

- We need a deliberative, systematic look at where we are going with immigration in light of international realities, economic restructuring in the U.S., and the changing needs of American communities. To this end, a Cabinet-level committee, under the leadership of the Vice President or a Cabinet official could be established, or a sub-Cabinet mechanism could be organized.

- There is a Congressional commission with a mandate to make broad policy recommendations in 1994 and 1996. The President must appoint its chair, and the appointment has not yet been made. A leading citizen and experienced political leader should be asked to take on this task. The Commission could also be expanded to include administration officials as members. Historically, bodies such as this have effectively built public consensus for immigration policy changes and have produced thoughtful policy blueprints that have effectively guided administration thinking and Congressional action.

cc: Janet Reno, Attorney General

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

May 27, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR RAHM EMANUEL

FROM: TOM EPSTEIN

SUBJECT: IMMIGRATION

Overview

Immigration is emerging as the most powerful political issue in California, and the administration must begin to deal with it. Governor Wilson is blaming illegal immigrants for many of the state's social and economic problems, and accuses the federal government of failing to meet its obligations to control illegal immigration and fund the state costs of both legal and illegal immigration. State legislators have introduced a plethora of bills on the subject, many of which are punitive or even unconstitutional.

Thoughtful Democrats in Congress are expressing concern and seeking the President's active involvement in the issue. Last week, Senator Feinstein called upon the administration to take the initiative. Congressmembers Tony Beilenson and Howard Berman have long been active on the issue and have ideas to offer. The state's Latino representatives are also certain to have given some thought to this sensitive subject.

Though this is largely a California issue, it has significant ramifications in other key states, as well. Texas, Florida, Illinois, and several northeastern states are experiencing varying degrees of unwelcome and illegal immigration from Latin America, Cuba, Haiti, and other Caribbean countries. In some instances, the immigrants request refugee status, and any formulation of a national immigration policy must also include consideration of refugee issues.

While any immigration-related action on the part of the administration is likely to be controversial and costly, the penalty for inaction is far greater. Middle class swing and Democratic voters are angry and want something done. It's time for a New Democrat solution.

Suggested Actions

First, a strong INS Commissioner must be named--the sooner the better. Since the politics demand a rather tough stance on the part of the administration, it may be desirable to choose a Latino for this role to help deflect criticism from the liberal immigrant advocacy community.

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Second, border security must be beefed up. This probably means more people, but perhaps new cooperative arrangements with local authorities or new technologies can assist in stemming the hemorrhaging along the border.

Third, the 1986 immigration reform law's employer sanctions must be better enforced. I've been told by both Beilenson and Berman that in the absence of an inviolable legal residency identification card, employers can generally evade penalties under the current law. *The introduction of our new Health Security Card may provide an opportunity to create an identification card that civil libertarians will accept.* Swift and sure penalties must also be imposed on employers who violate the law.

Process

Before any major public initiatives are developed, key Congressmembers and other opinion leaders should obviously be consulted and the available literature on the subject carefully reviewed. For our political purposes, Feinstein, Berman, Beilenson, and Xavier Becerra should be major players in our policy discussions. *We can also build bridges to Republicans on this issue, and that should be done.*

State Political Implications

Finally, on a purely political level, Wilson is highly vulnerable on this subject. As a Senator, he led the fight for a "guest worker" amendment to the 1986 immigration reform law. This provision, strongly supported by major agribusiness interests, permitted undocumented workers to enter the U.S. on temporary visas to pick perishable crops. It is now estimated that as many as 1 million of these "seasonal" workers never returned to their country of origin, leaving the state to pick up the bill for their education, health care, incarceration costs, etc.

Apparently suffering a memory lapse regarding his own culpable behavior, Wilson noisily requested over $1.5 billion from the federal government for these costs in the coming fiscal year. Prior administrations never reimbursed the state for these costs, but the Clinton administration agreed to over half the governor's request. (It's worth noting that OMB Director Panetta, who personally crafted the administration's funding proposal on this issue, was a leading supporter of the Wilson guest worker amendment when it was considered by the House).

So Wilson, who played a large role in creating this problem, never delivered a penny for California as Senator or as Governor during the Bush years. Yet he still tries to blame the current federal administration for his budget shortfall. Our friends will pummel the Governor in the free media on this issue at the appropriate time. Meanwhile, we should work closely with our potential Democratic gubernatorial nominees to ensure they stay on the right side of these issues.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 11, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR RAHM EMANUEL

FROM: TOM EPSTEIN TE

SUBJECT: IMMIGRATION/REFUGEE ASYLUM STRATEGY

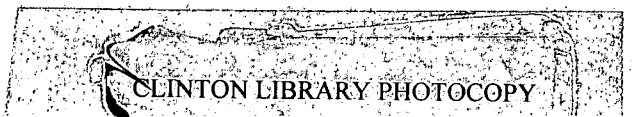
This memo represents my best thinking at the present time, in the absence of any guidance from administration policymakers.

GUIDING ASSUMPTIONS

1. The current situation is a mess. Too many immigrants and refugees are entering the country, and they are often treated inhumanely when they arrive. Something drastic must be done about it.
2. Incentives for illegal immigrants to enter the country must be reduced.
3. Existing laws must be better enforced, especially the employer sanction provision.
4. The asylum hearing and immigration naturalization processes must be made much more efficient, humane, and speedy.
5. States have a legal right to some reimbursement for the costs incurred implementing federal immigration statutes.

PENDING EVENTS

1. A meeting with the President to consider refugee/asylum policy is scheduled for today.
2. A new INS commissioner will be named very soon, and she is likely to be Doris Meissner, an experienced former INS acting commissioner. She is reputed to be non-partisan and non-controversial.
3. On Wednesday, June 16, the House Subcommittee on Immigration (Mazzoli, chair) will meet to evaluate the employer sanctions program. No concrete legislation is expected to emerge from the hearing.
4. Bills are being prepared by Senators Simpson and Kennedy to deal with refugee/asylum issues.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POLITICAL EVALUATION

1. Immigration will be one of the top two or three issues in the California governor's race in 1994, and I suspect the issue will be significant in Texas, New York, and other key states, as well. Therefore, we must establish a productive record and reputation on this subject by mid-1994.

2. California Governor Wilson has attempted to blame the administration for a panoply of immigration-related ills, but his record as Senator makes him extremely vulnerable on the issue.

3. These issues are easily demagogued, and are being used by conservative Republicans as a racial wedge. Tough talk must be backed up by hard facts, not biased rhetoric. A thorough review of the economic impact of immigration should be initiated immediately.

4. The inefficiency of the government's immigration program is a serious problem. It cries out for a "reinventing government" solution.

5. Many advocates for Latino interests will accept much tougher restrictions on future immigration if Border Patrol abuses are stopped, the naturalization process is speeded up, and public services are not unfairly curtailed for those who are already here. The more liberal interests, however, will oppose almost any reform that enhances enforcement.

6. Large agribusiness interests (who supported George Bush and Pete Wilson heavily) despise employer sanctions. Other employers are also not keen on tougher enforcement. Civil liberties groups vehemently oppose legal residency identity cards.

ACTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. When the INS chief is named, AG Reno should announce that the chief must report back to her within 90 days with recommendations for a complete reform of immigration policy and management processes. As part of that effort, an intra-administration task force should be established to provide input, including representation from the Customs Service, HHS, OMB, the Coast Guard, the State Department, etc. This could possibly be integrated into the Vice President's National Performance Review.

2. The INS chief and Reno (with others listed above) should make high-profile visits to immigration trouble spots and meet with public officials and local communities.

3. Consultations with key Congressmembers from both parties and other legislative players should begin immediately to solicit ideas and ascertain the realm of the possible.

4. When a legislative package is ready for introduction, it should be unveiled in California in a high-profile and comprehensive manner that recounts the history and context of the issues. It should have bipartisan support.

5. Balance is crucial. When making tough proposals that appeal to xenophobes, it is essential to provide some benefits to productive immigrants and their allies, as well as to expressly reject the more extreme proposals of the right wing.

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6. This is a laundry list of policy options, many of which could prove to be counter-productive or politically impractical:

Management Changes

a. Consolidation of responsibilities in one immigration agency, or at least a permanent coordinating body to ensure interagency cooperation.

b. Separate administration of the Border Patrol and the naturalization functions.

c. More bodies and better training for both the Border Patrol and the immigration bureaucracy.

Tougher Enforcement

a. Enhanced monitoring of immigration patterns, better border protection technology, and more Border Patrol officers.

b. A real commitment to employer sanctions, with frequent inspections and prosecutions. Development of a tamper-proof legal residency card or data base is essential to fairly enforcing these sanctions (options include the proposed Health Security Card or an on-line computer system to provide easily accessible, reliable information to employers).

c. Strict penalties for immigration smugglers.

d. Streamlined legal procedures for asylum hearings.

e. Reduce legal immigration quotas. Limit family preference to immediate family members.

f. Restrict grounds for asylum (eliminate Moral Majority-era one-child-in-China exemption).

Budget Issues

a. Short-term costs are inevitable to eliminate backlog, expand investigations, reimburse states, and beef up border security.

b. Savings should ultimately be achieved through management efficiencies, collection of civil penalties, and a reduction in illegal immigration.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 14, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR RAHM EMANUEL

FROM: TOM EPSTEIN TE

SUBJECT: ANNOUNCEMENT OF INS COMMISSIONER

The announcement of a new INS Commissioner as early as this week affords the administration an opportunity to position itself on the side of tough action and strong management to correct the notorious ineffectiveness of this beleaguered agency. As I suggested in earlier memos, immigration is a white-hot subject in the southwest and must be addressed forcefully to avoid a wicked political backlash.

Here are a few ideas to coincide with the announcement:

1. When the INS chief is named, AG Reno should announce that the chief must report back to her within 90 days with recommendations for a complete reform of immigration policy and management processes. As part of that effort, an intra-administration task force should be established to provide input, including representation from the Customs Service, HHS, OMB, the Coast Guard, the State Department, etc. This could possibly be integrated into the Vice President's National Performance Review.

2. The INS chief and Reno (with others listed above) should make high-profile visits to immigration trouble spots and meet with public officials and local communities. This could be announced when the commissioner is named, but might work better if it is revealed a week or so later to demonstrate that action is underway.

3. Consultations with key Congressmembers from both parties and other legislative players should begin immediately to solicit ideas and ascertain what is possible.

4. When our refugee/asylum policy is ready, which I understand is very soon, it should be announced by the President personally in strong law-and-order terms. He should indicate this is just the first step in a comprehensive restructuring of an immigration/border security strategy.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 7, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR JOAN BAGGETT AND RAHM EMANUEL

FROM: TOM EPSTEIN

SUBJECT: IMMIGRATION

A few additional thoughts on my favorite subject.

1. Over the weekend, I read that the administration's 1994 budget actually reduced the number of Border Patrol officers (see attached articles). If true, this contradicts claims made by the President that we are beefing up the Border Patrol. Led by a California Republican, House members ignored the administration's proposal and added 600 officers. All but five California members supported the increase. We should get on this right away and support the augmentation in conference committee.

2. As we await confirmation of our new INS chief, it would be valuable to do some thorough polling on public attitudes toward the current situation and potential changes in immigration policy. I suggest a national poll, with oversampling of Californians and Latinos. Ideally, this could be completed within weeks so we can use the information to help craft a new policy before the summer ends.

3. Immigration can be a carrot and stick program. As you know, I favor a foolproof identity card to facilitate enforcement of the employer sanctions provisions of existing law. While some Latinos will oppose this, their fears can be ameliorated if we simultaneously devote substantial new resources to the naturalization process. Among other things, we should try to eliminate the huge backlog of cases and proactively seek out those who are soon eligible for citizenship under the 1986 amnesty. If we assist this rather large (over a million) group to achieve citizenship, the beneficiaries of our efforts will remember the party that helped them do it.

4. This may sound like a broken record, but it bears repeating: we must move quickly and aggressively to stay ahead of the wave on this issue. In addition to Governor Wilson and Senator Feinstein, dozens of congressmembers are eager to own this subject. We need a tough, comprehensive policy that truly curtails illegal immigration while treating people fairly and reinventing the bureaucracy. Properly done, we could assemble a broad bipartisan coalition in Congress and receive the overwhelming support of the voting public. Our new INS chief has written about this subject for years. She knows what to do. This administration should give her the green light for bold action.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	re: Thoughts for Your Breakfast Tomorrow (3 pages)	n.d.	P5

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FOLDER TITLE:
Clinton Doctrine - Articles

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THOUGHTS FOR YOUR BREAKFAST TOMORROW

1. Experts are looking to hear an overarching theme and to sense that this Administration has a coherent, strategic vision for its foreign policy. In short, to quote Norm Ornstein, "We want to know the foreign policy game plan." Unfortunately, the experts I spoke with who attended the dinner at State did NOT come away convinced that we have such a gameplan. The feeling was that we are comfortable with "ad hocery" and that we are content to say that the post-Cold War era does not lend itself to an overall strategy and theme, and we will simply have to make policy case-by-case.

   Most foreign policy thinkers are NOT prepared to accept the notion of an Administration without a central, overarching strategy and not ready to concede that the world simply does not lend itself to gameplans anymore. There is still an expectation that we can articulate and deliver on a long-range plan that gives people a comfortable feeling that we are not simply managing crises, but organizing the world.

   I think we can do a better job of explaining and demonstrating our commitment to building new institutions, new architecture -- in Europe, in the Middle East, in the former Soviet Union, in Latin and Central America, in Africa...new foundations which keep the peace and enhance the prosperity of nations.

2. I would open the breakfast tomorrow by saying that you are increasingly concerned about the public fixation and the media focus on the short-term, daily scorecard, and that you remain convinced that focusing solely on the here and now risks missing the truly important issues that, in the long-run, determine how we are judged. (You might add that the thinking behind this breakfast is the need to continue a dialogue between policymakers inside and those who think about foreign policy on the outside.) I would then try to outline, very briefly, what it is that we are seeking to achieve in our foreign policy -- a more sophisticated discussion of the pillars of policy but with emphasis on the fact that we have a strategic vision and some very steady, consistent guideposts for the new global landscape.

   My own view, having heard versions of the explanation countless times, is that we have diluted our own message (and made it muddy) by trying to put lots of eggs into three big baskets which don't do justice to our agenda. I offer, for your consideration, a slightly different formulation.

   a. The Clinton foreign policy has focused on a set of principles which, in no order of priority, guide our policies. PUTTING ECONOMICS AT THE HEART OF FOREIGN POLICY does constitute part of a strategic gameplan

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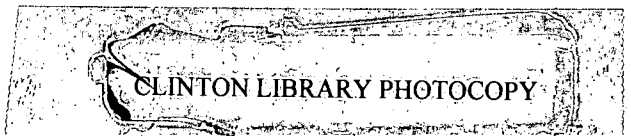
which takes into account the changing nature of international economic relationships and helps shape our thinking about the need for new, regional and global institutions. (You can run through the laundry list of things we have done -- GATT, NAFTA, etc.) This President's focus on international economics sets him apart from his predecessors. Putting economics at the heart of foreign policy IS an element of the Clinton Doctrine and should be so analyzed. The key to this pillar, it strikes me, is that Bill Clinton is adapting the old to fit the new -- making 50-year-old institutions work in modern times.

b. NEWLY EMERGING DEMOCRACIES. I think, at times, you race through this pillar without underscoring some of the new, innovative aspects of it. In other words, I think it is almost too broad a category and by its very title does not qualify as a specific roadmap.

By simply putting South Africa, Summit of the Americas, European integration, Haiti policy -- all in the category of "support for democracy," I fear that we water down all of them and make that pillar sound broad and unfocused. This is more a COMMUNICATIONS point, than a policy point. It might be useful to be more pointed about how we define our vision for new democracies.

My own view is that we should make EUROPEAN INTEGRATION more of a pillar, rather than just lumping it in with other things. PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE, HELP FOR CENTRAL AND EAST EUROPE, CONCENTRATION ON UKRAINE and other former Soviet states, etc. -- these are elements of a Clinton Doctrine which is very focused on a NEW EUROPE. People are demanding of us that we come up with new policies, new structures, a clear roadmap. Europe is absolutely a part of the world where we are doing precisely that. We need to say it loudly and clearly. (It might be worth adding that the reaction in Europe, particularly Germany and France, is overwhelmingly positive to what they perceive as a very clear, very strong European integration vision. Why is it resonating there and not here, you might ask the group?) If we are successful with our European integration policy, it has the potential to keep the peace -- a peace that so many people fought and died for. If we are successful with our European integration policy, we will leave permanent structures in place which become part of the architecture around which the post-Cold War organizes itself. That is vision. (Our leadership on the Bosnia issue flows from this concern from Europe.)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c. Rather than make NEW SECURITY THREATS a pillar -- again, I would be even clearer about saying that this President is focused on and committed to NON-PROLIFERATION and that we have a gameplan for dealing with this threat of weapons of mass destruction which involves firm, constant attention to it as we are doing with North Korea. If we keep working on non-proliferation, and we succeed in getting nations to seriously adhere to a non-proliferation regime, we leave in place another organizing principle for the post-Cold War world. That is vision.

The BOTTOM UP REVIEW, I think, we mistakenly frame as a pillar of our policy. It doesn't really qualify as a strategic objective but as a means to an end -- namely, the preservation of our force requirement to fight two wars simultaneously. Even that, I fear, does not resonate with press or experts as a global vision. It is a critical dimension of our military capability, but I think we lump it into too broad a category called new security threats.

My hope for this breakfast is that you can open with brief remarks about the importance of dialogue on foreign policy and the need for those on the outside to understand our strategy -- and that you can lay out the critical elements of the strategy -- the economic dimension, the European integration, the non-proliferation in a way that leaves no doubt as to our commitment to long-term planning. The balance of the hour should be spent listening to the seven guests and giving them a chance NOT just to ask questions but to advance their own arguments for the global vision. I think we have not challenged outsiders enough -- in that we let people critique without demanding alternatives.

Last few points:

Middle East: I would look for an opportunity, during discussion, to mention our role in the peace process and how, again, we have a vision of helping the parties in creating new architecture, new economic, political and cultural bridges -- which insure a lasting peace.

Russia: I would look for an opportunity to remind people that we have remained steady and consistent, resisting the temptation to alter course, on our policy vis-a-vis Russia and the NIS. We have NOT been overly Russia-focused nor have we turned away from Yeltsin and the reformers even when many were losing confidence. We have truly been and are steady in things like the call for Russian withdrawal from the Baltics.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Meeghan Prunty to Bob Boorstin; re: War (-Like) Room for Health Care (2 pages)	04/07/1993	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 416

FOLDER TITLE:
HC [Health Care] Task Force - War Room

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2552

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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MEMORANDUM

TO: Bob Boorstin

FROM: Meeghan Prunty

CC: Jennifer Smith
Jason Solomon

DATE: April 7, 1993

RE: **WAR(-LIKE) ROOM FOR HEALTH CARE**

Summary: As I mentioned, I think we need a "war room" for the launch of our health care reform proposal. This room would serve as the nexus of our entire health care operation, with representation from all relevant departments: Communications; Policy; Consultants; Public Liaison; Congressional; Intergovernmental; Surrogate Scheduling; Press; Principals Scheduling (BC, HRC, AGJ, MEG).

- All message and strategy would be generated/communicated from here.
- All outside communications (i.e., Congressional monitoring, interest group activity) would be routed through it. We could have a "hotline" for Hill contacts.
- Rapid response capability would be a key component.
- Our morning (and perhaps, in key weeks, also an evening) meeting would take place here: to find out what we are all doing, what our strategy is, what our message is, what news there has been.

Timing: I had originally thought of this as not having to be fully operational until the plan was launched. After Mandy's request yesterday to get daily updates on interest group activity on the Hill, we may decide to get it up and running as soon as possible.

Name: We all heard James say that we can't go backwards. We need a different name. "War Room" is too common now -- it has lost its meaning. We need to signify that this is not a re-creation of our old (beloved) War Room but an entity developed for this specific purpose, with its own distinct structure. Could have a contest for this. Maybe something like "ICU" (Inter-Departmental Communications Unit) or "Emergency Room" or "Health Security Room" (Jason) or "Special ICU" (Special Interest Combat Unit -- Jennifer) and "Triage[1] (also Jennifer).

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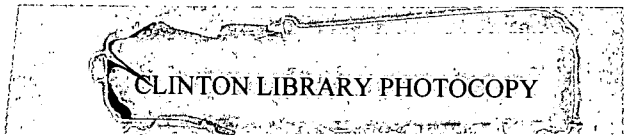
[1] The sorting of and allocation of treatment to patients especially battle and disaster victims according to a system of priorities designed to maximize the number of survivors.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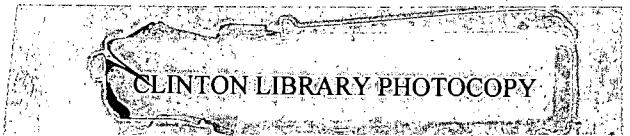
Next Steps:
If you agree with this proposal, the next steps that suggest themselves are:

- **Consensus:** Float this idea to everyone who needs to approve it (Ira, HRC?, all people who we would expect to provide staff/be staff, Mandy/Paul/Stan?, etc...)
- **Room:** We will have to find a really big room. It would defeat the purpose if most people couldn't sit there.
- **Money:** Where do we get the money for fax machines, computers, printers, phones, furniture, televisions, VCR, wire machines? Also to pay staff.
- **Who?:** We will need a core group dedicated to this room. We should remember that many people may become available as the policy work and the Tollgate process is over.

Staffing Needs:

- Focal Person: to run daily meetings, generate ideas, give final sign-offs [Robert O.] [Question: is this the same person that manages the organizational component of message coordination? i.e., a James with organizational ability]
- Administrative: to oversee organization, functions, volunteers, technology, supplies, mail, subscriptions, database, etc. [Perhaps Steve? He is up to speed; he set up the database and administers the Intake Room. If this person also coordinates things from a communications/ message perspective (like Ricki did) then is Steve still O.K.?]
- News: part-time from Keith's staff? Come in early and attend 8:00 a.m. meeting to give news updates on the networks, the prints, wire stories, etc. [an intern]
- Press Secretary (maybe 2): take press calls, take interview requests, generate releases, etc. [Robert O.; who else? Maybe "rental" press person from an agency -- a 60- or 120-day appointment; many were state press secretaries during general]
- Press Scheduling Person: to schedule interviews [Josh? He does this now]
- Congressional monitoring: Both to monitor C-Span as well as go to the Hill for hearings and press conferences [maybe Nestor or Stu or people from that shop?]
- Surrogate scheduler: To fill all press/media requests as well as carry out pro-active surrogate strategy. [Alan? And an intern]
- Rapid Response/Opposition Operation: to respond to Congressional counter-proposals and attacks, interest group attacks, etc.; will involve policy [Christine, Atul] and communications [Jason, Me, Robert O., the additional staff we have discussed] and congressional affairs [key person with deep knowledge of Congress] and Public Liaison Office. DNC can also help from research end

ONCE/IF WE HAVE SIGN-OFF, LET'S HAVE A MEETING TO DISCUSS



Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	David Lew to Robert Boorstin; re: A Proposal to Improve Communications in the Clinton White House (6 pages)	09/07/1994	P5
002. memo	Bob Boorstin to Mark Gearan; re: Job Description/Suggestions (4 pages)	06/18/1993	P5
003. memo	Michael Waldman to Mark Gearan; re: Planning/Coordination (2 pages)	06/22/1993	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 416

FOLDER TITLE:
Communications Department - Structure

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2553

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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SEPTEMBER 7, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT BOORSTIN
OFFICE OF COMUNICATIONS

FROM: DAVID LEW
INTERN/VOLUNTEER, OFFICE OF GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS
ROOM 415 OEOB, x6-2950

SUBJECT: A PROPOSAL TO IMPROVE COMMUNICATIONS IN THE CLINTON WHITE HOUSE

SUMMARY

One of the key challenges now facing the Clinton Administration is centralizing and reporting the Administration's policies and accomplishments to the public. Currently, policy information is scattered throughout various offices of the White House, making it difficult to locate an accurate and authoritative source of information. This problem directly hinders the Administration's communications efforts, both internally and externally. Policy information needs to be consolidated into one office to allow easier access to the Administration's position by White House staff, the public, and the media. *The creation of a ~~Policy~~ Position ~~Headquarters~~ office would serve as an excellent vehicle to communicate the Administration's message to the public and at the same time, improve access to policy information within the Clinton White House.*

BACKGROUND

Currently, I work in the Office of George Stephanopoulos as an intern/volunteer. My main responsibilities are to write well-researched and succinctly articulated positions of the Administration on behalf of George Stephanopoulos for virtually all matters concerning the Administration's foreign and domestic policies. I have worked in the White House for over eight months now, previously serving as a White House intern in the Health Care Congressional Relations office. As a result of having served in the above two offices, I believe that I have gained a somewhat wider perspective of the foreign and domestic policy issues facing the Administration than most interns or volunteers.

During my term, I have noticed a common problem cited as a major concern to the White House. After having attended numerous White House intern speaker events, many high-level speakers have indicated the following problem which is hindering the Administration's efforts. Specifically, it is the seeming inability of the Administration to carry its message and

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accomplishments to the public. Several senior officials in the Administration have acknowledged that the White House could do better in communicating its policies and accomplishments to the American people. Here, I will describe this communication problem in detail and offer some suggestions on how to overcome it.

PROBLEM: THE LACK OF A CENTRAL POLICY POSITION OFFICE

In the course of researching the official policy positions of the Administration, I have found that many White House staff members are unable to state clearly the position of the Administration on a certain issue. Most staff members in the White House have told me that they often receive outside inquiries by phone or correspondence which concern the Administration's policies. However, these staff members are invariably unable to access the necessary policy information without going through considerable red-tape.

In my case, even though I work in the office of George Stephanopoulos, I still have encountered surprising difficulty obtaining the information that I need in order to write a precise and thorough response to constituents and government officials. Time after time, the White House offices I contact have referred me to another office, which then refers me to another, and so on. I believe this is because very few people feel they are in a position to state the official policy or they simply do not know the correct and authoritative policy. If someone working for the Senior Advisor to the President has such difficulty finding out the Administration's policy on current issues, there is no doubt that the average person on the street or people in the media have more difficulty in obtaining accurate policy information.

Ideally, one should be able to call the White House Press Office and access the press briefings containing the official policy position of the Administration on a certain topic. Unfortunately, however, these press releases are categorized by date, not by topic. Therefore, unless one knows the date of a specific press briefing when a particular policy was discussed, then it is very difficult to find an authoritative source of the Administration's position.

SOLUTION

a position was been determined.

All White House staff members should have the ability to instantly know where to access the official policy positions on any topic once it has been decided. As shown above, part of the reason why the Administration is constantly plagued by misreporting and misunderstanding by the media is because there seems to be no authoritative office that can readily access and report the Administration's official positions.

This alarming difficulty in tracking information on the Administration's position suggests that a central "Policy

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Position Headquarters" (PPH) office be created. The White House has all the necessary policy information it needs within the complex. The challenge is locating the accurate and authoritative policy information - information which is currently scattered throughout various departments. Policy information needs to be consolidated into one place for easier access by White House staff, the public and the media. The main advantage of a PPH office is that it can serve as an information-clearing house which can rapidly respond to any inquires concerning the Administration's official position.

The main responsibilities of the Policy Position Headquarters office would be to request and obtain the current positions of the various offices within the White House. I would recommend that a "staged approach" be used in initially creating this office. For example, for the first few months, the PPH should be made available for internal use by only the White House staff. If it is successful during this trial period, then its operations can be gradually expanded to include providing information to the media and the general public.

The Policy Position Headquarters would probably require a small, but efficient staff (five people, at the most) composed of perhaps two full-time staff workers and interns or volunteers. The facilities of a PPH office would include a computer, printer, telephone, fax, and file cabinet to cull and organize all the various documents into one place. The director of the PPH should be someone with good political and interpersonal skills, preferably possessing a legal background since much of the information would have to be cleared through the General Counsel's Office. The PPH director should also be able to attend senior staff meetings and report directly to either the President or an Assistant to the President.

This office should not be construed to be one that makes policy. Rather, it should be an office that reports the current policy positions of the Administration to whoever needs this information. If there is a policy change, then the PPH should be informed of this change. This new policy information could then be disseminated throughout the White House by using the EOP network (OASIS system E-mail), newsletters, or internal memos.

Currently, a "Statement of Official Policy" series does exist in the Presidential Correspondence Office. But, it only covers domestic legislation which has already passed. It does not include foreign policy issues, nor does it include domestic issues unrelated to legislation, such as the Administration's position on the problem of AIDS.

I believe that the Clinton Administration has already seen the benefits of having this type of office by the successful use of a "War Room" during the election campaign. The difference was that the War Room not only served as a central policy-making

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headquarters, it also was a center of information where one could gain the most current and official stance of the Clinton team.

A SUCCESSFUL PAST EXAMPLE OF A POLICY POSITION HEADQUARTERS

In the Reagan White House, the Public Affairs Office essentially served the function of a Policy Position Headquarters. The Public Affairs Office consisted of six staff members and it was one of the few offices in the Reagan White House that made extensive use of interns. It was subordinate to the Office of Communications and was run by a Director who also held the title of Special Assistant to the President.

The Reagan Administration's Public Affairs Office carried out many vital responsibilities: it responded to all public inquiries to the White House on policy and past accomplishments. Besides its reactive functions, this office also had proactive responsibilities, such as producing "talking points," compiling various statistics, and putting out a newsletter called the "White House Economic Bulletin." This monthly newsletter was designed to answer journalists' questions about the administration's economic policies.

The Public Affairs Office also produced an annual 100-page report entitled, "The Reagan Presidency: A Review of the First Year." This report mixed a list of Reagan's activities (for example, all 72 of his meetings with foreign leaders) with a summary of the year's major accomplishments in terms of the economy, defense, and other domestic and foreign affairs.

Although the information produced by the Public Affairs Office admittedly put the Reagan Administration's policies in a favorable light, there can be little doubt that this office effectively helped President Reagan convey his message to the public. It is indeed no accident that Reagan was also known as "The Great Communicator." (For your review, I have attached at the end of this memo some pages from the 1988 EOP Telephone Directory showing the Office of Public Affairs (p.3) under the Reagan Administration White House.)

A USEFUL BUT UNDER-UTILIZED RESOURCE

According to the Executive Office of the President (EOP) Library, a database which utilizes software called "Basis +" already exists but it is not yet available beyond the EOP librarians. This database is an on-line source of White House press-releases which virtually anyone on the EOP network should be able to access. Staff members could type in key words or subjects and view all the official statements by the President or Press Office on a specific subject.

Unfortunately, the software is not user-friendly and the EOP librarians are among the few people who have access to it. The efficient use of the database depends on the cooperation of the

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Press Office in providing press releases in a timely and thorough manner. The good news is that with the right software, this technology can be used more extensively by White House staff.

The Press Office has already requested access to this information in their office. I would suggest, however, that a meeting be held to discuss the needs of other potential White House users and providers of this software and that a requirements analysis be taken. For example, all correspondence offices within the White House could make great use of this new kind of technology. Obviously, budget considerations would be key in determining the best software package for the White House. Once this database is fully implemented, it would be an ideal resource for the Policy Position Headquarters office.

TEN ADVANTAGES OF HAVING A POLICY POSITION HEADQUARTERS

1. Any White House staff member can instantly find out the Administration's position on a specific topic. This will save time and eliminate the frustration of waiting for information to be sent or being constantly referred to different offices.

2. A PPH can make full use of today's new information technology, such as the under-utilized EOP Library database mentioned above. The White House can then use the PPH to demonstrate the practical benefits of employing an information superhighway, an effort which Vice President Gore would be likely to support.

3. More than any previous Administration, the Clinton White House has had to depend on interns and volunteers to staff their offices due to budget cuts. By utilizing a PPH, interns and volunteers can confidently respond to outside inquiries on the Administration's policies if the need arises.

4. In the same vein, new interns and volunteers will be less prone to embarrassing the Administration when fielding questions on the Administration policies. This is particularly important when their full-time staff supervisors are temporarily away from their desk or on leave. Consequently, the image of the Clinton White House would be shielded from the unnecessary public criticism of using many inexperienced interns and volunteers.

5. In the past, too many individuals in the White House have claimed to represent the Clinton Administration's position to the media without obtaining proper authorization. With a PPH, the Administration can offer one central and authoritative position, thereby reducing the number of conflicting reports and helping to dispel the image of a chaotic White House.

6. Media organizations will be able to immediately access a central office which will provide accurate and timely information on the Administration's policies and accomplishments.

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7. Concerned citizens can call or write to the PPH to find out what the Administration is doing on specific issues.

8. In the past, the White House has often been in the position of reactively responding to criticisms of policy. This gives the impression to the public that the Administration is constantly on the defensive. By preparing talking points in advance, a PPH can proactively defend the Administration's policies before the media or public has an opportunity to attack them.

9. A PPH will ease the responsibilities of the staff in the Press Office and the EOP Libraries so that they can concentrate on other pressing matters.

10. A PPH will allow all White House correspondence offices to write better issue letters which authoritatively state the Administration's current policies and past accomplishments. In the past, several citizens have complained that they have received impersonal form letters from the President or other members of the White House. The Clinton Administration can avoid this kind of unnecessary damage to its reputation - and actually enhance its image - if it uses more issue/policy letters instead of form letters.

CONCLUSION

If a Policy Position Headquarters office is created, the Clinton White House will have taken a significant step towards improving its internal access to policy information and enhancing its public image. This proposals can be implemented by using the resources already available within the White House. They only require better organization and a dedicated staff.

Even if a PPH is not feasible at this time, there are still a few simple ways to improve the internal access to policy information. I would specifically suggest that the Press Office begin to categorize its press briefings by date AND by topic. This would greatly enhance the usefulness of that office for people both within and outside the White House.

I have spoken to several White House staff members in various offices who agree that a PPH could make a positive difference. If you feel that this idea has any merit, I would be more than willing to discuss it further with you. It cannot be stressed enough that the Administration needs to squarely address this critical challenge of communicating its policy messages to the public and making the public more aware of the Administration's past accomplishments.

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MEMORANDUM

TO: Mark Gearan
FROM: Bob Boorstin
DATE: June 18, 1993
RE: Job description/suggestions

Job description

Save for the ten days preceding the State of the Union, I have spent about 90 percent of my time trying to coordinate communications and policy on health care. My charge is to design and help implement a consistent message for the health care reform program. Last month, HRC asked Jeff Eller to coordinate the message efforts. Specifically, I:

- run a daily 8 a.m. health care policy/communications meeting that brings 10-15 people together to review schedule and events, relations with interest groups and Congress, policy progress and related matters;

- act as the chief spokesman for health care (previously for the Task Force), answering questions from the major papers, magazines and networks and arranging background briefings;

- act as editor for all health-care related materials, including remarks by the President, HRC and Secretary Shalala, talking points for Congress, etc.;

- work with Congressional leadership staff and members in developing and explaining a message;

- attempt to make sure -- by organizing meetings that bring our consultants and policy staff together and by having constant, direct input -- that the policy development process takes into account political reality; also, in developing my role as "special assistant for policy coordination," try to help make sure that all agencies/departments are brought into decision-making process;

- meet with various health interest groups, particularly the larger alliances and those associated with mental health, to discuss communications and policy matters.

In practice, I spend a lot of my time on the phone with reporters. I have developed regular working relations with those assigned to health care, in addition to a number of White House reporters, some of whom I helped during the campaign. I also spend a lot of time in meetings that address specific health care policy matters or communications calendar/strategy.

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Outside of health care, I have served as an editor for Administration materials and speeches. During the run-up to the State of the Union, for example, I edited the OMB book that was sent up to the Hill. I also occasionally help out David by editing speeches or statements for the President. Finally, I have spent many hours trying to make sure that the young people who worked on the campaign ended up with jobs in the Administration; this has wound down in recent weeks, though I feel a particular responsibility for those who worked in the policy shop.

Job suggestions

The Communications Department has suffered from a lack of administrative oversight and from a failure to coordinate its long-range activities. We track some issues very closely but lose sight of others (i.e. national service, immigration), resulting in mixed or nonexistent messages. We have done a miserable job of responding rapidly to the Republicans and opposing interest groups. In addition, there is little or no coordination between domestic and foreign policy messages.

Our external communications failures are grounded in dysfunctional internal communications in the Executive Office of the President. Simply put: people don't talk to each other. Meetings don't include relevant parties. People don't show up at meetings, and then countermand decisions. Decisions are made, remade and then reversed. Communications with legislative affairs and cabinet affairs are miserable at best. The result is confusion, both in message and policy.

Perhaps our biggest administrative problems are in speechwriting and research which, ironically, have our biggest talent pools. The speechwriters deserve respect, authority, POTUS face time, and more input into the message. Research needs to be completely reoriented.

Some of the things we might do:

- Establishment of sensible internal meeting times and attendance for the entire White House. Podesta's shop should maintain a master calendar of meetings and attendees, with power to add representatives of departments or agencies that have not been included. People who don't show up to meetings should be allowed to send deputies.

- Division of responsibility among communications staff based on issue area. Staff would be teamed with a policy and legislative staff member to form a core team charged with developing message and monitoring progress of issue. These teams would produce weekly issue updates, taking into account developments and delivering warnings on upcoming problems. They would also make occasional presentations to WH senior staff, brief spokespeople and coordinate with agency public affairs departments. They would also coordinate -- with scheduling, political, public liaison, etc. -- events for the principals that touch on that particular area.

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To lighten the load and expand people's opportunities, communications representatives should include Voles, Jones, Stone, and Curiel.

• Development of an "issues calendar" that would track issues and highlight potential conflicts. One person should be given responsibility for making sure issue teams deliver timely reports and should make assignments (like Ricki does now) for strategy memos, talking points, speeches, Q & A, backgrounders, bios, etc.

• Weekly planning meetings that would involve, at a minimum, Gergen, Stephanopoulos, Gearan, Myers, Dreyer, Seidman, Waldman, Boorstin, Romash, Kusnet, Steinberg, Begala, Grunwald, Greenberg. Crucial issues could be updated.

• Regular meetings with heads of Cabinet public affairs departments and maintenance of clear schedule of major announcements and policies.

• Establishment of rapid response "war room," similar to that being planned for health care. (I understand that personnel changes are in the works already.) Failure to have rapid response capability led, to some extent, to the death of the stimulus package, Guinier, etc.

• Refashioning of daily 8:30 a.m. meeting, to make sure that deputies from each department attend and that short presentations on the progress of issues are made. These meetings have devolved into daily recitations, with some departments regularly missing out (i.e. Cabinet) and others not sending high-level reps (i.e. legislative.)

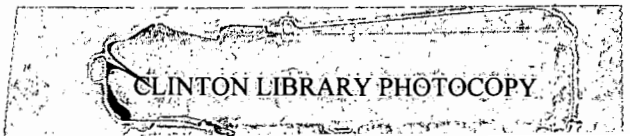
• Establishment of a targetting operation. Right now, it is impossible to get necessary information from legislative and, in turn, impossible for Eller's shop to focus its efforts geographically. Internal communications with the legislative shop are lousy.

• Establishment of official communications deputy for personnel or delegation of this task to another area (i.e. Ricki). As we all know, personnel has been at the heart of our communications troubles.

• Increased background briefings on issues, particularly with groups of network reporters and correspondents and "tong" members.

• Presence of policy/communications person on all trips to accompany the press and provide our spin and background on issues under discussion. Example: Sperling on deficit reduction trust.

• Integration of foreign policy message with domestic message. This is a potentially hazardous and complicated



undertaking, but we have not developed an easy to understand "Clinton doctrine" that is in line with our domestic themes.

• Integration of foreign policy events, announcements or developments. Our haphazard approach threatens to bury domestic events that we want to stress or to highlight foreign policy issues that we could muffle with domestic pronouncements.

• Immediate hiring of a fifth speechwriter, perhaps with foreign policy experience.

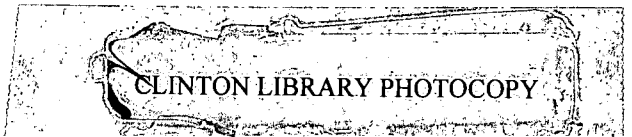
• Weekly planning meetings with speechwriters and Gergen, Stephanopoulos, Gearan, Dreyer.

• Monthly meetings with POTUS and speechwriters, preferably held in conjunction with upcoming major speeches but with time reserved for general discussion.

• Continued presence of at least one speechwriter on each POTUS trip.

• Reorganization of research to orient it towards rapid response and compilation of materials for 1996.

• Establishment of research data base on POTUS actions and statements, with search function based on Lexis/Nexis style key words. We must have the ability to immediately access this information.



June 22, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR MARK GEARAN

CC: BOB BOORSTIN

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN

SUBJECT: PLANNING/COORDINATION

I believe the planning/coordination effort could be very exciting, and is very much needed. I don't know how much progress you made on thinking this through after my departure last night, but here are a few thoughts about how it should be structured.

* As I mentioned last night, I am particularly concerned that this has the potential for being very nebulous -- a recipe for frustration. This process will only thrive with empowerment and access. Without these, it could be a grand exercise in wheel-spinning. This needs to be done under the auspices of, and with the input of, someone at a Gergen-Stephanopoulos-McLarty level. (Even with that, this will require considerable diplomacy.) And it can't work unless the people involved are given access to the fora where priorities are set and decisions made. For this to happen, we need your leadership and advocacy.

* There are, in my view, several distinct roles that are inadequately filled, and that could be properly undertaken by the communications department (as well as elsewhere in the White House).

• Traffic cop -- We've gotten better about this, but the WH still lacks the ability to prioritize and order policy initiatives. This entails things such as executive orders, new proposals, scheduled speeches to organizations, etc.

• Message cops -- Even at a non-presidential level, there needs to be a more effective infusion of Clintonite ideology and priorities.

• Issue tracking -- As discussed, the planning operation should systematize the tracking of what the departments and cabinet councils are doing, for our informational and planning purposes.

• Long-term calendar/block schedule -- The compilation and updating of the long

• Injecting a "communications" sensibility early into the process of issue development -- Especially for those issues that are the next major campaigns or projects, we should

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have communications input early and continuously. Either the people involved in planning can play this role, or they can ensure that someone is doing it. (Consider reinventing government; that could be me or Bob, or it could be Marla.)

* We shouldn't get too caught up in structure at first. A good first step would be to think of it as a task-oriented project -- e.g., weekly updates on what's going on; working on and implementing a master schedule and plan for the next six months.

As for Bob's idea of tripartite "teams" that work on the various issues, I think that they probably exist already to a certain degree. To the extent they don't, however, it is a pipe dream to seek to reorganize other people's shops (e.g., legislative) to match this model.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	David Dreyer to Donald A. Baer & Gabrielle M. Bushman; re: Random SOTU Thoughts (1 page)	01/23/1995	P5
002. memo	Todd Stern to Don Baer; re: State of the Union - January 18 Draft (2 pages)	01/19/1995	P5
003. memo	Bill Galston to George Stephanopoulos et al; re: State of the Union/The President's Vision (2 pages)	01/05/1994	P5
004. memo	Bill Galston to Don Baer et al; re: State of the State of the Union (3 pages)	01/04/1994	P5
005. memo	Bill Galston to George Stephanopoulos et al; re: State of the Union (2 pages)	01/03/1995	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 419

FOLDER TITLE:
SOTU 1995 - Inside Memos

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2564

RESTRICTION CODES

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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]
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E X E C U T I V E O F F I C E O F T H E P R E S I D E N T

23-Jan-1995 01:05pm

TO: Donald A. Baer
TO: Gabrielle M. Bushman

FROM: David Dreyer
Office of Communications

SUBJECT: RANDOM SOTU THOUGHTS

ASSUMING, FOR A MOMENT, THE DRAFT WE ARE WORKING ON HAS SOME LIFE, A COUPLE OF SUGGESTIONS COME TO MIND.

1/ I THINK THE "MISSION STATEMENT" ALL THE JAZZ ABOUT THE 21ST CENTURY, ETC., SHOULD BE ECHOED THROUGHOUT THE TEXT. WE DO NOT HAVE A STRONG ENOUGH NARRATIVE THREADING THROUGHOUT THE TEXT. WE NEED THAT.

MAYBE THERE SHOULD BE A REPEATING SENTENCE HEADING UP EACH SECTION THAT SAYS, "IN THE 21ST CENTURY, AMERICA NEEDS A GOVERNMENT SMALL ENOUGH AND SMART ENOUGH TO MASTER THE CHALLENGES OF THE FUTURE. IN THE 21ST CENTURY, AMERICA NEEDS AN ECONOMY THAT MASTERS GLOBAL TRADE AND THE INFORMATION AGE WHILE BULLDING AN EVEN LARGER AND MORE INCLUSIVE MIDDLE CLASS. IN THE 21ST CENTURY, THE FREEST, MOST OPEN, MOST DIVERSE AND INCLUSIVE SOCIETY THE WORLD HAS EVER KNOWN MUST ALSO VALUE THE ETERNAL PRINCIPLES OF CITIZENSHIP OVER SELFISHNESS, RESPONSIBILITY OVER LICENTIOUSNESS, A FUTURE PREFERENCE OVER GRATIFICATION TODAY. A NEW ECONOMY, A NEW GOVERNMENT, AND A NEW COVENANT -- THESE ARE THE PILLARS ON WHICH WE WILL BUILD A BRIDGE TO AMERICA'S FUTURE (BLAH-BLAH-BLAH).

2/ DON'T YOU NEED A PARAGRAPH THAT SAYS SOMETHING ABOUT THE STATE OF THE UNION. FYI LAST YEAR WE SAID AT THE VERY END OF THE SPEECH: WHAT IS THE STATE OF OUR UNION -- IT IS STRONG, BUT WE MUST MAKE IT STRONGER STILL. THE NETWORKS ALWAYS LOOK FOR A STATEMENT ANSWERING THE QUESTION: WHAT IS THE STATE OF THE UNION. THE ANALYSTS AND THE PRINT TYPES ALWAYS SAY: 'THE PRESIDENT SAID "THE STATE OF OUR UNION IS EXCELLENT, BUT STILL IN NEED OF..." I THINK WE NEED TO ANSWER THIS QUESTION.

3/ THE SPEECH NEEDS A DISTINCTIVE AND DEFINING SENTENCE THAT CAN BE USED AS A TITLE -- E.G, "NEW DIRECTION," "OR THE AMERICAN RENEWAL," STOP THE WORLD I WANT TO GET OFF. ETC.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 19, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR DON BAER

FROM: TODD STERN

SUBJECT: State of the Union -- January 18 draft

I've made a few interlineal comments on the attached copy of this draft. I also have a larger, structural concern about the speech. I realize the train may be too far down the track at this point, but I thought I'd give it a try anyway.

You have framed the speech around three principles or goals -- the new economy, a new kind of government, a new covenant -- but the principles lack narrative context. I think the speech needs to tell a story about what the President came here to do, what he has done so far, and what he still intends to do. And I think that story needs to be told in a way that rings true to people's sense of who Bill Clinton is and that shows him standing for things -- things quite different from what Gingrich and company stand for. For example:

> "I came to Washington two years ago with three overriding goals in mind. **First**, to revive our nation's economy and prepare it to lead the way toward a new century of expanding growth and democracy.
>
> **Second**, to put the interests of ordinary, middle-class Americans front and center for a change, rather than asking them just to accept what trickles down from the wealthy or just to foot the bill for programs aimed at helping others. That meant to me that we would have to make sure that Americans on Main Street, not just those on Wall Street, enjoy the benefits of a stronger economy; that the children of ordinary Americans would get a better chance to go to college or get trained for a job; that their neighborhoods would be made safer; that their health insurance would be made secure if they lost or changed jobs; that I would work day in and day out on the long-neglected problems of middle-class Americans.
>
> **Third**, I wanted to implement a new vision of government -- a government that was leaner and more streamlined; one that was courageous enough to tackle problems that require government solutions, but wise enough to get out of the way when states or private citizens can do better; one that was tough enough to demand responsible behavior from any citizen looking for a helping hand; one that reflected and encouraged the age-old values and virtues of this great land. In short, I came here believing in a middle ground between those who think government is the solution to every problem and those who think *eliminating* government is the only solution.

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"Now, I know better than anyone that, as we have charted our course these past two years, the sailing has not always been smooth. We have done some things well and we have made some mistakes. But let me say to you tonight that we have made powerful strides toward realizing the goals I was sent here to accomplish and that, while much remains to be done, the state of our union is far stronger than it was two years ago. And let me also say that, where we have not yet succeeded, we will keep working at it, keep testing, keep trying because if there is one thing I learned from my mother, it was never to give up and if there is one thing I learned from the example of our great President Franklin Roosevelt, it was that if something doesn't work, try something else."

[Then I'd discuss what we've accomplished and where we're going within this framework. (I) First point would discuss real deficit reduction without gimmicks -- the only kind that counts; opening markets for American goods; strong macroeconomic performance re growth, inflation, lowest misery index, etc. And I'd do foreign policy here too. We've put our own economic house in order, we're back at the top economically, we're leading the way toward freer markets and freer nations. Russia. Middle East. Korea. Haiti. Disappointment in Bosnia, but working at it. It may be counterintuitive to put foreign policy this high up, but I think that, above all, people want the President to be presidential and that it would be a good thing for him to stand strong, addressing the big picture first, both economically and globally.

(II) Second point would discuss our efforts to put ordinary Americans at the forefront -- again, first what we've done and then what we're proposing to do. What we've done: increased jobs; EITC tax cut; college loans and school to work; crime; effort to reform health care, etc. What we are going to do: **Middle-Class Bill of Rights**; health care (first steps).

(III) Third point -- role of government, under which we could discuss our vision of what government should and should not do (tackle problems rather than leave them neglected, a la Bush, but streamlining, cutting, reinventing all the way). Discuss REGO (what we've done, what we're doing). Lobby and campaign reform. New Covenant -- responsibility and opportunity. Welfare. National Service. Community. Values.

Let me also mention one other point. Leaving my own alternative ideas aside, I think we are at some risk in the extent to which we are mirroring David Osborne's recent article. First, our three principles -- new economy, new kind of government, new covenant -- are exactly the ones he outlines. Second, our language on p. 3 about being in the middle of a great crossing, as full of peril and opportunity as any in our history, moving from Industrial to Information age -- is virtually lifted right out of his article. I worry that we're setting ourselves up to be whacked by the press.

cc: Dreyer, Galston, Boorstin

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

January 5, 1994

TO: George Stephanopoulos
✓Don Baer
Mark Gearan
David Dreyer

FROM: Bill Galston

SUBJ: State of the Union/the President's vision

If we are in agreement that some statement of the President's vision for the future of America should be an important component of the State of the Union, then the challenge is to assemble that vision out of principles the President has already articulated in one forum or another. What follows is one attempt to list some possible building-blocks. I've also included an expanded version of the "Middle Class test," which is one way of framing the line-drawing component of the speech.

Components of the President's vision

o an America that rebuilds its historic foundation of strong families, and of vibrant neighborhoods and communities

o schools that children can attend in safety, and streets that citizens can walk without fear

o equal opportunity for all Americans to get all the education and training they can use, to have access to all the information they need, and to go as far as their talent and drive can take them

o an economy with jobs for all who want work, and with steadily rising incomes so that our children can confidently look forward to a better future

o citizens who do the work of citizenship:
* who take responsibility for themselves and for their families, who depend upon themselves to the maximum and upon government to the minimum
* who involve themselves actively in political life--obtaining information, engaging in dialogue with elected officials, making judgments about the policies that affect them

o a society in which our diversity is a source of strength, not division, and in which Americans can engage in frank, productive dialogue across their differences

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o a government that is wise and frugal, that helps the people do collectively only those things that they cannot do as individuals or in communities, and that deals with every problem as close to the people as possible

o an America that is open to the world, in a world that is open to America; ; an America that finds a new balance between the global dynamism we need and the local security we want; an America whose most important exports are the ideals of democratic governance and individual liberty

The middle class test

"In considering every policy, every piece of legislation, that comes before me, I will apply one simple test: Does it advance the interests of average families? Does it promote their values? Does it build their future? If it passes that test, I will support it; if it does not, I will oppose it. I will say 'No' to every proposal that serves only the special interests, and 'Yes' to everything that promotes the common good."

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

January 4, 1994

TO: Don Baer
Mark Gearan
David Dreyer
George Stephanopoulos

FROM: Bill Galston

SUBJ: State of the State of the Union

At Don's suggestion, let me try to summarize the principal points of apparent consensus that arose in the course of our conversations yesterday and today so that the progress we've made doesn't get lost.

1. There is broad agreement that the President should offer a narrative of our nation's recent history, emphasizing the respects in which we stand at the end of one era and the dawn of another. Some possible elements: the end of the Cold War; the transition from an industrial economy to an information economy; the movement from a relatively closed economy to a global economy; the emerging reversal of the 60-year flow of power and responsibility to the national level of government.

2. While everyone seems to agree that the President should serve to some extent as a "social critic" (Stan's phrase), there are differences as to how far he should go in that direction. The basic objective is clear, however: he should lay out public problems as the public perceives them, but only to the extent necessary to identify, and reforge a sense of connection with, the people. The emphasis should be on solutions, not problems.

3. The President must articulate, more clearly than heretofore, his vision of our common future and of the ways in which specific policies take their place within, and promote, that vision.

4. To connect the discussion of the problems with the articulation of the vision, the President must systematically address the issue of the role of government. Right now the Republicans are seen to have a clear position on that question, while our position is understood only through the prism of Republican caricature.

A number of ideas were advanced under this heading. I won't repeat what I said in my memo. George suggested that the President spell out criteria for the use of government (the Cap Weinberger/use of force analogy). David proposed an emphasis on future preference ("ourselves and our posterity") as both a key role for government and as a way of drawing the line with the present-oriented, poll-driven Contract with America.

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- protection of the environment: legislation, EPA/regulatory expansion

Critique of expanded national government

- rising tax burden
- regulatory intrusion (takings issue)
- rising costs of marginal improvements in public goods; versus cost/benefit analysis
- imposition of costs on other jurisdictions (unfunded mandates)
- remoteness; versus greater trust in local and state government
- impersonal official processes; versus community-based voluntary organizations, role of civil society
- inflexibility, inefficiency
- bureaucratic layering; versus corporate downsizing
- too many functions, spread too thin; versus clear focus
- out of date: industrial-era public organization decreasingly relevant to information-era economy and society
- lack of majority support for certain goals; bureaucracy, courts versus majoritarian processes
- values against the mainstream grain (example: welfare entitlements versus personal responsibility)

The administration's response to this critique, 1993-1994

- National Performance Review
- regulatory review
- program cuts/eliminations
- reductions in the federal workforce
- taking federalism seriously
- new legislative model: national goals, local options

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2. **Community:** government should not act in ways that squeeze out voluntary local organizations--including religious institutions.

3. **Devolution:** the national government should do only those things that cannot be accomplished at the state or local level.

4. **The common good:** the national government ought to do those things that serve the interests of all the people (that promote the "general welfare") and that cannot be accomplished on anything other than a national basis. Some examples: Social Security, Medicare, unemployment insurance, the GI Bill, student aid, interstate highways, environmental protection.

5. **Reinvention:** whatever government does should be administered in ways that maximizes efficiency and effectiveness, minimizes bureaucratic complexity and costs, and respects the people as customers and citizens.

This is just a rough sketch to get the discussion started. The point is not whether this or something else is the best way to describe our sense of what government is for, but whether some such description should be at the core of the State of the Union. I believe it should, and I hope a discussion will take place within the administration that leads to that result.

Notes on government

Why the national government grew over the past century: the flow of power, financing, responsibility to Washington DC

o countervailing power to the rise of unregulated corporations at the end of the 19th century: ICC, anti-trust legislation

o preservation of natural resources: Theodore Roosevelt, national park system

o response to Great Depression: New Deal

o response to fascism: World War Two

o response to communism: Cold War

o securing the conditions of post-war prosperity: GI Bill, interstate highway system, macroeconomic management

o securing the "blessings of liberty" for all citizens: civil rights legislation

o extending the safety net to vulnerable citizens: Medicare, Medicaid, Food Stamps

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

January 3, 1995

TO: George Stephanopoulos
Mark Gearan
David Dreyer
Don Baer

FROM: Bill Galston

SUBJ: State of the Union

The core of our politics in 1995 will be a debate about the role of the national government. It is essential that the President join that debate with an explanation of his conception of government that is principled and clear and that allows him to draw a line between Democrats and Republicans. The place to do it is in the State of the Union, up front, not as a throwaway rhetorical ornament, but as an systematic declaration of political faith from which our specific policy stances can be seen to flow.

Some reasons for doing this:

1. It is the right thing to do. If political life doesn't revolve around addressing the most serious questions facing the country, then what's the point?

2. Since the November election, we have been playing defense. The early December speech was seen as credible in policy terms, but conducted on essentially Republican turf. By contrast, a clear declaration of political faith would be affirmative and forward-looking.

3. Right now, most Americans don't understand what the Democratic party stands for, or why. Prevailing stereotypes are almost unrelievedly negative. We have an opportunity to remind them why there are two major political parties and why much of what we espouse corresponds to what they want and believe.

4. A more elevated (even philosophical) statement than is customary could enhance the President's standing as a statesman with convictions rather than just a politician with tactics.

5. It could help the President regain standing, now gravely jeopardized, as leader of his party.

This profession of political faith could be rooted in the Preamble to the Constitution--the effort to form a more perfect union--and in our national history. Some key elements might include:

1. **Self-reliance**: government should not do for us what we can do for ourselves.

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o a government that is wise and frugal, that helps the people do collectively only those things that they cannot do as individuals or in communities, and that deals with every problem as close to the people as possible

o an America that is open to the world, in a world that is open to America; ; an America that finds a new balance between the global dynamism we need and the local security we want; an America whose most important exports are the ideals of democratic governance and individual liberty

The middle class test

"In considering every policy, every piece of legislation, that comes before me, I will apply one simple test: Does it advance the interests of average families? Does it promote their values? Does it build their future? If it passes that test, I will support it; if it does not, I will oppose it. I will say 'No' to every proposal that serves only the special interests, and 'Yes' to everything that promotes the common good."

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002. memo	Bill Galston to Don Baer et al; re: State of the Union Outline (6 pages)	01/08/1995	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 419

FOLDER TITLE:
SOTU 1995 - Outlines/Language

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2563

RESTRICTION CODES

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

January 8, 1995

TO: Don Baer
George Stephanopoulos
Mark Gearan
David Dreyer
Bob Boorstin
Stan Greenberg

FROM: Bill Galston

SUBJ: State of the Union outline

In response to Don's request, I've sketched a rough outline of one possible approach to the State of the Union. I've tried to track our conversations as closely as possible, but I haven't entirely screened out my idiosyncracies--as you'll see.

Guiding assumptions

The American people have not given up on the Clinton presidency. They want the President to succeed--whenever possible, in fruitful partnership with the new Congress. They are willing to listen attentively to the President on January 24th, but only if he has something fresh and compelling to say. The State of the Union may well be our last chance for a very long time to command the attention of the people as a whole. We cannot hold anything back. This speech must comprehensively lay out the President's public philosophy and the agenda for which he will fight during the next two years, in a manner that both addresses the people's concerns and respects their intelligence.

Principal purposes

1. **to enhance the stature of the President.** To do this, he should: situate the speech in a broad historical narrative and constitutional tradition; strive for a more elevated rhetorical tone than usual; offer a vision of the future; demonstrate devotion to the common good by pursuing bipartisan cooperation whenever possible, praising Republicans for good ideas; and show strength by specifying the fights he is willing to wage.

2. **to address the defining issue of contemporary political life--the role of government.** The President should close the book on the New Deal, draw the line with conservative Republicans, and build the foundation for our affirmative program.

3. **to strengthen the President's credentials as the champion of Americans working to stay in the middle class, and of those struggling to enter it.** The President should identify with the concerns of the middle class, promote its interests, and defend its values.

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4. **to offer clear and compelling responses to the three key areas of public concern today**--economic anxiety, social disintegration, and political dysfunction.

Basic structure and flow

1. **Introduction**

* **Constitutional continuity:** "I appear here to set forth the State of the Union, as have XX of my predecessors. The stability of our public institutions is one of our greatest resources as we face the profound changes now sweeping our country--and the world."

* **Constitutional responsibility:** "I come here in fulfillment of one of the constitutional duties of the President. As we engage in the work of democracy during the coming year, it is fitting that we recall the underlying purposes that animate our public institutions and our national life." One possibility: read and expound the Preamble, focusing on phrases such as "a more perfect Union" (contemporary meaning: overcoming deep social divisions) and "secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our Posterity" (contemporary meaning: we have a responsibility to future generations, not just to our own well-being in the present).

* **Constitutional authority:** "I appear here as the President of all the people, duly elected for a four-year term. The Founders in their wisdom established a system of separated and divided powers, in which three distinct entities--the House, the Senate, and the President--representing the people under the Constitution must find ways to agree if the people's business is to be done. I intend to be an active partner in the conduct of that business. I will make full use of the powers of my office. I will do what I think is right. And in the end, the people will be the judge."

* **The middle-class test:** "In considering each proposal and each piece of legislation that comes before me, I will apply one simple test: Does it advance the interests of average families? Does it support their values? Does it build their future? If it passes that test, I will support it; if it does not, I will oppose it. I will say 'No' to any policy that serves only the special interests, and 'Yes' to everything that promotes the common good."

2. **Description of our current situation**

"There are many positive elements in the current state of our union. Our nation is at peace; the economy is growing; jobs are being created at a rapid pace; inflation is in check; the federal budget deficit has declined for three consecutive years; and some of our gravest social ills, such a violent crime, seem finally to be responding to the outcries of an outraged people.

Yet you, the American people, are not satisfied with the state of our union. And rightly so. While employment is growing, family incomes are not. Too many of you are working harder for less, with far less job security than your parents.

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enjoyed. While our society is freer and more respectful of diversity than ever before, too much of our society--starting with families and neighborhoods--is in disarray. And although our public institutions have made great progress in addressing many public problems over the past generation, from civil rights to the protection of the environment, government is too often inefficient and ineffective, even intrusive and counterproductive, in its efforts to do the people's business."

3. **Explanation of our current situation**

* In this section, the President should offer an explanation of the forces producing the changes that are disturbing to the people. Some possible elements: the end of the Cold War; the transition from an industrial economy to an information-based economy, and from a relatively closed economy to a global economy; a social revolution in which the exercise of rights outran the acceptance of responsibility, and in which the expansion of individual liberty weakened the bonds of community.

The President could then go on to say:

"When I took office just two years ago, our nation was uneasily poised between joining and spurning the new economy. Since then, we have made an historic opening to the world. I am proud of the way in which Democrats and Republicans worked together to pass NAFTA and GATT. There can be no turning back.

But while America as a whole is better off, the same cannot be said for all Americans. Without an expanding and confident middle class, neither our society nor our political institutions can function as they should. Restoring a system that rewards those who work hard and play by the rules, that balances the dynamism of the new economy with security for families and communities--that is the principal challenge we face on the threshold of the 21st century.

We need not, we dare not, be mere passive observers of the forces that are reshaping our world. We can master them, with a compelling vision of the future we want, with an updated understanding of what government can do--and cannot do--to build it--and with a clear agenda of action."

4. **The President's vision of the future**

* In this section, the President should lay out--in broad strokes--his vision of the America we want to build for our posterity. Some possible elements of this vision include:

o a restored civic foundation of strong families and vibrant neighborhoods

o schools that children can attend in safety, and streets that citizens can walk without fear

o full and equal opportunity for all Americans to get all the education and training they can use, to have access to all the information they need, and to go as far as their talent and drive can take them

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o an economy with jobs for all who want to work, with steadily rising incomes so that our children can look forward with confidence to a batter future

o citizens who do the work of citizenship: who take responsibility for themselves and for their families, who depend upon themselves to the maximum and upon government to the minimum; and who involve themselves actively in political life--obtaining information, engaging in dialogue with public officials, making judgments about the policies that affect them

o a society in which our diversity is a source of strength, not division, in which American can engage in frank dialogue and productive cooperation across their differences

o an America that is open to the world, in a world that is open to America; an America whose most important exports are the ideals of democratic governance and individual liberty

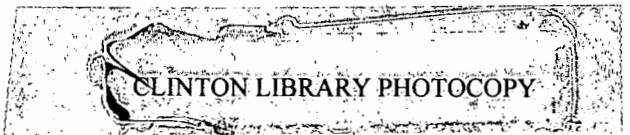
5. **The President's understanding of the role of government**

This section should begin with a strong statement of the President's belief that while we need the revise our understanding of the role of government, there continues to be a valid and important role for government in our national life:

"To all those who say that government is the problem and that eliminating it is the solution, I reply, let us pause to reflect. Social Security, Medicare, unemployment insurance, the GI bill and student loans, clean air and clean water, equal civil rights and voting rights for every citizen--all these and more are the fruits of modern government. In our desire to curb the excesses of public power, do we really wish to tear down these historic achievements? That is not what the American people want; that is not what I was elected to do; and that is what I will fight to prevent, with all the energy I possess and with all the powers of my office."

This section should then continue with the President's conception of the appropriate role and conduct of government in contemporary circumstances. Some possible elements include:

* **Self-reliance:** government should do only what the people cannot do for themselves.
* **Community:** government must work in partnership--not competition--with the voluntary community organizations, including religious institutions, that constitute our nation's historic and distinctive strength.
* **Devolution:** the national government should do only those things that cannot be accomplished at the state or local level.
* **Reinvention:** whatever government does should be carried out in ways that minimize costs, complexity, and bureaucracy and that respect the people as beneficiaries and as citizens.
* **The common good:** the national government ought to do those things that serve the interests of all the people (that promote the "general welfare") that must be done by government rather than by individuals, business, or voluntary organizations, and that must be carried out on a national basis.



6. **The President's agenda for the 104th Congress**

In this section, the President should lay out his agenda to build a better future for average families. They could be organized under the headings of the three key public problems discussed in the earlier section.

* **To address economic anxiety:**

o the Middle Class Bill of Rights

o lifelong learning (take credit for past achievements, pledge to defend them against Republican efforts to gut the federal role in education and training)

o the increased minimum wage (if the President has endorsed it)

o health care reform

* **To address political dysfunction:**

o political reform agenda--lobbying, campaign finance, and so forth

o governmental reform--accomplishments of the NPR to date; downsizing proposals to come in the FY 199 budget; REGO II

* **To address social disintegration:**

o welfare reform; national campaign against teen pregnancy

o defense of the crime bill; perhaps some special emphasis on school safety

o the quiet success of national and community service

o strengthening the role of religion in public life; passing and enforcing the Religious Freedom Restoration Act

7. **Cooperation when possible, confrontation when necessary**

In this section, the President could address areas of possible agreement and cooperation with the new Republican majority as well as specific issues where he is prepared to draw the line.

* **Cooperation:** this could track the remarks the President made at the beginning of the bipartisan leadership meeting last week.

o a wild and crazy idea: if a bill the President supports receives final passage in both the House and Senate by the 24th, could he sign it during the State of the Union, with

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appropriate commentary? S1--the Unfunded Mandates Bill--would be perfect.

* **Confrontation:** While complimenting the Republicans when they do the right thing, the President should draw the line in a handful of key areas. Some possible examples:

o "We must reduce the tax burden on our hard-pressed working families, but I'll fight proposals that aren't honestly paid for and that would explode the deficit."

o "I'll work with the Congress on reforming our health care system, but I won't accept massive cuts in Medicare."

o "I'll listen carefully to any new proposals for making our streets and our schools safer, but I'll fight any effort to repeal the Brady Bill or the ban on assault weapons."

o "We need to end welfare as we now know it, and the proposals I sent to the Congress last year would have done just that. I'll work with the new Congress and with the governors to get it done this year, but I'll reject any proposal that would mean hunger and misery for millions of our children."

8. **Valedictory on civil society and citizenship**

The speech should end with the thought that the solution to our problems cannot be found--and should not be sought--in government alone. It falls to each of us--as parents, as neighbors, as participants in community groups and religious institutions, and a citizens--to do what is in our power to improve the part of our society that we touch most directly. The President's Renaissance Weekend remarks on responsibility, the work of citizenship, and the spirit of community represent a promising point of departure.

Concluding reflection

As always, the drafters of this speech will have to make choices about the length, content, and placement of the segment on foreign policy. I have not addressed any of those issues in this memorandum.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. notes	re: Handwritten Notes - SOTU (3 pages)	1/20/1995	P5
002. notes	re: Handwritten Notes - SOTU (4 pages)	1/19/1995	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 419

FOLDER TITLE:
SOTU 1995 - Meetings

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2562

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]
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SoTU 1/20/95

POTUS, Greenberg, Steph, Gaer, Bowles, Ickes

main attraction of contract is notion of trust - public trust
spending cuts
welfare reform
personal responsibility

up on empathy, down on strength -

strength, strength, strength

1) want to see Dems/Reps work together -
2) serious commitment to cutting govt, making govt smaller

show willingness to work together, but show division, firm principled position
political reform - remind them of lobby gifts, frequent flyer, etc. - delighted this happening but will it be a fig leaf or real - pol reform accomplishments -
deficit - delighted to cooperate - must be real
Medicare - seniors watching carefully - seen as retirement in new econ era
welfare - must link food stamps etc., school lunches - make them into kid haters + their approach ends up punishing children
taxes - < hit education/training -
We gave — We've done it —

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health care - must not walk away from it -
biggest response: POTUS tried to do too much, then $200M,
then , then big govt -

economy - must convince downscale Ams - people who like the New Eco, and info age are ones who won't vote for us - downscale rebel against notion of econ doing well - discount official numbers -

values + economic

new eco
- ✓ family brkdown
- ✓ lacking educ/train
- ✓ retirement/health

) p. 9 summary

strongest: education, job skills, training
Social Security / Medicare

end product is to raise Am living standards

role of govt -

* precondition that we're serious about cutting + cleaning -

strong constituency on food safety, env. etc.

accomplishments: 1)
2) economic vision

story line - battling for middle class - this is
what we've done -

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We came here not to wage war on each other -

balanced budget amendment? not going to let them blow up deficit -

- welfare -
  health care -
- taxes - Middle Class - education -
  pol reform -

(k) "I'm not going to let them take that away."

[We agree.
  That's why...
  And I won't let you...) accomplishments

Points
- stomped down "left behinds"
- middle class - hit by govt, immigrs, criminals, special interests -
- communitarian winners - yuppies -

short list
reduced deficit, did trade but nowhere near enough -

[preconditions cut // clean govt -
  understand that good enough -

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SOTU 1/9/95

announcement speeches; DLC New Orleans / Cleveland; DOA beginning/end - background the press ?

ombudsman fed program - must define for majority
Duffy's four articles from WSJ
if we're moving away from tolerance / equality of opportunity -

want the income of middle class to grow

Greenberg's analysis of previous SOTU's - dial groups -
length of Reagan's speeches

Democratic applause lines -
minimum wage

Gore
JL ✓ Gingrich going back to first principles - Federalist Papers
history of expansion of govt - Civil War, TR - Wilson took
up TR's strong central govt theme

information age, need to end top-down govt
their argument: govt is inherently bad, except when it does
what we want -

rooted in first principles - history demonstrates different
approaches -
now at another moment

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here's what we agree on -
here's what they think govt should do -

Gore Christmas tree
rights and responsibilities - we believe corps have a responsibility not to pollute -
govt as guarantor of both

BC welfare - foreign aid -
against the welfare system - but don't kid yourself, it's a nickel of your tax money -

Baer historical moment that requires reinvention -

Steph not a response to Nov election -

Gore list of accomplishment -

BC New Yorker essay on role of press - cultural victories -
narrative: our country became a country by setting up govt; govt as expression of laws; does he get it? -

Steph want them to spend anti-govt fury

BC we agree: less govt, no more taxes - but

Panetta [illegible] compared to Clinton -

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Gore role of govt at center of political dispute

GC try to articulate the worst case possible - smoking label: govt least case possible -

foreign policy -

two great obligs at end CW: restore Am Dream, live up to

weave it in - equating Haiti w/ welfare?

Gore virtues of bipartisanship -

GC hold line on deficit -

humane welfare -

Kemp jobs -

Breyer acknowledge changing pol circumstances -

GC back to bipartisanship - further agreements -

Gore illusion

GC they think we need govt for natl defense, tax rates, social agenda -

welfare state -

Kemp they say govt [redacted] never you don't have [redacted] health care

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Panetta set stage for confrontations

Gregg Key line: "watch what he does" – need for action –

GC once a week govt reinvention –
health care – part of economy / social contract –

Gregg demonstrate growth in job –
health care I

GC my proposal did not find favor – hard cold fact is that there are 1.1 m ppl w/out health insurance – millions paying more for less; deficit going – we cannot walk away from this –

GC immigration –
Panetta asking $6.7g –

GC legal + illegal –

Dreyer consistent w/ loss of control –
tool of racial politics –
get tough on illegal immigration –

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Todd to David, Bob; re: SOTU Six (1 page)	01/22/1994	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 419

FOLDER TITLE:
SOTU 1994 - Draft #6

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2560

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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To: David, Bob
Fr: Todd
Re: SOTU SIX
Da: January 22, 1994

I like the way you have retooled this and I think the new first page is quite good. A few points:

- **Sticking national security in the middle of the section on the economy strikes me as a big mistake.** Most important, it is very confusing and jarring to go from economy to national security and then suddenly find oneself back on jobs. In addition, it is weird to make National Security a subheading under the Economy, if that is what you're really intending. It's fine to move economic issues onto the center stage of our foreign policy, but it's not fine to suggest that national security occupies a lower rung on the Clinton ladder.

- We have a line on p. 10 that says **"You'll pick the health plan and the doctor of your choice."** This sounds great and I know that it's just what people want to hear. But can we get away with it? Isn't the whole thrust of our health plan to steer people toward cheaper, HMO-style providers? **It's one thing to say we'll preserve your option to pick the doctor of your choice (recognizing that this will cost more), it's quite another to appear to promise the nation that everyone will get to pick the doctor of his or her choice.** And that's exactly what this line does. I am very worried about getting skewered for over-promising here on something we know full well we won't deliver.

- Maybe it doesn't fit, but I'd love to see a little more in the values section about how devastating the explosion of illegitimacy is. How we know that nothing is more destructive to the development of solid American values like respect, responsibility, care for others, hard work, etc. than the breakdown of traditional two-parent families. And that we must therefore put government on the side of fighting against that breakdown, rather than encouraging it. There's a little bit in welfare section on this, but not big and clear and direct.

- In the conclusion, when we recap the challenges facing us, we have to mention something foreign. Otherwise, we're just feeding the notion of the Potus as a domestic President who defines his challenges strictly in domestic terms. I think this would be a major error.

cc: Gergen
Gearan

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	JP to D2; re: Cleaning the Laundry (3 pages)	n.d.	P5
002. memo	Leon Panetta & Alice Rivlin to John Podesta et al; re: State of the Union Address (4 pages) pending	01/04/1994	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 419

FOLDER TITLE:
Sotu 1994 - Cabinet Requests

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2558

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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TO: D2

FR: JP

CLEANING THE LAUNDRY

At each Cabinet listing you will find up to three types of potential issues:

One. Those that would be argued for if they were left out but which I expect you will be touching upon.

Two. Those which I am pretty certain will not be included but will be argued for.

Three. Suggestions as to how you may want to inoculate the draft from a Cabinet member by addressing an issue through the chosen themes.

REICH
School-to-Work -- no matter what's included about Reich's issues, he is almost certain to argue for a mention of this, probably directly to the President.

CISNEROS
The Cisneros submissions are surprisingly vague, but I expect that he will make an argument about **Homeless programs;** he has been especially out there on this issue since Yetta Adams' death and minces no words about it being a "presidential priority."

However, I think that you can do a lot of Cisneros appeasement with an **Empowerment Zones** reference -- and you can do that in a crime, job creation, job training, or education section. Every federal agency came up with dollars and programs that will be targeted to the zones, including community police, reemployment services, etc.

RILEY
You'll be in good shape here.

BENTSEN
I'm sure the speech will include a significant **Trade** section; I wouldn't be at all surprised if Bentsen doesn't think it's enough.

He also clearly signals that he wants (I think he'd argue <u>needs</u>) a boost for his proposal to **Consolidate the Four Banking Regulators;** he's under heavy fire about this from the Fed and he's lookin' for that old sotu feelin'.

Bentsen also wants an endorsement of the **International Development Banks.**

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Finally, he may argue for a mention of our opposition to the **Balanced Budget Amendment**; if he does, I expect he could persuade some people because it has such an obvious health care connection. The President clearly needs to make a strong statement about this in the near future; but, personally, I think it would definitely weigh down the lift of the health care section, and probably get it's own graph/mention in most stories. Besides, are we going to...?

Finally, although this isn't what you asked for, I think that his suggestion that we acknowledge what the President has already accomplished for health care is a very good one -- the debate is now about what kind of reform, not whether we should have reform.

SHALALA
She will certainly argue for mention of children's programs: **Head Start, Immunizations, WIC, and EITC**. Of course, you can certainly include Head Start in the education section, and I expect that EITC will be included in the welfare section.

BABBITT
Still the champ.

O'LEARY
As you know, her playbook is not in code. We are looking at **Nuclear non-Proliferation** right up the middle.

BROWNER
As you indicated, she will definitely argue for a mention of the **Cabinet Status Elevation** bill. If/when that doesn't pan out, she may argue for an update of last year's "get the lawyers out of Superfund" reference. Apparently, she has a **Superfund Reform Package** ready to go.

J. BROWN
The first issue he mentions is the special benefits of **Health Care Reform for Veterans**. As you indicated, this is probably worthy of mention. I expect he will be more than pleased with that.

SEGAL (Rick Allen)
There is no question that **National Service** will push hard for inclusion in the speech; there is virtually no question that whatever mention is made will not satisfy them; and there is good reason to believe that there arguments will carry significant emotional weight with the President. You don't need me to tell you this.

GIBBONS
Gibbons' submission doesn't lead me to believe that he will make a very serious case for including any particular initiatives; I certainly can't imagine many people arguing that **Clean Cars**, which he singled out for special recognition, is SOTU material.

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On the other hand, I think his mention of our developing **Environmental Technology Policy** is a decent indicator that some may argue for a mention in order to kill a few birds with one immaterial paragraph.

L. BROWN
I assume he has no worries.

R. BROWN
Guesswork: He will be looking for technology policy as well, particularly **TRP**. It's his hook to more money and stature.

He is, of course, interested in trade as well -- and the Trade Promotions Coordinating Committee is his baby. While this alphabet soup board is obviously not worth mentioning by name, perhaps its principal product-to-date is: the relaxation of **Export Controls** is right up the trade, new global economy, new global buddies alley.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. letter	To FLOTUS; re: Country's Health Care Problems (2 pages)	02/21/1993	P6/b(6)
002. memo	John Podesta to David Dreyer & Bob Boorstin; re: State of the Union/Health Care Positioning (1 page)	01/23/1994	P5
003. memo	Jason to Bob; re: State of the Union (partial) (1 page)	01/22/1994	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 419

FOLDER TITLE:
SOTU 1994 - Health Memos

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp1736

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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January 23, 1994

MEMORANDUM TO DAVID DREYER AND BOB BOORSTIN

FROM: JOHN PODESTA

RE: STATE OF THE UNION/HEALTH CARE POSITIONING

I am probably the proverbial voice in the wilderness, but I think the health care veto threat in the current SOTU draft is playing the other side's game. It seems to me that this draft lays down a marker in a fight between us and Cooper, when the real fight is going to be between us and Dole. Doesn't laying down this line in the sand help Dole round up the 41 votes he boasted this weekend he would need and he would get to stop us from implementing national health reform?

Dole has given us a huge opening off of which we can pivot. People are sick of sides squaring off in Washington. We can use the speech to not only attach the special interests who would benefit from blocking health reform, but also those who would do it purely for partisan reasons. We can lay down our principles and ask the center to resist the calls of partisanship and ideology. Instead of a pen, we can offer a hand to work constructively to seek a practical, comprehensive solution which guarantees every American health care that is always there and can never be taken away.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Todd Stern to Dreyer, Boorstin; re: State of the Union - Draft 3 (2 pages)	01/15/1994	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 419

FOLDER TITLE:
SOTU 1994 - Draft #3

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2559

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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To: Dreyer, Boorstin
Fr: Todd Stern
Re: State of the Union -- Draft 3
Da: January 15, 1994

I think this is a major step forward. Much better framed, more of a story-line, etc. Very good work. Here are a few thoughts, together with a copy I've marked up a bit.

Structure: Foreign Policy and Narrative

I'm not sure it's going to work to have your main narrative line ("America is a nation of..., we've got to regain, restore, renew, etc.") **after** two pages of what we've done and where we're going on foreign policy. I'd rather mention the trip, as you do, maybe adding a graph or two to embellish it, and then segue, as you do quite gracefully, into the narrative (pivoting off of "seeing America as others see us") -- but saving the real foreign policy discussion for after the thematic America stuff, which, by rights, should be setting up the **whole** speech, foreign policy included. I just think it's going to seem jumpy and confusing to do a full foreign policy treatment and then move back to the overarching theme.

I'd also still do foreign policy last, for the reasons I discussed in my comments on draft one (and on the assumption that you'd have already discussed the trip a bit at the top). But even if you want to keep foreign policy first, I'd still get your narrative structure set up first.

The "America is a nation..." Litany

What bothers me here is that we haven't given voice to what people's concerns are. You say America has always had the sense that next year will be better or has always had a commitment to the ideals of liberty and opportunity, etc. and that we must regain or revive these things. But what makes you think that people feel that they have lost them in the first place?

I think people have very real worries and concerns, but I don't think they conceive them in these abstract terms of losing their belief in liberty and opportunity, or their quality as searchers and discoverers, etc.

I think we need to talk about how people's concerns in ways that they recognize -- so they think, 'yes, he's putting his finger on it, he's in touch with what I'm worried about'. Otherwise, we lose an opportunity to connect.

So I'd talk about how people in this rapidly changing world are feeling uncertain. Worried about the future. With the sands seeming to shift under our feet. The assumption that our children will have it better off than we did no longer seems so

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sure. Nor does the idea that if we work hard the basics of the American dream -- a good job, owning our own home -- will be available. Jobs that once seemed secure -- blue collar and white -- don't anymore. An increasingly integrated global economy can seem threatening. Health care that once seemed secure no longer does. Violence makes us all feel unsafe in our own communities, etc.

You're assuming anxiety and the anxiety **is** there, but I think you need to describe it in ways people relate to.

Forcing the spring metaphor ("early shoots" etc.) p.2

Forcing the spring was a fine metaphor for the ceremonial beginning of a new Administration -- now I'd move beyond it. First, this occasion is different (speech before Congress, reporting on the state of the union, more of a working than ceremonial feel). Second, people now know the President in a completely different way than they did last year at this time. I would try to feed more into the positive image people have of him.

Rather than talking about "early shoots struggling to break through" talk about the groundwork we've laid, the foundations we're building, whatever -- something that ties into people's perception of this guy as smart, willing to tackle the toughest problems (in contrast to Bush and Reagan), persistent, determined, committed, working-like-hell, never-giving up, etc. It's always easy for political candidates to brag about how they'll fight for ordinary people, but Clinton really does and people think that he really does. I'd try to feed that image more.

Page 9, graph 6

"I know you will do the right thing." There's a tone in this that I think will rub Members wrong. I'd say something like "But I know that you and I together will meet this challenge and pass the **right** bill."

"but I have...this pen..." I don't like him bragging about the power of a veto pen. I do like the veto threats in the previous three graphs, but this is overkill and it's not who this President is. His strength and power, as distinguished from Reagan and Bush, is different. So I'd use the threats but lose the bragging.

Page 9, graph 7

"I want every one of you to stand up..." I'm undoubtedly outnumbered here, but I think this is Mickey Mouse. I'd talk about a pledge, but I wouldn't make Members stand up -- they won't like it and I think it looks gimmicky to viewers.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. paper	re: Summary - State-of-the-Union Research (4 pages)	n.d.	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 419

FOLDER TITLE:
SOTU - Research/Groups

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp1743

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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GREENBERG RESEARCH INC

515 SECOND STREET NE
WASHINGTON DC 20002
TEL 202 547-5200
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SUMMARY

STATE-OF-THE-UNION RESEARCH

This report sets out research findings to assist in the preparation of the President's State-of-the-Union address. It should help us understand the mood of the country and the political possibilities at this critical point, to identify areas where the President can have the greatest impact, and to place the President's stamp on the issues facing the country.

- The public is very hopeful about the new Republican Congress, but the Republican position in the country is quite fragile.

  1. Voters remain cynical about Congress and expect to see a lot of "business as usual." The Republican Party is now associated with "Congress," as the Democratic Party was in the past year.

  2. Despite the Republican "honeymoon," voter support for Republican positions -- from political reform to welfare and taxes -- collapses under attack or in contrast with Democratic alternatives. The Republicans do not have a firm hold on the voters.

- The President is poised to make gains. Despite low overall ratings, there is a lot of good within the public as people believe the President is trying to do the right thing for the country. Going against the Republican tide of the moment, the President's favorability and support for his policies and goals are at their highest points in 8 months.

- The most important goal of the Address is the communication of personal strength. The President has made gains since the election on "caring about people" and "fighting for the middle class." But his position has eroded on being "strong" and on being a "steady leader" -- in fact, to the lowest point of the Presidency. It is on the attribute, "strength," that the Republicans in Congress enjoy their strongest advantage over the President.

- The public is looking for evidence that the President understands this new moment. There are two critical elements that put the President in the position to be heard:

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1. A commitment to work together with the Republicans. There is a longing for a new national discourse where both the President and the Republicans, uncharacteristically, rise above partisan politics and work for the country's interests.

2. A serious commitment to cut government spending and make government smaller. There is a universal presumption that the new Congress should take this course, and we need to define what the mandate means and take ownership of it. (See the "Role of Government" below.)

- The President has the opportunity to address a number of issues and dominate the national debate. In each area, he should show openness to bipartisan cooperation, define the contrasting approaches, identify the administration with advancing the middle class, show that progress has already been made, and take a firm principled position.

  1. Trust One: Political Reform. The first blush of support for the Contract's political reforms (all laws apply, committees cut, term limits, etc.) plummets 20 points when confronted with the exceptions (lobby gifts, frequent traveler awards, etc.) The attack underscores the real test that voters are applying: Do these new Republicans remember the people or are they taking care of themselves?

  2. Trust Two: The Deficit. The public is not willing to see the deficit exploded, and the voters remain deeply suspicious of Republican budgeting, and of Republican tax cut and spending policies that may put the country in the hole again. Three quarters of the voters side with the President on "honest" budgeting, not busting the deficit and not endangering the recovery.

  3. Medicare. The President lost important ground with seniors over the past 2 years, but in only 2 weeks, the Republicans have endangered their gains. Since the election, seniors have become anxious about their welfare and have shifted sharply toward the President on protecting Medicare and Social Security. Support for the balanced budget amendment drops 30 points (to 43 percent) when Medicare is slashed 25 percent. The Medicare issue, we shall see, is central to understanding how to speak about government and the new economy.

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4. Welfare Reform. The Republicans bring a 22 point initial advantage to the welfare issue. It is turned on its head when the President draws a sharp contrast between his approach that demands work and responsibility and the Republican one that is punitive toward children. When school lunches and food stamps are brought together with dumping teenage mothers, the President wins the issue by 2 to 1.

5. Taxes. Again, despite an initial 18 point Republican advantage on taxes, the President wins the issue by 15 points when the Republicans emphasize tax cuts for everyone (child credit, IRA and capital gain) and when the President emphasizes tax cuts for the middle class (education/training deductibility, plus child credit and IRA). The power of the President's position is rooted in education and training (tax relief for responsible behavior) and the middle class-wealthy contrast. Support for the "Middle Class Bill of Rights" increases 5 points when the President highlights middle class relief and no rollback for the wealthy.

6. Health Care. The President is strongly identified with health care and should continue to press the issue as a matter of principle and as a part of his vision. Voters continue to place a high priority on the issue. Looking back now on the health care debate, people mainly think that the President tried to do too much at one time (41 percent). Their concern was governmental competence, not the approach to reforming health care. The public wants the President to proceed, but in a more cautious way.

- The success of our Presidency hangs on downscale America believing we understand the challenges facing their families in this new era and offer a way to a better life. Republican-leaning voters, like college-educated men think the economy is doing well, but more vulnerable younger and non-college voters are very cautious. These voters resist hearing positive news about the economy, as it seems to conflict with their experience. They have well developed defense mechanisms, focused mainly on job downgrading and official distortion. But voters long for a President who understands this new era which they think is real and which raises fundamentally new challenges. Astonishingly, they broke into applause upon hearing the President's views on the issue.

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1. The new era is characterized by family breakdown, irresponsible people getting free rides, people lacking the education and skills to get ahead, the rich getting richer and poor poorer (inequality), and by retirement and health coverage being endangered.

2. Voters want the government, above all, to help with education and job training, but also to ensure a more secure retirement and cut taxes. There is also strong support for raising the minimum wage which is not seen as outdated.

3. People are overwhelmed by a Presidential statement that understands what is happening, distances itself from the "official" view of the economy, affirms responsibility, and elevates the role of education and training.

4. The President's statement must be expansive about the world, but to raise up *American* living standards. In the survey, we lose the debate on being inward or outward -- pushed largely by the immigration issue and foreign troop involvement. This is an important area of vulnerability among downscale voters.

- It is very important for the President to articulate his view of government. The Republican position of limited government is attractive to people but so is our view, that "government has important things to do." The public likes both perspectives and is about evenly divided when forced to choose. But that requires we be articulate on the subject.

  1. The President must be clear about his desire and record on cleaning up the government's house and cutting spending. Being a reformer is a precondition for entering into a credible discussion about government.

  2. The public is much attracted to a government that is, first, helping people get the skills they need and promoting education, and second, making it possible for people to have a dignified retirement and affordable health insurance.

  3. While the public believes there is too much regulation in general, they are strongly supportive of it in specific areas -- including nursing homes, food safety, airlines, and the environment.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. speech	re: Samuel Berger, Deputy National Security Advisor to the President - Remarks on Haiti - National Defense University (extensive edits by Richard Clarke) (10 pages)	01/31/1995	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 420

FOLDER TITLE:
[Samuel] Berger - Haiti Speech - 1/31/95 [2]

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2569

RESTRICTION CODES

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1/26/95 3 p.m.

SAMUEL BERGER
DEPUTY NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR TO THE PRESIDENT
REMARKS ON HAITI
NATIONAL DEFENSE UNIVERSITY
JANUARY 31, 1995

[Acknowledgments]

I'd like to give you a progress report on Operation Uphold Democracy -- the U.S.-led mission to restore Haiti's democratically elected government. This is an especially appropriate audience for such a report. As military officers, you will appreciate perhaps better than most people the difficulties of our undertaking -- and the ~~extraordinary~~ success we have achieved. As students, you will find in Operation Uphold Democracy a ~~fine~~ case study of military and political planning, coordination and implementation, from President Clinton -- who has been intensely engaged in this operation from the start -- down to our men and women in the field.

different audience - w graduate school

This is also an appropriate moment to review the Operation. It was just over four months ago that our troops entered Haiti peacefully after the military regime agreed to step down. And it was just over three months ago that President Aristide returned to power. Now, our troops are in the midst of a draw down. Soon, they will hand over their responsibilities to a United Nations-led mission. So it's a good time look back at what they have accomplished, and to look ahead to the long, hard work that remains to give Haiti a lasting chance at democracy and stability.

Before I talk about where we stand, let me remind you how far we've come.

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Four years ago, a military coup ~~snuffed out~~ [crushed] Haiti's newborn democracy, replacing it with a violent regime that crushed opponents brutally and caused thousands of Haitians to flee toward our shores. For three years, the United States and countries around the world tried everything short of force to remove Haiti's illegal military regime and restore its democratically elected government. It wasn't until the regime knew that our armed forces were on their way that they agreed to give up power peacefully.

I would ask you to think for a moment where we would be today if we had not acted last September:

- The military regime would still be in power, terrorizing the Haitian people;

- Tens of thousands of refugees would continue to pose a threat to America's borders and to our region's stability as they attempted to flee the military dictatorship;

- ~~The steady march of democracy in the Americas would have suffered a defeat;~~ For the first time since the military coup in (X) in 19XX -- a period of democratic emergence (?) that saw (#) at least (X) countries move from authoritarianism to more or a less fragile democracy --

- ~~And the commitment of the United States and the international community would have proved empty.~~ And the United States and the international community have been proven impotent to fulfill its commitments, going back to the time of the coup itself, that [paraphrase Bush statement] a military ... That process would have been reversed by force and permitted to succeed.

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Instead, we kept our word. President Aristide, Haiti's first democratically elected leader, has returned to office. Haiti's parliament is functioning. A sense of security has replaced a climate of fear. The private sector is starting to get back on its feet and the rebuilding process has begun. And our region is more stable and secure.

these are too sweeping - we will get to this later - one sentence?

Those are the facts. And they add up to one basic conclusion: Operation Uphold Democracy has succeeded beyond what just about anyone would have predicted four months ago.

need to sound one sober note of caution right away -- still a difficult role. Job not done. Reverses possible

Each phase of the operation -- from the planning to the intervention to our work on the ground -- has, to date, achieved its major objectives. Let me say a few words about each of those phases, starting with the planning process, which I witnessed from the inside.

don't want to revisit all of this - one/two pts

The so called Principals' Committee -- which includes the National Security Advisor, the Secretaries of State and Defense, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs and the Director of Central Intelligence -- met for the first time on a possible Haiti intervention in the Spring of 1994. They charted out a road map to intervention that we followed carefully for the next several months.

• tribute to 2) courage and tenacity of POTUS 3) confidence and flexibility of US forces

The Joint Chiefs and the U.S. Atlantic Command were charged with military planning. They went to work without interference from the White House or other agencies. Meanwhile, various inter-agency working groups gathered regularly to map out post-invasion strategy. We sketched plans to disarm the military and the militia, restore parliament and return President Aristide, and a timetable for getting our troops out once a stable environment had been secured in Haiti.

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As a result of this detailed planning, by the week of September 12, our armed forces stood poised to remove the military regime and restore President Aristide to his office.

That brings us to the intervention itself. And the one fact we should never forget is that, at a moment of acute tension, with our troops ready to roll, President Clinton showed what I believe was an extraordinary example of leadership. As he put it at the time, "it is the responsibility of any American President to pursue every possible alternative to the use of force to avoid bloodshed and the loss of American lives." So the President dispatched former President Carter, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs General Powell and Senate Armed Services Chairman Sam Nunn to Haiti to give the military regime one final chance to agree to step down peacefully.

President Clinton's use of diplomacy backed by force saved lives while achieving our objectives. Our troops entered Haiti through an open front door without firing a shot -- instead of being forced to kick the door down and do battle with the small but well armed Haitian military.

The initial success of Operation Uphold Democracy is also a tribute to our military's flexibility -- and to the detailed planning I described a few minutes ago. We were able to quickly recall the massive assault force that was on its way. In its place -- and within just hours of reaching agreement with the military regime -- we sent in troops, carried by the Eisenhower battle group, to keep the peace, not to make it.

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I know that some of you already have looked carefully at the mixing of our four services in Operation Uphold Democracy -- an innovation that will be a model for future military planning. For example, army helicopters flew off of a Navy aircraft carrier for the first time. Had it not been for this kind of creative cooperation, it would have taken many more hours, if not days, for our troops to be on the ground.

Our first three weeks in Haiti focused on creating a secure environment for President Aristide's return. Without going into ~~too much~~ detail, let me remind you of our military's ~~remarkable~~ accomplishments in that short space of time: They secured Haiti's major cities and towns, helped more than 2000 refugees return home from Guantanamo and permitted parliament to open its doors.

As a result, President Aristide returned to Haiti October 15 -- on schedule. He brought with him a climate of tolerance and reconciliation that has thus far endured. Immediately upon his return, President Aristide met with parliamentary leaders from all sides of the political spectrum to set a common, cooperative agenda. On crucial matters -- such as the appointment of a Supreme Court, writing a new police law and amnesty legislation, setting up an electoral planning commission and drafting a budget -- Aristide has worked with parliament, not around them. These are all good precedents for continued cooperation that should culminate in free elections and a more secure, democratic and prosperous future for Haiti.

elections are a problem — process has broken down — need to foreshadow that a bit here

got to move process forward — exact date?

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For the United States, the road ahead is well marked out. From the very first planning meetings on Haiti, President Clinton made clear that any intervention would have to be of finite duration and would have to have a clear exit strategy. The goals we set were straightforward: restore President Aristide and establish a secure and stable environment. Because we've achieved them, we now plan to turn over responsibility for the Haiti mission to the United Nations by the end of March. 2500 U.S. troops will remain in Haiti as part of the U.N. contingent, which will be under the command of an American, Major General Joseph Kinzer of the Army.

need a section at end that makes argument for UNMIH transition.. US participation.. seeing it thru. Job is not done

The U.N.'s job is to help see Haiti through parliamentary elections in May and the presidential election in January 1996. At that point, the U.N. mandate will be complete, and all American troops will leave Haiti.

I'd like to focus for a few moments on what ~~we've~~ has been accomplished in Haiti since President Aristide's return.

predicate: easy to focus now on problems. Haiti still desperately poor... institutions are weak... infrastructure (e.g. electricity) is badly deteriorated... politics still fractious. all true. all need serious attention. Let's put in some perspective

[begin to build from clarke draft]

Our first and foremost mission has been to make Haiti secure. ~~I am pleased to report that,~~ By and large, we have succeeded. Political violence has dropped from 10 to 15 incidents a week following the intervention to no reported incidents for the entire month of January. ~~Criminal~~ Still criminal violence ~~has~~ = increased somewhat, but -- and this is a double edged sword -- the numbers compare very favorably to statistics here in the United States. An American city of 1.5 million inhabitants can expect to witness 256 violent crimes per week. Since the intervention, the average number of such crimes reported per week in Port-au-Prince has been 11.

Judgment of our commander to UNSC

reverse: Haiti level. then compare

~~draft:~~ as (A) has done: 'from misery to poverty w/ dignity'

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Which . . .

Our success is the result of a carefully planned, multi-level strategy. Initially, a massive military presence served as the guarantor of peace. U.S. forces reached a peak of 21,000 -- including more than one thousand Special Forces -- in early October. Together with their colleagues from the Multinational Force, they established 27 bases and made their presence felt throughout the country.

~~the~~ from (X) nations

Anecdote about what these folks have done. Response of Haitian people.

But we began to draw down our troops in November [TK TK] and we now have fewer than 6,000 soldiers in Haiti. As the drawdown has proceeded, the other elements of our security program have taken on more and more weight.

We've made real headway in getting weapons off the street. Thus far, an MNF-administered buyback program has recovered more than 21,000 individual weapons and explosive devices.

training and monitoring / GOH also created

With our ~~assistance, [illegible]~~ We've ~~also trained and monitored~~ an interim public security force ~~force~~. To date, the Justice Department has conducted ~~orientation~~ training courses for 3,000 members of the interim force and just this week started to train the first recruits for a permanent force at the new Haitian Police Academy. Meanwhile, a 1000-person strong contingent of International Police Monitors from 20 [TK TK] different countries -- under the command of former New York City Police Commissioner Ray Kelly -- has been deployed throughout Haiti. It conducts 24-hour patrols with the Interim Police, ensuring that they respect the human rights of all Haitians and teaching them modern police techniques.

what has been our disarmament theory? i.e. Why we didn't do more.

anecdote? some way of describing success?

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Finally, the MNF continues to help the government of Haiti downsize and reorganize its military. For those soldiers being forced out of the army, we've helped establish a program for onward employment and vocational training.

Because of these efforts, ~~the rule of law and~~ respect for human rights are no longer foreign to Haiti. Thousands of men, women and children who were in hiding or in exile during the dark days of military rule -- from members of Parliament to clergy to entrepreneurs -- have resumed their normal lives. And the improved security environment has helped put the international assistance effort back on track and sparked new economic activity.

By lifting the international economic embargo against Haiti in October, we were able to re-open the door to humanitarian assistance. In Fiscal 1995, $57 million will be used to provide critical health care for two million Haitians, increase daily feeding programs to sustain 1.3 million people and provide short term jobs for 50,000 people. The balance of these jobs, I might add, will be in infrastructure -- repairing roads and irrigation canals, garbage collection, erosion control and conservation.

But make no mistake, Haiti's economic problems are deep-rooted. Only a long term aid and investment program will spread and deepen progress throughout Haiti. To that end, our government can help with development assistance and technical support -- and we are. AID already has delivered $30 million out of a total of $45 million in assistance to help pay the

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government of Haiti's operating costs, to import fuel, and to keep Haiti's hydroelectric generators running during the dry season. Treasury has collected millions of dollars in pledges to help clear Haiti's arrears. And officials from just about all of our economic agencies are providing technical support -- everything from counsel to the central bank to advice in the areas of agriculture, education, the environment and job training.

Focus on international financial institution

One of the most effective roles government can play is as a catalyst for private sector investment. With that in mind, AID is working closely with the Overseas Private Investment Corporation to provide loan guaranties for foreign investment. And Deputy Secretary of State Talbott will lead a Presidential Development Mission to Haiti next month comprised of corporate CEOs and officials from all our economic agencies to look for ways to spur more private investment from the United States.

see Rothkopf memo - facts

Meanwhile, the Haitian private sector is getting back to the business of doing business. Since the intervention, thirty-two companies that make finished products for export have reopened their doors, providing jobs for 5,000 Haitians, and another twenty companies will be up and running by the end of February. The $50 million in private sector loans that the Bank of Boston has tentatively approved should spur more activity.

~~And~~ Haiti's exports are slowly picking up. To cite just two quick examples, three American agribusiness companies have resumed imports of mangos and papaya. And a Vermont-based company is once again importing Haitian handicrafts and expects to place more than $2 million

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worth of artwork with upscale retail outlets in the United States this year. These small success stories and dozens more like them mean that more and more people in Haiti are starting to reap the tangible rewards of democracy.

Operation Uphold Democracy's success to date in Haiti does not mean there will not be difficult times ahead. Our mission remains dangerous. And Haiti's future remains uncertain. It is still the poorest country in our hemisphere. Its essential infrastructures -- from roadways to the institutions of government -- need to be built or rebuilt from the ground up. All of this will take time. And, ultimately, only the Haitian people themselves can make democracy work in Haiti.

But Operation Uphold Democracy has given them a fighting chance to succeed. Thanks to the brave men and women of our armed forces, Haiti's long night of fear has given way to a new day of promise. And both the people of Haiti and the American people are better off today for that fact.

Thank you.

Clarke

another section:
* road ahead
(1) can't long out. Need smooth transition to UNMIH, and US participation
(2) why US must be part of UNMIH — Haitians trust us, Dissuasive presence.
(3) Why Haitians should not fear transition. still strong VS movement VS commander. Adequate to maintain overall security track they have more PAS police
(4) Exit strategy
• elections
• stand up new Haitian police

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OVER

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Antony Blinken to Anthony Lake; re: Council on Foreign Relations Speech - Draft #2 (partial) (1 page)	09/02/1994	P6/b(6)
002. outline	re: Notional Outline - Address by Tony Lake to Council on Foreign Relations (extensive comments) (5 pages)	09/1994	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 420

FOLDER TITLE:
[Anthony] Lake - Council on Foreign Relations - 9/12/94 [2]

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp1755

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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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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Notional Outline

Address by Tony Lake to

Council on Foreign Relations - September 1994

I. Introduction

- Take stock of new world:
  - * end of Cold War
  - * global economy
  - * instant communications

- Need for new FP vocabulary to match these changes. We're using outdated lexicon. Old debates irrelevant.
  - * "isolationism" versus "intervention". US is engaged whether we like it or not. Trick is sorting out how we intervene, not whether we do so.
  - * "Multilateral" versus "unilateral". It's not a question of one versus the other, but rather which approach -- or combination of approaches -- to apply in a given situation.

- More broadly, we're at third major turning point of century:
  - * Post WWI (we looked inward)
  - * Post WWII (we built outward-looking institutions)
  - * Today: we're at the same kind of major crossroads.

Clinton Administration vision: promote and sustain free and open societies. In our own experience, democracy best form of government (best to live under; better trading partners; less likely to make war on each other). Full fledged democracy may not be

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practical everywhere. But objective is to move toward increasingly freer and more open societies around the world.

The building blocks for free and open societies are: (i) security and (ii) economic prosperity. Clinton Administration's FP: build the structures that promote security and prosperity and counter emerging threats to those structures.

II. Building New Structures

Security and economic prosperity demand regional and global structures to knit together, integrate states. This involves revitalizing old structures or building new ones. And it requires structures that are flexible, that have give to withstand the tremors of uncertain times (image of Mexico City skyscrapers?) Clinton Administration already has accomplished much. A few non-exhaustive e.g.'s:

1. Security

* P4P (e.g. of new structure.) Preparing for the worst, working toward best possible outcome for Europe.

* NPR (e.g. of revitalizing old structure.)

2. Prosperity

* NAFTA (new structure). First step toward creation of hemispheric trading bloc. Taking page from EU book. Confluence between domestic and foreign. Creates support for FP by creating jobs.

* GATT (revitalizing old structure). WTO as child of GATT.

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[3. Democracy Initiatives]?

End result is climate in which free and open societies are most likely to flourish.

III. Countering Threats

Cold War served as curtain, facade which hid other problems. These are just now coming into clear view. US, as sole remaining superpower, must decide not *whether* to deal with them, but *how* to deal with. (E.g. Rwanda). Principle threats to new structures we're building are:

1. Fragile Institutions structure

* OAS/OAU. Major overhaul needed.

* ASEAN. Fragile institution taking great strides to meet new challenges (controlling N. Korea.)

* Self-critique: US also bulking up or reworking its own outmoded institutions (e.g. AID; State Global Affairs portfolio.)

2. Conflict w/i States

Limit to what is possible (there will always be conflict). But new structures we are helping to build should make such conflicts less likely to break out in the first place (prevention) or easier to contain if they nonetheless do (reaction).

* Bosnia

-- US interests

-- New structures were not yet in place

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-- We have done a lot (assistance; bringing allies around to our point of view)

-- New structures will help prevent future Bosnias

* Haiti

-- US interests

-- effective use of multilateral tools

-- You don't just invade: graduated response

-- New structures will help prevent future Haitis

3. Transnational Threats

* Environment

-- What's at stake

-- Biodiversity Conference

-- Rio Conference

* Organized Crime

-- What's at stake

-- FBI in EE, FSU. Connecting institutions. Spawning new models.

IV. Conclusion: The Challenge

* Reminder we are at turning point

* Challenge is to build the structures that will promote prosperity and guaranty security and thereby allow free and open societies to flourish.

* New structures will help us to deal with crises (prevention and reaction).

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* Strategy is visionary, long term. We're building network of integrated structures. Trade and security spheres. Regional, then increasingly global. Gradually, new structures will become part of accepted vocabulary. We'll talk about APEC the way we talk about NATO.

* Challenge audience to help change vocabulary, outline and fill in structures in these uncertain times.

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001. speech	re: Address by Anthony Lake, National Security Advisor - The Council on Foreign Relations (Rob edits - new version - extensive comments) (16 pages)	09/12/1994	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 420

FOLDER TITLE:
[Anthony] Lake - Council on Foreign Relations - 9/12/94 [1]

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2568

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New Version

ROB edits

Address by Anthony Lake
National Security Adviser

The Council on Foreign Relations
September 12, 1994

"The Purpose of American Power"

I'm delighted to be here. And Mort, thank you for that generous introduction. It's always a pleasure to hear any words of praise from a prominent member of the Fourth Estate. Still vivid in my memory are the times that ~~previously~~ happened -- both of them.

I want to talk to you tonight about the purpose of American power in the world, as ~~We~~ chart a new course in a radically new international environment.

Charting such a course has never been easy. While the policy of containment looks obvious to us in retrospect, we should remember that it took President ~~Truman~~ Truman and Dean Acheson several years to define their way and build a policy consensus behind it. And they had the advantage of an ideologically and geographically defined adversary with whom to contend.

Today, we -- all of us in this room who believe in American engagement -- have a still more difficult challenge. We must seek to be as creative and constructive -- in the literal sense of that word -- as the generation of the late 1940's. For ~~we see~~ there is a world of opportunity for such construction. But we must do it

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in the domestic circumstances not of the 1940's but of the 1920's, when there was no single, foreign threat against which to rally public opinion.

To most Americans, the post-Cold War era seems chaotic. The easy divisions of the Cold War have given way to a confused complex of problems: "Traditional" threats of aggression by regional bullies. Emerging transnational threats like environmental decay, over-population and refugees. A global economic and information free-for-all that increases wealth and opportunity, but also produces fear and uncertainty. And terrible ethnic conflicts. In short, for too many of our people and commentators, we seem to face an incomprehensible chaos that defeats any effort at setting a clearly defined goal for the exercise of American power and diplomacy.

I believe that view is profoundly and dangerously wrong. For there is an old truth about this new world. And that truth has been at the heart of American foreign policy throughout the past five and one-half decades.

That truth is this: the same idea that was under attack by fascism and then by communism remains under attack today, but on many fronts at once. In defeating fascism, and prevailing over communism, we were defending an idea that comes under many names

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-- democracy, liberty, ~~tolerance~~, civility, pluralism -- but has a constant face. It is the face of the tolerant society, in which leaders and governments exist not to use or abuse people, but to provide them with freedom and opportunity, to preserve individual human dignity. Today, those societies -- from the fragile to the mature -- remain under assault.

Far from reaching the end of history, we are at the dawn of a new struggle. This is not a clash of civilizations. Rather, it is a contest that pits nations and individuals guided by openness, responsive government and moderation against those animated by isolation, repression and extremism. The enemies of the tolerant society are not some nameless, faceless force. They are extreme nationalists and tribalists, terrorists, organized criminals, coup plotters, rogue states and all those who would return newly freed societies to the intolerant ways of the past.

But for all its dangers this new world presents immense opportunity -- the chance to adapt and create new international security and economic structures that are not merely sized to post-cold War realities, but are specifically designed to consolidate the victory of the idea of democracy and open markets.

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The issue for the next decade is whether our efforts at this construction can succeed in the face of the chaotic centrifugal forces at work within and among nations.

Democracy is at once the foundation and the purpose of the international structures we must build. It is the foundation because, as ~~my predecessor~~ Zbig Brzezinski has put it, "If one builds...only with bricks and mortar we will find that something profound is missing, and the structure may not prove enduring, because societies as viable entities exist on the basis of conviction, of commitment, of certain shared values." It is also the purpose because ~~within~~ the security structures that defend our safety and the economic institutions that expand trade and create jobs ~~can~~ democracy flourish.

We are not starry eyed about the prospects for ~~spreading~~ democracy -- it will not take hold everywhere. But we know that the larger the pool of democracies, the better off we will be. Democracies are less likely to wage war on one another and they make for more reliable trading partners. ~~Our own experience~~ tells us that democracy is the most enlightened form of governance yet devised. As Americans, we have long enjoyed the freedom and prosperity that democracy helps secure, and the political and civil rights it guarantees. We want others to

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~~share its benefits~~. So ~~we must~~ do all that we can to ~~expand~~ the community of free and open societies, especially in areas of greatest strategic interest, as in the former Soviet Union.

I believe that over the past nineteen months, building often on the work of our predecessors, we have made a good start at this process of construction.

To meet the new reality in Europe, we are deeply engaged in transforming existing structures to fulfill President Clinton's vision of an integrated continent. While NATO remains the foundation of security and stability for the trans-Atlantic community, it must adapt to changing times so as to keep the peace -- and, if necessary, make the peace. That's why President Clinton has taken the lead in establishing the Combined Joint Task Forces for peacekeeping and crisis management, and the "Partnership for Peace," to begin the process of expanding security in Europe eastward.

For the new European democracies, the Partnership for Peace is the lighthouse at the entrance to NATO's harbor, offering real, practical military and defense cooperation with NATO. For Russia, the Partnership gives a boost to reformers and commits Moscow to open up and democratize its defense forces. While keeping us prepared for the worst, the Partnership allows us to

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work toward the best possible outcome for Europe -- a community of democratic and stable nations.

In Asia, because there is no equivalent to NATO, we must develop a series of arrangements that will function, as President Clinton has put it, "like overlapping plates of armor, individually providing protection and together covering the whole body of our common security concerns."

These plates include bilateral arrangements, ~~with regional democracies, such as our treaty commitments to Japan, Korea, Australia, the Philippines and Thailand, and the deployment of American forces to help stabilize the region. The plates also consist of~~ multilateral efforts ~~such as our partnership with South Korea, Japan and others~~ to defuse the North Korean nuclear threat ~~and reduce tension on the Korean Peninsula. And they~~ involve ~~increased~~ regional security dialogues, such as ~~the first time ever~~ gathering of the ASEAN ~~countries~~ -- including the ~~United States, Russia, and Vietnam -- last year~~. American engagement in all these areas can help prevent the outbreak of dangerous rivalries and promote a more open, tolerant region.

While the new global economy has delivered wonderful possibilities for growth and creativity, it also has limited governments' ability to control their nations' economic future.

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This has bred fear and insecurity within each of our societies -- especially among those left behind, and who blame their personal predicament on ~~an~~ unidentified, ominous, international forces.

There is a powerful lesson here for those of us concerned with sustaining our country's prosperity in the decades to come. That is the need to design structures with the every day, real interests of Americans in mind, that produce tangible benefits for them and turn ~~their concerns about the future~~ uncertainty into hope.

One striking example is NAFTA, whose passage President Clinton went to the mat to secure. Already, NAFTA has dramatically accelerated the exchange of goods and ideas between the United States, Mexico and Canada. For all it promises to achieve in its own right, NAFTA is just the starting point for the integration of our hemisphere. Other regional compacts modeled after NAFTA will follow. And we will pursue hemispheric integration at the Summit of the Americas, convened by the President in Miami next December.

~~Last year, we sent $120 billion in goods and services to Asia,~~ In Asia, where our trade ~~which~~ translates into almost 2.5 million American jobs, ~~With that fact in mind,~~ President Clinton took the lead ~~called for~~ and hosted the first ever gathering of the Organization for Asian-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) leaders ~~in Seattle last November~~.

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The 15 APEC members account for nearly half of the world's output and most of the fastest-growing economies. By setting pro-growth policies, toppling trade barriers, and cutting regulatory red tape within the Asian-Pacific, we can take tangible steps to improve our peoples' lives. And a heavier flow of American goods, services and people in the region will help spread the ideals of the tolerant society. Our engagement with APEC, which the President will pursue in Indonesia in November, is clear evidence of his vision for an integrated Asian-Pacific community, a community of shared prosperity, shared strength and shared tolerance.

After a lot of heavy lifting, we successfully completed the GATT Uruguay Round, begun eight years ago. By lowering barriers to trade and bringing more nations into an open trading system, this accord promises to lift substantially American wages and living standards, and to do the same for other nations around the world. GATT's successor, the World Trade Organization, not only will ensure a more even international playing field, but also will provide a forum to resolve disputes openly and amicably.

The process of construction also involves our diplomacy. The purpose of our diplomatic efforts is peace. But peace is not an end in itself. It also creates the essential context in which the habits of democracy and community can thrive. Thus, when we

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support and foster peace in the Middle East or Northern Ireland or Southern Africa, we are promoting the tolerant society as well. It is no accident that the enemies of peace in such areas are also apostles of intolerance and extremism.

Effective diplomacy today -- as throughout human history -- is dependent not only on the skill of our diplomats, but also on the power that lies behind it.

The progress we have made in Bosnia, for example, came when power -- implicit or explicit -- was tied to our diplomatic ends. The Sarajevo ultimatum largely succeeded because the threat of NATO air power was judged real. It provided the catalyst for the agreement on a federation between the Croatians and Muslims in Bosnia, in itself a development of great strategic importance there. And I believe it was the threat of further action by NATO, combined with the effect of our sanctions, that led Slobodan Milosevic to promise effectively to close Serbia's border with them. ~~the Bosnian Serbs~~.

Our approach to Haiti has also relied on diplomacy backed by power - the power of our sanctions as well as the real threat of the use of force. Re responsible course has been to pursue every possible diplomatic way to reach our goal there. But make no mistake: when diplomacy fails, the power behind it then becomes the only alternative.

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Our goal is clear.

~~The single goal of~~ For two Administrations, ~~on Haiti has~~ that goal has been the restoration of democracy. ~~tic~~ government.

For almost twenty months we have vigorously pursued every diplomatic avenue available to achieve a peaceful transfer of power from the coup leaders back to the democratically elected government. We have tightened sanctions all we can without

diplomatic ~~efforts~~ all rejected + they're responsible

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crushing the Haitian people. Yet the military leaders remain defiant. Their brutality, if anything, gets worse.

Now, the international community has spoken clearly and authoritatively, through the United Nations Security Council. Resolution 940 authorizes the use of all necessary means, including force, to restore democracy to Haiti.

I believe there is a great deal at stake here. First is the essential ~~credibility~~ reliability of the United States and the international community. Having exhausted all other remedies, we must make it clear that we mean what we say. ~~Diplomacy always is preferable, but diplomacy without the ultimate resort to power is a prescription for weakness.~~ That is important not just for Haiti, but for North Korea, Iraq and every other ~~rogue nation~~ situation in that threatens our interests. → Our actions will send messages to beyond our region

Second, there is a new wave of democracy sweeping over this hemisphere. But it is not irreversible. Haiti is a critical test of our commitment to defend democracy, especially where it is most fragile.

Third, the situation in Haiti has become too brutal to allow, especially in a nation so close to our own. Murder, rape and intimidation are a systematic part of this regime's reign of terror. The vicitims are women, children, orphans even priests. We simply cannot ignore allow brutality on this scale next door, without ~~being diminished ourselves~~ diminishing ourselves, ~~and our diplomacy~~.

Finally, the consequences of this festering problem will not be confined to Haiti. We risk an explosion, leaving in its wake a mass exodus that ~~will~~ could destabilize the region and prove difficult for us to contain.

So, ~~in my view~~, the military leaders must go. We still hope that they will do so voluntarily. The more resolute and united we are, the more likely it is that they will. ~~But we must be -- and we are -- prepared to act if they do leave~~.

Thus far, ~~twelve~~ more than a dozen countries in addition to the United States have told us they will join the international coalition in some form, and others are considering it. Additional nations will sign up when the coalition is replaced by the UN mission.

~~But~~ It must be absolutely clear to them! We will act if we must, and time is running out.

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II. The Threats to Construction

Before starting a project, any good architect sits down with the client and asks a few basic questions: what's the building for; what are your needs; how much time do you spend in each room; what direction do the high winds and storm fronts come from?

And in New England, we know also to ask this question:

~~[illegible]~~ The threats to our international construction come from many quarters. ~~[illegible]~~

~~[illegible]~~

Bosnia and Haiti, for example, are not simply transitory tragedies. Rather, they are part of something bigger and more menacing that threatens to undermine the foreign policy structures we are working so hard to build: the ethnic and other historic divisions within nations that ~~[illegible]~~ tear them apart and in some regions threaten the definition of the nation itself.

~~That's why any productive discussion on how we engage must grapple with our short term responses to crises. And that's why the structures President Clinton is helping design must not only withstand challenges to their integrity, but also make it less likely, in the long term, that such challenges will arise in the first place.~~

immediate crises that can divert us from the "big picture."

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It cannot and must not be the responsibility of the international community or this nation finally to resolve these conflicts. You cannot force a reversal of centuries of animosity in a few years. ~~But the United Nations~~ To attempt to do so would condemn the United Nations to costly failure. [illegible]

But where practical, we can save lives, as in Rwanda, and we can offer such societies a breathing space in which to sort out their own affairs. Whether or not they do so must, in the end, be their own responsibility.

When and when U.N. peacekeeping can and should seek to do so cannot, in a world of such rapid change, clearly be predicted on some briefer's multicolored maps. But we can be very clear about the criteria to use in making those decisions. And after a very careful policy review, this we are doing. We are insisting, for example, that every peacekeeping operation have a clear mission, with adequate funding, and a sensible plan for completion.

These explosions within nations -- in the former Soviet Union, in Africa and elsewhere -- are rooted in historic hatreds, but also exacerbated by the global problems that spread across borders.

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Mass migrations and refugees. The population explosion. An endangered environment. A nefarious nexus of crime, terrorism and weapons of mass destruction. These are the so-called transnational threats that our institutions must be built to withstand, and ultimately to ~~vanquish~~ contain.

The Cairo Conference on population growth and sustainable development rightly addresses perhaps the single most important underlying set of transnational threats before us, and America is leading in the response.

But more attention must also be given, I believe, to the horrific potential of the

The ~~growing~~ nexus ~~between~~ among organized crime, (drug trafficking) terrorism, and (the spread of) weapons of mass destruction ~~has horrific potential~~. Four times in the last month, police seized weapons-quality plutonium smuggled into Germany from Russia. We should be thankful that superior police work and cooperation among various intelligence services -- including our own -- intercepted this deadly cargo. But we also should be concerned. Imagine, for example, what would have happened if the World Trade Center terrorists had detonated a ~~nuclear, not a~~ non-conventional device.

This nexus demands a coordinated, international response. Mere vigilance will not suffice. The amount of plutonium needed to make a bomb is no bigger than a can of Coke. Intensified cooperation among various criminal justice systems is one of the most potent weapons in our arsenal. Over the past few years, we have greatly enhanced our intelligence sharing with allies and through Interpol, increased regular consultations, and engaged in joint anti-terrorist training. Most recently, in July, FBI director Louis Freeh visited several Eastern European countries and Russia, where he stressed the risks of nuclear proliferation through the efforts of organized crime and proposed new cooperative initiatives in response. Ultimately, this informal network of concerned nations will likely evolve into a new structure to counter what must rank as one of the greatest long term threats to our security.

And, ~~[illegible]~~ as I said before, there is the immediate threat to our efforts at construction posed by the regional rogue states who seek to develop and ~~[illegible]~~ traffic in the weapons of mass destruction, who support terrorism, who are no less dedicated to the destruction of the tolerant society than were the defeated leaders of fascism and communism.

That is why this President ~~[illegible]~~ is determined to maintain and modernize the finest military in the world so we can deter aggression -- and counter it when the need arises.

containing Iraq

Why have developed and are pursuing a strategy of "dual containment" of both Iraq and Iran. Why we are absolutely committed to maintaining our commitment to our South Korean allies, even as we negotiate a resolution of the nuclear issue with the North.

III. Our Challenge

tradition of the ~~[illegible]~~

The ~~[illegible]~~ struggle before us, while in the ~~[illegible]~~ the centuries-old fight between the ideas of freedom and ~~[illegible]~~ authoritarianism, is also very new. Fought on many fronts at once, it also can only be won over time, in small victories

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not only through the exercise of our power but also through patience and persistence and pragmatic experimentation. ~~as better~~ ~~through~~

~~the Americans are an impatient people.~~ ☆

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. email	Daniel Poneman to National Security Advisor; re: Revised TL Speech Outline (1 page)	01/25/1995	P1/b(1)
001b. outline	re: Speech Outline for Tony Lake - Nonproliferation & Arms Control (3 pages)	01/25/1995	P1/b(1)
002. memo	Jane Wales to Billy Webster; re: Presidential Speech on Nuclear Smuggling & Nonproliferation (2 pages)	01/11/1995	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 420

FOLDER TITLE:
[Anthony] Lake - Non-Proliferation Speech - [1/30/95]

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp1753

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]
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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

11 January 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR BILLY WEBSTER

FROM: JANE WALES

SUBJECT: Presidential Speech on Nuclear Smuggling and Nonproliferation

The proliferation of nuclear weapons materials, especially nuclear smuggling from the former Soviet Union, poses a national security threat to the United States. Failure to address this danger could ultimately become a crisis powerful enough to define this Administration, just as the Iranian hostage incident defined the Carter Presidency. Media coverage of the issue, particularly in television "magazine shows," has been sensational, playing on public fears. What deserves to be reported is that this Administration has a coherent, aggressive program for controlling and accounting for Russian fissile materials, a program that depends on modest but essential Congressional funding and effective interagency management. A speech by the President that lays out his program and places it in the context of his overall nonproliferation strategy would allay public concerns, persuade Congressional budgetmakers, and reassure participants in the April Nuclear Nonproliferation Review Conference of our seriousness of purpose. A 1992 campaign theme, this issue is in every respect Presidential.

The following are additional arguments for assigning high priority to this speaking request.

(1) U.S.-Russia assistance programs are under attack on the Hill. The use of aid for securing Russian nuclear material is an issue on which consensus can be built, providing the basis for a constructive discussion of U.S. interests in Russia.

(2) Nuclear smuggling is of deep concern to the public and Congress. Time magazine ran a cover story in August, the Post and Times just ran major articles on uranium smuggled into the Czech Republic, and television coverage often returns to this issue.

(3) It is high time that the Administration gets the credit it deserves for its important accomplishments, such as Operation Sapphire in Kazakhstan, or the lab-to-lab efforts improving nuclear security in Russia right now.

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(4) The timing is right. The President's speech would be delivered at a White House Forum in late March, two weeks prior to the opening of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) Review Conference, in the midst of Comprehensive Test Ban negotiations, and shortly before Congress casts budget votes, including votes on Russian aid. The NPT has been the cornerstone of international efforts to prevent proliferation for the past 25 years. It is up for review this Spring, and there is *no guarantee whatsoever* that it won't be scrapped altogether.

(5) The location and audience are right. The National Academy is a nonpartisan, apolitical institution. Among its members are the experts who have made nonproliferation policy over the years and have been responsible for the development and modernization of nuclear weapons. Many of these are the experts used by the media to interpret and comment on national security policy.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Bob Boorstin to Anthony Lake; re: POTUS Speeches September-December (4 pages)	08/15/1994	P5
002. memo	Bob Boorstin to Anthony Lake; re: POTUS Speeches September-December (4 pages) dup. of 001	08/15/1994	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 420

FOLDER TITLE:
1994 Pricipals Schedules

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2567

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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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM

TO: Anthony Lake
FROM: Bob Boorstin
RE: POTUS speeches Sept - Dec
DATE: August 15, 1994

The President will make four or five major national security addresses between Labor Day and the end of the year. What follows is my attempt to summarize the goals and give a brief description of each of these speeches. It is meant to give us a sense of what's coming and start arguments about what should be said.

Three caveats: (1) The "goals" mentioned focus on how we want the American people to view the President and his foreign policy, rather than the content of policy or the intended effect of the speech on the international community; (2) Specific initiatives are mentioned in passing, though they could form the bulk of one or two of the speeches; (3) The Yeltsin and Mandela state visits, as well as other bilateral forums we create, offer other major opportunities.

I have assumed that each of the speeches should follow up on an aspect of the UNGA speech; each should also be connected to a speech or speeches given by another principal and presented to the media as a package. A calendar of the scheduled and tentative speeches of all the foreign policy principals is attached.

United Nations General Assembly
September 26
Goal: To set out U.S. interests in clear terms for the American people, and to convince the media/foreign policy elite to take a fresh look at the President's leadership and policies.

The President should offer a clear statement of the national interests of the United States, what they mean for Americans, and how they coincide with what is good for the international community. This speech should be primarily aimed at the public, rather than the foreign policy elites. It must demonstrate that we have

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made progress in advancing our interests and that -- at this century's third great turning point -- we know where we are going. It should paint a picture of the structures the President sees emerging, touching on the role of the UN but not getting bogged down in policy details. It should also deal with the transnational threats to the structures we are building. The President could introduce an initiative on combatting the deadly combination of terrorists, organized crime and control of weapons of mass destruction. This speech will be teed up by your September 12 speech at the Council on Foreign Relations (architecture of the post-Cold War world); Secretary Christopher plans a September address on transnational threats, and Secretary Perry has two speaking engagements the previous week which could also be used.

Democracy
Week of October 4
Goal: To extrapolate on and make clear our oft-stated goal of promoting democracy, and give the President a chance to link his domestic and international calls for tolerance.

The speech should open with a more philosophical section, in which the President reflects on history and the trend toward democracy. He should argue that the United States has an obligation to continue to promote democracy (free and open societies) throughout the world. Although we realize that not every nation will become a democracy, we recognize its distinct advantages: stability, peaceful resolution of conflict, civil and human rights, economic opportunity and expanded trade. It should also -- following on the Latvia/Poland/Berlin speeches and a Rosner-promoted "culture of tolerance" speech -- give the President an opportunity to issue a Memphis-like appeal for an end to ethnic strife and discuss the values that lie at the heart of democracy. This speech is scheduled to coincide with the state visits of Yeltsin and Mandela; Russia and South Africa should be used as prime examples. This would follow on Secretary Christopher's speech about the U.S.-Russian relationship (week of September 19) and Mandela's address to the Joint Session of Congress.

Asian/Pacific Security
Week of November 7
Goal: To take a hard-headed look at our security interests on the Asian/Pacific rim, and position the President as a realistic Commander in Chief who knows what we must do to fight existing and emerging threats.

Immediately before, or during, the APEC conference, the President should speak about the future of the Pacific Community. He should stress security issues, starting with comments on the 50th anniversary of World War II in the Pacific theater and following up on his remarks during last year's speech at Waseda

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University. In discussing the "interlocking plates" of the new security structure, the President should address issues of regional security and the control of weapons of mass destruction (ASEAN and North Korea). He should talk about the relationship between establishing security in the region and the development of freer, more open societies and expanded economic growth and trade. Depending on the state of play, this speech might present an opportunity to urge nations not to whitewash the history of WWII, or to talk about China's position in the emerging Pacific rim community. This speech could be teed up by Secretary Perry's remarks on the Pacific theater anniversary or his October 27 speech to Stanford Alumni.

Global economy
Week of November 14 or 21
Goal: To bring home to Americans the advantages of our global economic policies, revive the leadership image on these issues we created in 1993, and paint a picture of the President's view of the world economy fifty years from now.

This address would begin with a reminder of the connection between domestic and foreign policies, and illustrations of how our economic fortunes at home (i.e. jobs) are tied to trade and the "economy without borders." It would then turn to history: the 50 years that have passed since Bretton Woods and the need to update financial institutions and renew and build new structures. It would focus on regional economic groups, linking the just-concluded APEC conference -- and the future of the Asian/Pacific trading region -- with the upcoming Summit of the Americas and the emergence of a hemispheric trading bloc. GATT and the WTO would be covered. Then it would return to the benefits for Americans. This speech might include an announcement/initiative of our efforts as we move toward Halifax. Note: only one major international economic speech is scheduled for the fall: Secretary Bentsen's address to the Madrid Conference on October 4.

Americas: democracy and prosperity
December 9 or 10
Goal: To present the President as the strong, dynamic leader of the new Western Hemisphere, and bring home to Americans the positive results of increased trade and the advance of democracy in the Americas.

Keynote of the Summit of the Americas. This speech should address the three themes of the Summit: promoting democracy, fostering economic integration and prosperity, and pursuing sustainable development. It should begin with history, harkening back to the ties that bind the Americas and the Alliance for Progress. Most of the speech should be divided into two sections: one on democracy, including a discussion of what we're doing/should do about Haiti and Cuba; another on the post-NAFTA economic world. (The Vice President could deliver

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an in-depth speech on sustainable development later in the Summit.) The President's speech should reach outside the audience in the hall, demonstrating to Americans why democracy and stability in the hemisphere make their lives better, and how the new economic structures will increase exports and produce more jobs. The speech might also spell out in greater detail the post-NAFTA timeline for proceeding with trade deals with other countries. There is an opportunity for the Vice President to address the OAS in Washington and preview the Summit two weeks before it opens; that address could mark the beginning of our media campaign.

Note: Despite the fact that it builds on stereotypes, this speech would be an ideal place to present a major hemispheric anti-drug initiative. The fact that we have increased drug treatment and prevention funds here at home despite budget cutbacks allows us to pursue this. This issue has obvious political salience and we have been relatively silent on it throughout the Administration.

cc: Sandy Berger
Nancy Soderberg
Tara Sonenshine
Don Baer

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Tara Sonenshine and Tom Ross to Mark Gearan; re: Six-Month Public Affairs Strategy (5 pages)	06/10/1994	P5
002. memo	Carter Wilkie to Don Baer; re: Major Speeches in September (2 pages)	08/17/1994	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 420

FOLDER TITLE:
NSC - Public Affairs Strategy

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2566

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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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 10, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR MARK GEARAN

FROM: TARA SONENSHINE/TOM ROSS

SUBJECT: Six-Month Public Affairs Strategy

This memorandum lays out a six-month strategy for the steady improvement of our foreign policy communications. The plan is organized around upcoming events, trips and policy initiatives which provide "message markers"; points around which a coherent policy message can be centered. We attempt in this memo to identify what we consider to be some of the major weaknesses in the current foreign policy communications apparatus, along with suggested improvements. Finally, the communications plan focuses primarily, but by no means exclusively, on the President. There is plenty of work to go around.

OVERVIEW OF THE PROBLEM:

There are a series of problems which, taken together in our view, explain the difficulty the Administration is experiencing in successfully articulating its foreign policy:

1. Absence of a Common Frame of Reference

   Despite the fact that "guidance" is circulated daily and "common talking points" are drafted, there still remains a fundamental lack of Administration-wide clarity on the goals, objectives and message of our foreign policy--both in terms of individual policy areas, and more importantly, when it comes to defining an overall theme and agenda.

2. Failure to Communicate in Clear, Strong Terms

   Neither those who make foreign policy nor those whose responsibility it is to articulate the policy are consistently doing so in a way that

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communicates strength, clarity and decisiveness. With the exponential increase in media outlets over the past few years, there is a daily barrage of coverage of foreign policy. Too much of that reporting and analysis takes places without an Administration point of view. We are, therefore, constantly on the defensive.

3. Lack of Coordination in the Public Affairs Apparatus

The communicators of foreign policy Administration-wide are still not integrated into a common network. There is not enough routine structure to the exchange of ideas amongst communications experts at the various agencies.

Too much happens at State and Defense without White House knowledge. Too many journalists now find they can play one agency off another. In short, the communicators of foreign policy are not well-armed with common material and not moving out in force. The communicators of foreign policy are not engaged enough in the daily task of keeping reporters and analysts briefed and informed about our agenda.

4. Weak Public Engagement

The Administration is not doing enough to reach out to constituent groups such as think tanks, foreign policy associations, former government officials and cultural and ethnic groups. There is no structured system for an Administration-wide campaign to flood outside experts with our point of view and to bring outsiders into the process in an orderly way.

5. Failure to Trumpet Successes

There is not enough pro-active public affairs efforts towards underscoring the successes that this Administration has had in foreign policy. Far too often we allow critics to define the agenda and let charges against us go unanswered. There is also far too much attention given to explaining the daily crisis and not enough attention paid both to underscoring victories and initiating discussion of policy initiatives which are more long-term in nature.

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6. Weak Domestic Linkages to Foreign Policy

We have allowed our critics to draw old, outdated lines between domestic and foreign policy without making a strong case for why the distinction is no longer valid. We fail to build a strong bridge between national security and international security, and to explain why and how in an interdependent world it no longer makes sense to look at foreign policy in isolation from domestic issues and vice versa.

Message or Messenger: Which Is At Fault?

There are those who blame the message and those who blame the messengers. We think it is a foolhardy exercise in semantics. Without a sound message, the finest of messengers will fail. On the other hand, you can have a terrific message which, if not properly communicated, will fail to resonate with the public. In the end, it is a chicken and egg game, and there is no value in placing blame in any individual corner. The important thing now is to move away from finger-pointing and on to the task at hand--revitalizing the foreign policy process by which those outside the Administration, at home and abroad, come to understand what the Clinton Administration stands for and seeks to achieve with its international agenda. With so much talent in one Administration there is no reason why we cannot, over the next six months, build upon successes already achieved in foreign policy and communicate a bold, clear vision for the future.

The next six months are critical to our effort. It is a crucial period of re-definition and re-engagement. A successful overseas trip such as Normandy only remains a success if it is followed by a deep commitment to explain, explain and explain again, in simple and concrete terms, the ideals that drive our overseas agenda and how that agenda relates to life at home. The public must be made to see how this President is going to connect security abroad with security at home. The communicators of foreign policy must find ways to integrate themselves into a structure which gives voice to the President's themes and disseminates his message in a forceful and proactive way. The time to energize this process begins now with a strategy that capitalizes on the strength of the European D-Day trip by laying the groundwork for the next trip.

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CONCLUDING RECOMMENDATIONS:

The next six months present this Administration with an opportunity to radically improve the communication of its foreign policy. There are enough trips, events and initiatives in the pipeline between now and December to build solid messages around. The issue is how we do it.

The President cannot do it all, and cannot do it alone. But the President must and should set the pattern and the standard for all others. The President should not be placed in the position of articulating foreign policy on the run. He needs to communicate our foreign policy in carefully structured and dignified settings on matters of great importance. Well-crafted speeches, appropriately placed and well-timed messages, pre-trip broadcast and print interviews are some of the ways in which the President can address foreign policy issues in a proactive, not reactive manner.

The Normandy trip was a model in that regard and there are concrete ways in which to build on that success to demonstrate a clear roadmap:

1. A set speech on Asia/trade prior to the G-7/Poland/Riga/Germany trip.

15 min 2. A videotaped message to the Baltics prior to departure.

30 min 3. An interview with a major German network and with Polish television prior to departure. Japanese ?

10 min 4. A luncheon of 15 -- with newspaper editors from all G-7 countries plus Russia AND with seven U.S. newspaper columnists.

30 min 5. A Presidential roundtable on trade with all eight Japanese wires/newspapers which would be covered by Japanese and American television. good

6. A separate strategy for getting Principals to reinforce what the President is doing and to take direction from him on the message.

7. Aggressive coverage of Sunday talk shows.

8. Outreach strategy to think tanks, foreign policy associations, media and business groups. How?

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9. Getting Senior Directors out as well as Assistant Secretaries of State and Defense on talk shows. ?

10. More OP-EDs and more releases of speeches in a timely and coordinated fashion.

11. Better interagency coordination on press strategy.

12. A message sheet in bullet form which is generated by the NSC.

13. Rapid Response Team to correct misimpressions and address criticisms which appear in print or on television.

cc: Dee Dee Myers
Nancy Soderberg

In each of the G-7 components
- Chernobyl / Nukes

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

August 17, 1994

MEMORANDUM

FOR: Don Baer
FROM: Carter Wilkie
SUBJECT: major speeches in September

A series of speeches in September could allow the President to get beyond the process here in Washington and speak about attitudes and ideas. It will be a critical time for reminding Americans of what he stands for and what his Presidency is fundamentally about.

The President must speak with the confident voice of the captain and navigator of our ship of state. People crave a sense of national direction. In a big and broad way, the President must tell us where we are going and what is needed from each of us if we are to get there. Trying to persuade the uninformed with abundant information will not suffice. Non-political people and journalists on non-political beats need that message conveyed simply and directly, without a lot of details.

Deliberative rhetoric about the process here in Washington has reduced us to being the broker among competing interests. This has forced the debates on crime and health care to limited ground, with both sides saying: protect what you have and fight anybody who tries to take it away from you. We've got to get beyond that. We cannot allow this country to appear paralyzed by an inability of Americans to work together.

In September, the President should reawaken our dormant sense of community and civic virtue. He will be going up against a culture that has allowed individualism to run amok. For too long, the right has told us to "go it alone, you're on your own." For too long, the left has said, "do your own thing." The right has preached abandonment while the left has preached entitlement. Both have promoted an unhealthy individualism that has weakened our attachments to each other.

We must establish a new governing ideology. As Clinton himself has said, "We must go beyond the competing ideas of the old political establishment: beyond every man for himself on the one hand and the right to something for nothing on the other." We have to get Americans to see beyond themselves. We have to show Americans that they belong to something larger than themselves. We have to encourage every American to do more than merely look out for themselves. We have to challenge them to help shoulder our common load.

Bringing Americans together to restore our sense of community is one of the most basic purposes of the Clinton presidency. These speeches ought to be built around this theme.

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THE SPEECHES:

Ministers: Scripture tells us to be our brothers' keepers, but we are acting like a "me" society when we need to be a "we" society. "We ought to be part of a nation that's coming together, not coming apart. We ought to be part of a community where people look out for each other, not just for themselves. We ought to be part of a nation that brings out the best in us, not the worst. The only limit to what we can do is what we are willing to expect and ask of ourselves." Here, the President should raise the question of how to sustain the idea of "community" in a highly mobile and individualistic society.

National Service: The news here is not the size or mechanics of AmeriCorps, but what it says about our view of American culture and government's role in it. Unlike the right, which believes government has no role, and the left, which believes that government should play every role, this administration believes that every American shares a responsibility for the quality of life in his or her community. Rather than build new bureaucracies as substitutes for decaying social institutions and personal relationships, this administration is fostering new relationships and rewarding the people who accept and uphold their civic responsibilities.

U.N. General Assembly: There may actually be a subtle echo of our domestic message in this speech. To strengthen peace and prosperity in this time of rapid change, nations of the world will have to look beyond their borders and see beyond themselves. Our global security, economy, and environment demand that we live and work together. The twin themes of this speech should be the increasing interdependence and integration of nations, East and West, North and South. This should not be a laundry list, but a concise vision statement that will endure long after it is given.

Yeltsin and Mandela visits. Both remind us that old enemies can put aside their differences and work together. In this era of change, we need each other. We must find ways to trust each other, and help each other, if we are to help ourselves.

THE SELL:

Last June, the press did a better job of reporting how the President delivered a string of "values" speeches than explaining what those values were. The coverage was about our tactics, but not about our ideas, our vision, and our mission. We need to help reporters be less like theater critics and more like book reviewers. We need to stress the messages of the speeches and not merely the fact that these speeches are taking place.

cc. Bob Boorstin

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Timothy E. Wirth to Mark Gearan & Eileen Clausen; re: President's Speech at the National Academy of Sciences Dinner (2 pages)	06/24/1994	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 421

FOLDER TITLE:
White House Conference on Africa - 6/94

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2575

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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United States Department of State

Under Secretary of State for Global Affairs

Washington, D.C. 20520-7250

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mark Gearan
Eileen Clausen
FROM: Timothy E. Wirth TEW
RE: President's Speech at the National Academy of Sciences Dinner, June 29

As we discussed earlier this week, many believe it would be highly effective for the President to make a statement outlining U.S. international population policy, especially in light of the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) in Cairo in September. The most promising opportunity would be at the June 29th dinner being hosted jointed by the National Academy of Sciences, the Turner Foundation and Harvard's Kennedy School, to which the President has been invited to speak. Bruce Alberts, President of the National Academy of Sciences, and Jack Gibbons have recommended that the President make this speech. Ambassador Albright has cabled that an address by the President would be beneficial. These sentiments were echoed by several members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, who pressed hard for a Presidential statement during I briefing I had with Chairman Hamilton and his colleagues.

A comprehensive, widely supported policy has been developed and it is important that citizens understand the full context of this forward looking strategy.

Last year in New Delhi, representatives of national academy of sciences from around the world participated in a "science summit" to explore the interrelated issues of population growth, resource consumption, socio-economic development and environmental protection. At the summit, 58 national academies of science issued a joint statement declaring that "the ultimate success in dealing with global social, economic, and environmental problems cannot be achieved without a stable world population." The philosophy of the summit became, "Let 1994 be remembered as the year when the people of the world decided to act together for the benefit of future generations."

Building on the findings of the world science summit on population, the National Academy of Sciences, the Turner Foundation and the Pew Global Stewardship Initiative are hosting a dinner at the State Department on June 29 to engage 250 opinion leaders, scientists, policy makers, and business leaders in a discussion on the issue of population and sustainable development.

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With the National Academy of Science as the intellectual backdrop, this dinner is an ideal forum for the President to lay out his vision of the breadth and importance of US population and development policies prior to the International Conference on Population and Development. Because the press has focused on the few remaining unresolved issues of the conference, there is less understanding of why the US is pursuing these policies and how it will benefit current and future generations in the US and around the world. A speech at the June 29 dinner would allow the President to frame our position as he would like citizens to understand it.

We would suggest that the President could address a few key points:

- the national security implications of rapid population growth
- the high moral and ethical position that has been carved out for improving individual's quality of life while at the same time acting as stewards of the planet
- improving the social, economic and political status of women around the globe -- including access to education and health services is integral to success on every level
- the US is a proud partner with the international community in embracing a population strategy which integrates the guidance provided by the world academies of science
- what is being promoted as an international agenda mirrors much of the President's domestic agenda -- access to quality health care, family, responsibility, poverty alleviation, and education

In addition to making a policy statement, the President could use the opportunity to announce that Vice President Gore will participate in the Cairo conference. The day following the dinner, the Vice President is scheduled to participate in a forum entitled "Beyond the Numbers: Population Issues for the 21st Century", sponsored by the same organizations and moderated by Marvin Kalb of the Kennedy School at the National Academy of Sciences.

Thank you for your attention to this important issue. We are happy to assist in any way we can. I look forward to our continued efforts to ensure a successful and productive conference for the United States in September.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Timothy E. Wirth to Anthony Lake; re: President's Speech at the National Academy of Sciences Dinner (2 pages)	06/27/1994	P5
002. paper	re: NAS Conference - Background & Themes for Presidential Speech (2 pages)	06/27/1994	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 421

FOLDER TITLE:
Population Conference - 6/29/94

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2574

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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United States Department of State

Under Secretary of State
for Global Affairs

Washington, D.C. 20520-7250

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Anthony Lake
FROM: Timothy E. Wirth TEW
RE: President's Speech at the National Academy of Sciences Dinner, June 29

As we discussed Sunday afternoon, the President has a great opportunity this Wednesday evening, before a perfect audience. The population issue is a winner for the United States, and we should take advantage of it:

*** it is a foreign policy, post-Cold War winner;

*** women are a key support group for the Administration, and our Cairo policy and actions are a winner;

*** among environmental groups, who worry about the Administration's resolve, our population policy is a winner.

So why not accept the win and speak about it?

The perfect opportunity is Wednesday, at a conference on the Cairo population conference to be held on the 8th floor of the State Department. Sponsored by the Kennedy School, the National Academy of Sciences and the Turner Foundation, the dinner precedes a Thursday morning conference of 500 people, at which the importance of population as a national security issue will be laid out for an audience that will be mostly press. Wednesday night's dinner will involve our nation's press, Administration and NGO leadership on this issue.

We have done a proposed speech (attached); in it, the President should:

-- underline why population stabilization is an important post-Cold War issue, crucial to all other hopes for economic development, political stability and environmental preservation;

-- praise from the rooftops our positions on the empowerment of women, reproductive health, the education of girls;

-- underline that family planning is the best prevention strategy for abortion (in keeping with his pledge to make abortion rare), and point to the horrors in Russia and Eastern Europe, where abortion has become the only option;

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-- take the high road, and not get into the specifics of the Cardinals' letter and the concerns of the Holy See. We'll handle those through ongoing efforts.

This opportunity and strategy is supported by Vice President Gore, Ambassador Albright, Jack Gibbons, Mark Gearan, Tom Donilon and others. In addition, a strong group from Congress has urged the President to speak out clearly and fully. And this will echo long and well among large numbers of the Administration's best supporters and groups.

Attached is a fuller description of this week's meeting, and an outline of recommended speech themes.

As we used to say in politics, "why not take Yes for an answer?" This is superb opportunity. I look forward to hearing from you.

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APPENDIX A
NAS CONFERENCE -- BACKGROUND AND THEMES FOR PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH

Last year in New Delhi, representatives of 58 National Academies of Science from around the world participated in a "science summit" to explore the interrelated issues of population growth, resource consumption, socio-economic development and environmental protection. At the summit, 58 national academies of science issued a joint statement declaring that "the ultimate success in dealing with global, social, economic, and environmental problems cannot be achieved without a stable world population." The philosophy of the summit became, "Let 1994 be remembered as the year when the people of the world decided to act together for the benefit of future generations."

Building on the findings of the world science summit on population, the National Academy of Sciences, the Turner Foundation and the Pew Global Stewardship Initiative are hosting a dinner at the State Department on June 29 to engage 250 opinion leaders, scientists, policy makers, and business leaders in a discussion on the issue of population and sustainable development. This will be followed by a 500-person conference on June 30, to focus on press and leadership groups.

With the National Academy of Science as the intellectual backdrop, this dinner is an ideal forum for the President to lay out his vision of the breadth and importance of US population and development policies prior to the International Conference on Population and Development. Because the press has focused on the few remaining unresolved issues of the conference, there is less understanding of <u>why</u> the US is pursuing these policies and <u>how</u> it will benefit current and future generations in the US and around the world. A speech at the June 29 dinner would allow the President to frame our position as he would like citizens to understand it.

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- the national security implications of rapid population growth
- the high moral and ethical position that has been carved out for improving individual's quality of life while at the same time acting as stewards of the planet
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- the US is a proud partner with the international community in embracing a population strategy which integrates the guidance provided by the world academies of science
- what is being promoted as an international agenda mirrors much of the President's domestic agenda -- access to quality health care, family responsibility, poverty alleviation, and education

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In addition to making a policy statement, the President could use the opportunity to announce that the Vice President will participate in the Cairo conference. The day following the dinner, the Vice President is scheduled to participate in a forum entitled "Beyond the Numbers: Population Issues for the 21st Century", sponsored by the same organizations and moderated by Marvin Kalb of the Kennedy School at the National Academy of Sciences.

A copy of a draft speech for President Clinton is attached.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. notes	re: Handwritten Notes - POTUS G-7 Briefing (6 pages)	06/23/1994	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 421

FOLDER TITLE:
7/94 Trip - POTUS Briefings

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2573

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POTUS 6-7 briefing 6/23/94

(Berger) G7
1) reflect progress back to domestic audience
2) lead G7 to new agenda for global economy - most important is growth + jobs - macro to micro + new infrastructure for global economy - information highway, telecommunications initiative
economies in transition - moving away from emergency assistance to long term plan - Ukraine piece - environment / sustainable development - population, nuclear safety, debt -

(Cutter) G7
growth + jobs - macroeconomic success - trade + structural change in labor force
1) confirm macroeconomic coordination
2) Detroit jobs conference - action plan - lifetime learning
3) Uruguay round - ratification by year's end -

(POTUS - French concern w/ social policy) (subtle argument for protectionism)

new global infrastructure -
1) telecommunications - G7 telecomm. ministers - computer networks
2) World Trade Organization + renewal of financial institutions that should access global capital markets - minimize risk

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POTUS 6/23 briefing (1)

economies in transition - ad hoc → longterm -
1) broader package beyond Russia to Ukraine
2) Russia as an equal
3) increase IMF access for Russians, etc.

sustainable development / environment - interaction w/ poverty, health -
(POTUS - abortion, G7 + Cairo Conference)
1) nuclear safety - Chernobyl -

(POTUS - "turning over the future of Africa to third-level bureaucrats. This is insane." - African debt payoff)

(Kantor) trade initiative "Open Market 2000"
1) identify barriers which inhibit future trade - financial services, civil aviation, telecommunication - potential action plan by Halifax
2) advantages
invigorates G7, bolsters leadership -
G7 will dominate for next 10 years -
address Japan issue - instability -
strong message that we're moving, providing ldrship for rest of the world -
3) disadvantages
[illegible] more initiative -

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POTUS 6/23 briefing (?)

politically difficult to do quickly -

sidesteps problems of trade here in US - no environmental / labor problem -

(summers - exacerbate North-South tensions, unless painted as strong prelude to new GATT round) -

(Chris - emphasize European integration)

(Burns) Riga

1) strong rhetorical support for Baltic indep. - get that ~~[illegible]~~ by showing up - never recog-nized Soviet role

Resonates w/ Balts - rejected CIS - want our protection

Resonates w/ Rn policy - opposed expan-sion

Resonates at home w/ Baltic-Americans

2) Russian troop w/ drawal - substantive point - Estonian - can put forward ideas at Yeltsin bilateral

Balts ought to treat Russian minorities well -

Latvian/ethnic Russian law -

(Yeltsin/Rutskoi) troops may be out

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POTUS 6/23 briefing (4)

3) future - Estonian economic miracle - part of Visograd group - Pond

(Schifter / Fried) Poland

security - Poles still very much concerned about threat (40% concerned) about attack, 65% believe PfP enhances

1) PfP is real

domestic issues - economy growing 4% but recent years miserable - unemployment done from 0-16% in 4 years, over 30% in some rural areas

Mal disillusionment -

(POTUS - Walesa - hitting hard on last trip on econom aid) -

(Walker / Le Gouvgeais) Germany

security, cooperation, prosperity - Germany stands to gain / lose most depending on fate of Cn / En Europe -

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theme: stabilizing - cooperation Cn / En

POTUS 6/27 briefing (5)

value of military. Berlin brigade - but not

Germany in midst of heated elections. —
Constitutional Court expected to issue decision
on German participation

(Bergen) themes - at first glance, not drama of Tokyo trip - makes framework even more important
1) moving away from Cold War, old economic world
2) showcase Clinton/US leadership -
out of recession -
new framework of security -
3) new economic agenda - US, no longer the laggard - % GDP deficit now second lowest -
trade - build on jobs
what countries need to do at home -
glob: macroeconomic growth and connection to rise in living standards, social trend -
4) we can't turn back

(Jaeger) - multiple audiences - splashback - sense of inspiration + hope
1) season of renewal -
2) exit - coolage -
(Lake) - must-invest - integration theme -

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POTUS 6/23 briefing (6)

(POTUS) ~~avoid~~ ethnocentrism - other nations do things very well - health care, violence, etc. - must not say 'our way is right, their way is wrong'

Elabor mobility - Germans do it better - I must know that choices we've made have consequences - recognize French child care, northern Italian economic cooperatives networks

We don't look like the Ugly Americans. We don't look like Bigfoot.

(Walesa on the town: "I'll just keep thinking about Chicago and Milwaukee.")

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Joan Spero to Tom Donilon & Jody Greenstone; re: G-7 Summit - What's Our Message (1 page)	06/16/1994	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 421

FOLDER TITLE:
7/94 Trip - Message Memos

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2572

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UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR ECONOMIC AND AGRICULTURAL AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520-7310

June 16, 1994

Bob —
I thought this might be helpful
Joan

TO: Tom Donilon
Jody Greenstone

FROM Joan Spero

SUBJECT: G-7 Summit - What's Our Message

As discussed, attached are materials on the Summit prepared by me, Larry Summers and Bob Fauver. I have also included a short piece on where we stand on the issues at this point in the Sherpa process. I think we have the basis for developing a good theme for the Summit, but you will see from a quick read that we still do not have a clear public message to enunciate.

While I have to flesh out my thoughts on this, I believe some sort of combination of Larry's "Shared Prosperity" theme with my "New Economic Architecture" idea might work well. Bob Fauver has tried to incorporate the two in his synthesis draft communique, but it still doesn't flow as well as we would like. My thought is this: The end of the Cold War has clearly led not only to new <u>political</u> realities, but to new <u>economic</u> realities. Politically, we are seeing many individuals and countries enjoying the fruits of democracy for the first time. Economically, we need to ensure that, both domestically and internationally, individuals and countries share in the benefits of new prosperity. This conceptual parallel could then be reinforced by highlighting the need for a new economic architecture to ensure that shared prosperity happens. We are adapting political/security institutions (NATO, UN) to promote democracy. We need to adapt economic institutions to promote shared prosperity as well. As global economic recovery picks up, and as economic restructuring and globalization of business continues, the international economic system is moving into a new phase, and we need to adapt to ensure that new issues and new players are effectively incorporated.

These are just preliminary thoughts, but I do see the basis of a good public message here. I'll be testing the waters on this idea this weekend in Naples. I'd appreciate any thoughts you have. Thanks.

Attachments: Spero memo on G-7 Communique
Summers memo on G-7 Communique
Fauver draft G-7 Communique
Status of Sherpa process

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. letter	Dr. Lalita Muizniece to Robert Boorstin; re: Latvian Poem (partial) (1 page)	06/29/1994	P6/b(6)
002. notes	re: Background for Clinton's Baltic Speech (partial) (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)
003. note	Nick Burns to Bob Boorstin; re: Riga Speech (3 pages)	06/21/1994	P5

COLLECTION:
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National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 421

FOLDER TITLE:
7/94 Trip - Riga Drafts/Notes

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp1766

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ATTACHMENT #2

June 21, 1994

Note for Bob Boorstin

From: Nick Burns NB-NSC

Subject: Riga Speech

Bob: By now you should have received the general background information on Latvia that you requested. I have attached to this memo some additional information just received today from our Embassy in Riga.

As for the speech, I have also attached the State Department's draft speech. John Beyrle and I have read it carefully. It is a good job, contains much useful information but is not, in my own view, up to par. In general, I think the speech needs to be more emotional, less bureaucratic, and certainly more poetic.

I would offer the following thoughts to supplement the State draft.

1) As we discussed, Clinton must be brief and passionate in this speech. He has to take a broad view and hit a few, special themes to engage the large outdoor audience expected (helped, of course, by an able and theatrical interpreter--I have asked our embassy in Riga and the Latvian Ambassador here to find the right person, per our earlier discussion). The State speech is too mundane and distant to meet this goal.

2) In addition, there are several key themes/issues that need to be accentuated:

A) **Baltic independence**. This ought to be the first big message in the speech. You delivered yourselves from a long occupation and nightmare. We congratulate you. We applaud the efforts of the thousands who struggled. The story of Baltic independence from 1940-1991 and especially during 1989-1991 is dramatic and filled with tales of individual courage and valor. Clinton should both acknowledge this and praise specific acts.

This may be a good way to accomplish another goal--highlight each of the three countries in some way in the speech. One way to do this would be to mention a patriot from each country who distinguised him/herself during this period. State has given you the example of Ambassador Anatol Dinbergs, a hero in Latvia. He represented Latvia here from the 1930s until his death last year. He stayed for over 50 years in Washington keeping Latvia's legation open in the hope independence might come in his lifetime or after.

Another example, over twenty young people died in January 1991 when the Soviet army took over key installations in Riga and Vilnius.

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Another: Tens of thousands were deported to Siberia during and after the Second World War. Many never returned. One who did is Clinton's host, President Ulmanis of Latvia.

B) **U.S. Support for the Balts:** Play up the fact that we stood by them, both Democratic and Republican Administrations, for over 50 years and never recognized Soviet rule in the three countries. We protected their gold reserves (later returned in 1991). We harbored their diplomats and kept their legations open. We kept their flags flying at the State Department.

Laud the role of Baltic-Americans who made sure the U.S. government never forgot. They kept the Baltic flame burning in the U.S., kept the Baltic languages and culture alive here, maintained international awareness, lobbied insistently for American attention. They have given back to the U.S. too and strengthened us (in Chicago, Cleveland, Baltimore, New York etc.)

Work in here that he is the first American President to visit the Baltics. That visit is meant to express our deep support for their independence, freedom, sovereignty. It represents the culmination of a long journey in our relations with them. Woodrow Wilson supported their creation as States at the end of WWI; Clinton now makes a pledge to help them achieve true independence, freedom as we enter a new century.

C) **Highlight the issue of Russian troop withdrawals.** This is tricky because the President will not want to criticize Yeltsin or stick it too hard to the Russians in general. But he should take credit for having energized U.S. efforts after taking office. He stood clearly and squarely for an early Russian troop withdrawal from the Vancouver Summit onward. He lobbied personally and effectively to produce results in the negotiations. Most importantly, because of his efforts, the U.S. is providing 5000 houses for Russian officers as an inducement to get them to leave.

D) **Note we must now look to the future.** Challenge ahead is to help consolidate their independence, make sure it lasts. U.S. will help. We will be as dedicated to this as we were to your liberation from occupation. Examples:

--We will support you politically as new European states. Stress the fact we consider them to be Europeans.

--We want closer security ties--through direct military training and exchanges; through welcoming the three into Partnership for Peace. This is best way to preserve their future security.

--We also want to help integrate their economies with the West. They are helping themselves--praise the

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Estonian economic miracle (highest growth rates in Europe); belief in free market economics. We, in turn, have started Baltic-American Enterprise Fund to lend to their small businesses--$50 million.

--Pick up on Clinton's theme from the January trip--all countries need to seek greatness and redefine themselves. Balts now have chance to seek peaceful relations with all neighbors, including Russia. Important message here that Clinton must mention is for Balts to live in peace with Russia and Russian minorities. Give the Russians living in the three countries an opportunity to be full members of the society.

Some minor, additional points:

-- Never refer to them as the Baltic "republics". The State draft does. It is anachronistic and from the period when they were republics of the USSR. They are now "states", "countries".

-- I would also try to use the specific names of the three countries as much as possible and not lump them as "Balts". The President's audience is also in Estonia and Lithuania.

-- You might try to work in the President's early understanding of the Baltic issue. He said publicly last year that he had known Baltic-Americans in Arkansas as a young boy and had early on grown to know the plight of the three states.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. speech	re: President William J. Clinton - Remarks to the People of Berlin at the Brandenburg Gate - Berlin, Germany (with extensive corrections by POTUS) (4 pages)	07/12/1994	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speehwriting)
OA/Box Number: 421

FOLDER TITLE:
7/94 Trip - Brandenburg Gate

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2571

RESTRICTION CODES

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POTUS correct

7/11/94, 3 pm

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE PEOPLE OF BERLIN
AT THE BRANDENBURG GATE
BERLIN, GERMANY
JULY 12, 1994

Citizens of free Berlin...citizens of united Germany:

We stand together where Europe's heart was cut in half -- and we celebrate unity.

We stand where hundreds perished when they dared rise up against foreign masters -- and we embrace freedom.

We stand where crude walls of concrete separated mother from child -- and we meet as one family.

~~We stand where those who sought a new life instead found death -- and we rejoice in renewal.~~

Chancellor Kohl, Mayor Diepgen, Berliners the world over. Thank you for welcoming me to the heart of your city.

~~To the people of Berlin, from the people of America:~~ You have won your long struggle. You have proved that no wall can contain the mighty power of freedom forever.

~~There are those who say there is no more beautiful sight than the sun rising in the East, or setting in the West. To them I say: stand here with me where east meets west. For in all the world there is no greater sight than the landscape of liberty that lies before me today.~~

America can't move w/ Gen. Aid soon, your city will be a center of commerce and culture as well as freedom. And imagine how it will look when a new American embassy stands right there in Berlin.

Half a century has passed since Berlin was first divided, thirty-three years since the Wall went up. While one half of this city lived encircled, the other half lived enslaved, ~~no matter when, no matter where~~, one force endured: the ~~spirit of civil courage~~ courage -- ~~the power to stand up for what is right and what must be.~~

Your courage has taken many forms. The bold courage -- of that June day in 1953, when those trapped in the East stood up to communist tyranny. The quiet courage to lift your children above the Wall so that grandparents on the other side could see those they loved but could not touch. The inner courage to reach for the ideas that would make you free.

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And the civilcourage of five years ago when, starting in the strong hearts and the candlelit streets of Leipzig, you turned your dreams of a better life into chisels of liberty. ~~And when those miraculous November nights turned to day, freedom stood where oppression once blocked the way.~~

Now, you who found the courage to tear down must find a new civilcourage -- the courage to build. The Berlin Wall is gone. Now our generation must decide: what will we build in its place?

Standing here today, we can see the answer. A Europe where all nations are ~~sovereign~~ **and** democratic. Where free markets and prosperity know no borders. Where our security is based on building bridges, not walls.

That Europe must be built, not brick by brick, but person by person. With the patience to endure today's hardships; the energy to embrace our responsibilities, and the faith to know that the rewards of freedom will surely be ours.

~~For freedom's promise also brings fear. Uncertainty breeds exploiters -- weak imitators of the dictators who left us a divided world. Left unchecked, they will erect new walls to drive us apart again.~~

~~Here in Germany -- as across the world -- history demands that we never again let hatred take root. I urge you, as I urge my countrymen: reject those who would divide us. And I appeal especially to the youth of this great nation: summon the civilcourage to look ahead. Never believe the people who say you can't make a difference. You can -- and you will in your future. Believe you can make a difference. Believe you have the courage to build -- and you will.~~

~~Today I face to the East; you face to the West. But we all see the same horizon. Here, in Berlin, in this capital restored -- America and Germany will build together for the future. But we must go in pursuit of this new future.~~

And I say to you, in the name of the pilots whose airlift kept Berlin alive....in the name of the sentries who stood face to face with enemy tanks...in the name of the armed forces who will stay with you to guard freedom's future...and in the name of all the American Presidents who have come before me to give you hope...America stands with you -- now and forever.

~~Moments ago, with my good friend Chancellor Kohl, who was Chancellor when the Wall came down, I walked where my predecessors could not -- through the Brandenburg Gate.~~

Sometimes for over two centuries, in every age, that gate has been a symbol of its times. A monument to conquest. ~~A window on darkness.~~ And a tower of tyranny.

Here in Germany, & the US, & around the world, we must reject those who would divide us w/ cruelty words about race, ethnicity, religion

I appeal especially to the young people of this great nation:

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~~Let us never forget what it has been. But let us never forget what it can be. In our time~~, you -- courageous Berliners -- have made the Brandenburg what its builders meant it to be: a gateway. ~~For today, it is a gateway to freedom~~.

Now, together, we will make it the gateway to a united Europe, ~~For the first time in the history of mankind, the people of this Continent can live together in peace~~.

~~Nothing -- nothing -- will~~ stop us from walking through that gateway. ~~One struggle has ended. New dreams loom large~~. ~~And we know what all freedom-loving people know~~:] All things are possible. Berlin is free.

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~~And each of us, in his or her own way, is~~

(6)

~~And the new Era~~ You to believe
There is reason for ~~hope~~

~~This will take time. Great enterprises~~
~~do. But~~ already, the new ~~Europe~~ Future is
taking shape. (4a) In the NATO's Partnerships for Peace,
where twenty one nations ~~have~~ already ~~pledged~~ to have
~~cooperation to build military to defend~~ their borders.
~~pledged~~ to ~~cooperate~~ mutual trust ~~and~~ respect
each other's sovereignty (3) In the process
+ democ & freedom
of economic reform in Russia and Poland
and the Baltics and elsewhere in Central
and Eastern Europe (5) In the growing economies
US our partners.
of Western Europe ~~and the ties among them~~.
~~And across this great continent~~, (7) in the soaring
chorus of voices that speak the common language of democracy.

~~But the future will not be easy.~~

~~For...~~

~~bringing back hope for ordinary~~
~~people → giving them jobs, etc.~~ →

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. paper	re: Haiti Communications Plan (13 pages)	n.d.	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 421

FOLDER TITLE:
Haiti - Communications Plan

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2570

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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HAITI COMMUNICATIONS PLAN

PURPOSE: The purpose of this communications plan is to lay-out a coherent and well-organized blueprint for the public articulation and public explanation of potential international military action in Haiti.

RATIONALE: The public explanation for any action in Haiti will rest upon a set of reasons and objectives which should be the basis for our public discourse.

AMERICAN CREDIBILITY/AMERICAN INTERESTS

The United States has taken a very firm, very consistent position--going back to prior Administrations--regarding the unconstitutional, unacceptable nature of the military regime in Haiti. The U.S. position, underscored by the Bush Administration and echoed strongly by this Administration, is that the military coup which ousted Haiti's first democratically elected President and replaced it with a brutal dictatorship cannot and will not succeed.

American credibility is now at stake. America has made a commitment to Haiti. America does not break its commitments. Our word matters in the international community. We will not allow other brutal regimes to doubt our resolve, nor will we allow other democracies to question our commitments.

SAVAGERY CLOSE TO HOME

The United States simply cannot and will not stand by and watch a close neighbor be subjected to brutality. Haiti is literally next door and we will not ignore its troubles.

DEMOCRACY

A tidal wave of democracy has swept through the Western hemisphere over the past decades. It finally came to Haiti in 1991, only to be snatched away by a band of military thugs determined to keep democracy away from Haiti. America must protect the fragile progress of democracy in the hemisphere both because democracy in the region is in our own interests and because it is an ideal upon which our values and principles rest. All nations, including our own, prosper economically and remain more secure, politically, when democracy reigns. Haiti is an important litmus test of our commitment to strengthening and deepening that democratic process.

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DISLOCATION, DISRUPTION

The situation in Haiti has resulted in economic dislocation inside Haiti as well as in surrounding Caribbean nations, which has resulted in a refugee flow to the United States. We simply cannot absorb huge numbers of Haitians nor can we, in good conscience, return them into the hands of a brutal, repressive regime. A safe haven policy is a good stop-gap measure but it is only temporary. Ultimately, the answer lies in removing the coup leaders from power and allowing a democratic process to return.

The above-mentioned core reasons for intervention in Haiti must be explained and reexplained as we approach a point of possible action. The objectives of our mission must also be made clear as part of the communications strategy.

For planning purposes, this communications strategy is divided into four (4) phases:

Phase I: Making the case for possible intervention/sending a message to the military leaders in Haiti

Phase II: Intensification of public advocacy

Phase III: Eve of action through action

Phase IV: Post-action

Each phase will require a common set of talking points and a series of events designed to reach various audiences:

Domestic Audiences:
-- The General Public
-- Congress
-- Opinion Leaders (Former Government Officials, Columnists/Journalists, Academics)
-- Haitian Americans

Foreign Audiences:
-- Coup leaders in Haiti
-- Officers and officials in the second tier of power
-- Ordinary Haitians
-- Caribbean countries
-- International community, at large

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PHASE I: MAKING THE CASE

Phase I essentially begins today and, in many ways, is a continuation of our ongoing attempt to explain to the public why we are engaged in this issue. But there is an added purpose which is to send the message to the Haitian military that we are serious and that their days in power are, indeed, numbered.

PHASE I STEPS

1. BACKGROUNDING:

Principals should be talking, on the record as well as on background, about our commitment to use all means necessary to get the military leaders to step down from office. The major magazines should be backgrounded as well as newspaper reporters on a one-on-one basis. Talking points should be circulated.

2. PRESIDENTIAL PHONE CALLS:

Although this early phase should NOT involve the President doing any major speeches, it has been agreed that the President will begin a round of calls to leading members of Congress to brief them on the situation in Haiti. Talking points are being prepared. Calls to Congresspeople are also being placed by principals.

*In terms of the President's public schedule, clearly the President should reflect, in any public events or editorial boards, the themes being echoed in this phase; namely that we are at a serious juncture, that international patience is running thin, that the coup leaders' days are numbered, and that the United States is actively engaged in planning should it become necessary to use force with other nations and in accordance with the UN resolution to remove the military from power.

3. PRESS STATEMENT AT DAILY BRIEFING:

At the regular White House or State Department briefing there should be common language worked out daily to hammer home the same themes on Haiti.

4. SATURDAY PRINCIPALS MEETING:

In the event of a Saturday foreign policy team meeting, we should issue a short statement after the meeting giving a brief description of the meeting and re-stating our core objectives.

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5. **WEEKEND TALK SHOWS:**

The principals should be available and prepared to speak about our interests in Haiti and our rationale for any potential action. It is recommended that the following principals appear this weekend:

-- UN Ambassador Albright (CNN Saturday, Brinkley on Sunday)
-- Secretary Christopher (NBC Meet the Press on Sunday)
-- Bill Gray (CNN Sunday)
-- *Leon Panetta has been asked to appear on CBS Face the Nation to talk about both domestic and foreign policy. His segment would be followed by Dole and Mitchell.

**Monday morning talk shows have also requested guests on Haiti.

6. **OFFICE OF PUBLIC LIAISON:**

We should turn to OPL on a daily basis for input on public affairs items that are being ignored or mishandled. OPL should play a major role in making sure that our outreach to the Hispanic and Black Caucus is appropriate as well as outreach to community groups around the country.

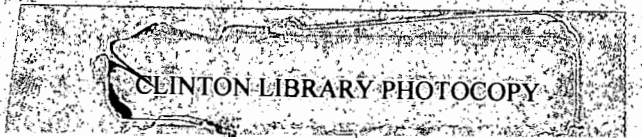
MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS

ACTUAL HAITI-RELATED EVENTS:
We should factor into Phase I communications planning any actual Haiti-related events taking place such as exercises underway in Puerto Rico, the activation of (7) ships along with civilian crews, the movement of personnel and equipment, etc., developments at GITMO regarding the movement of Haitians, etc.

INTERNAL MEDIA ORGANIZATION:
It is important to task people with individual Haiti-related assignments so that we are not scrambling later on. Examples include:

a. **DAILY LOGGING OF HAITI ACTIONS BY PRESIDENT AND PRINCIPALS**

We can predict with 100% certainty that, at some point, after military action takes place, there will be a flood of stories on the behind-the-scenes decision-making process. We will be scrambling for details on Presidential calls, meetings, key moments, stories, anecdotes, etc. We need a full-time person assigned to log calls, list times of meetings, keep an accurate chronology and detail internal activity.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b. DAILY REVIEW OF MEDIA REACTION AND PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON HAITI

We should have a daily sense of what is being said on the Hill, in the local as well as national press, and in academic fora. Someone should be assigned to watch Haiti reaction and compile a daily summary of newscasts, columns, stories, floor statements, etc. We cannot react quickly to what we do not know is being said.

c. HAITI CALENDAR

Someone should be assigned to keep an updated calendar of events which reflect what the President and principals are doing, generally, as well as what is happening of a Haiti-related nature. It is important to know when heads of state are coming here, when press and public events of a domestic nature may conflict with Haiti events, when the Hill is recessing, holidays, etc. An accurate and current calendar is critical.

d. DAILY HAITI GUIDANCE

We will need daily Haiti guidance which is provided early in the morning and circulated widely and quickly. Transcripts of Haiti-related speeches and briefings must be made available in a timely way.

e. OP ED UNIT

There should be a separate unit of people working on soliciting op eds from outsiders as well as coordinating the inter-agency process of reviewing and submitting internally-generated op eds.

f. EDITORIAL BOARD CO-ORDINATION

One person should be responsible for coordinating the editorial board coverage in terms of quickly getting a handful of Administration principals to move out and talk to local newspapers.

g. ADMINISTRATION SPOKESPEOPLE ON HAITI

We need a list of administration people available for talk shows, backgrounders, editorial boards, USIA interviews, etc. There must be organization of the process of who goes out where.

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PHASE II: INTENSIFICATION

1. PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH ON HAITI

The President should lead off Phase II with a major speech (translated into Creole and released by USIA) outlining US interests in Haiti and the rationale for any potential action. It is suggested that this speech be given on an evening in a venue in Washington--either the Oval Office or off-campus. This speech should lay down the marker for why America is taking a leadership role on this issue. This is potentially the only major set speech the President will give prior to announcing that action has taken place. (An exception to that would be if the President calls up the reserves, which might require a separate address to the nation.)

The Phase II Haiti speech is designed to educate the American public about Haiti--where it is, what has happened over the years in Haiti, the nature of America's long-standing commitment to democracy in the hemisphere, and why the United States, along with other nations, may need to commit troops in Haiti in order to remove the coup leaders from power, restore the democratic process, curb the human rights abuses, install civilian-controlled authority and assist in getting economic assistance to Haiti.

2. AGGRESSIVE BACKGROUNDING ON DAY OF SPEECH

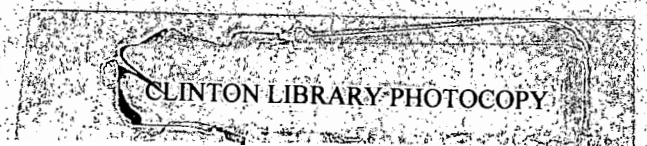
It is critical that Administration officials make themselves available to meet with leading experts who will no doubt critique the President's speech. There should be aggressive backgrounding of people such as Bernard Trainor, Tony Cordesman, Richard Haass, Members of Congress and others who will provide network commentary. A separate list will be provided. Reporters should also be backgrounded.

3. PRESIDENTIAL MEETING WITH COLUMNISTS/REPORTERS

It is suggested that the President sit down with a handful of influential columnists/reporters on the day following the speech to talk about Haiti and his personal involvement in the issue.

4. SPEECHES BY OTHER PRINCIPALS/ ON-THE-RECORD BRIEFINGS

As part of the intensification effort, other principals should also be giving speeches. (Tony Lake is addressing the Council on Foreign Relations on Monday.) Each day there should be (1) major on-the-record briefing, patched into the foreign press center and covered by USIA. A daily drumbeat must continue.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5. RELEASE OF "WHITE PAPER"

A "Haiti Paper" justifying action in Haiti should be released. The recommendation is that the paper be leaked to one major news organization and then distributed more widely. Release of the Haiti Paper should be timed to Congressional consultations with thought given to selective release of the paper to members of Congress closely timed to leaking it to The New York Times.

6. CONGRESSIONAL CONSULTATIONS

A separate plan is being drafted on Congressional strategy but the Hill plan must be integrated into this overall strategy. It has been suggested that the principals go up to Capitol Hill as early as next week to brief bi-partisan leaders on Haiti. That step should be thought through in conjunction with other public affairs steps. Calls and separate meetings between senior Administration officials and the Hill will no doubt start soon. There should be common talking points constantly updated to reflect the latest developments.

A list of Congresspeople who support an invasion must be circulated internally so that these members can be pressed into service to write Op Eds, appear on talk shows, carry the water.

7. EXPERTS, FORMER GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, ACADEMICS

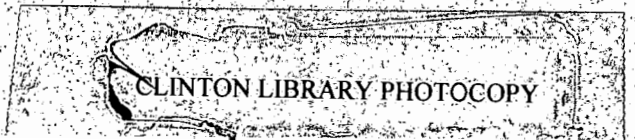
It is important during Phase II to bring influentials to the State Department, White House and DOD, for briefings. A list is being prepared of both validators and those who remain agnostic but open to persuasion. It is important to isolate a core group of experts who can be briefed throughout Phases II, III and IV.

8. EDITORIAL BOARDS

Administration officials should sit down with newspaper writers and editorial board management in local markets throughout the second phase to explain our position. We need an agreed upon list of surrogates who can fan out to cover regional newspapers, local television and radio,
etc.

9. PRESIDENTIAL PRESS CONFERENCE

The President should give one press conference prior to the actual invasion to respond to questions and re-state the objectives. This need not be a major open press conference. A sit-down with wire services or networks would be adequate.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10. ARISTIDE

It is recommended that President Aristide issue some kind of statement of support for our policy, possibly on the day following the President's speech. Aristide's role in this communications process should be carefully worked with him by Bill Gray and others. There may be value in distributing transcripts of some of Aristide's Radio Democracy talks.

11. LEADERS OF THE HEMISPHERE

It is recommended that we find a way to bring hemispheric leaders to Washington or to get their views and support for the US policy into the public domain. There should be discussion of how to use President Gavirias's visit as an opportunity to press for public support of our commitment to democracy in the region.

12. HUMAN RIGHTS PRESS CONFERENCE

John Shattuck should hold a press session devoted solely to explaining the human rights situation in Haiti. We should think about inviting US embassy personnel who served in Port au Prince and Haitians who are here in the United States and have first-hand accounts of the brutality of the regime. We should see if NGOs and human rights experts would be willing to openly substantiate these charges.

13. RAPID RESPONSE

It is imperative that talking points be continuously drafted, circulated and used to rebut critics and respond to unfair characterizations of our policy. There will be charges made and questions raised along the following lines:

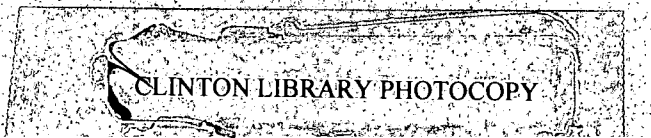
-- WHY did we decide NOT to seek approval from Congress? Is this constitutional? Does our failure to do so reflect soft support?

-- How do we explain why Haiti justifies military intervention, but Cuba does not. Do we see the situation in Cuba as better that that of Haiti? Are they comparable?

-- Have our policy decisions been guided by domestic politics?

-- What is the exit strategy? Are we destined to stay for years?

-- What has been the President's direct, personal involvement in the process?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-- Are we seeking to try Cedras and company? Can they remain in Haiti?

14. FOREIGN PRESS

Administration officials should make themselves available both at the Foreign Press Center and for WorldNet broadcasts. It may be worth having a major National Press Club speech by Bill Gray or Strobe Talbott outlining our policy. This would be covered by both domestic and foreign press.

15. MEDIA COVERAGE OF PRE-INVASION AND THE ACTUAL INVASION

A separate memo should be prepared on dealing with media on the ground in Haiti. DOD has an elaborate press plan as well as pool guidelines for reporters covering military action. That plan should be incorporated into the overall strategy or attached as a separate document. There should also be a meeting with network executives at some point in Phase II to talk about security precautions and broadcast planning without, obviously, compromising the action or revealing any date certain.

16. OP EDS

Clearly we will be looking for Op Eds from both outsiders, and potentially from one of our own principals prior to the onset of military action. A task force should be set up for the sole purpose of getting op eds written and placed.

17. TRACKING PUBLIC SUPPORT

It may be useful to have someone identify Presidential mail on Haiti following the President's speech and well into the invasion and post-invasion phases. Expressions of support from ordinary citizens can be useful in reflecting overall public sympathy. Our own internal pollsters should be providing input so that we are not wholly reliant on public and media polls.

It would also be useful to assign a few people, full-time, to monitoring media coverage and Hill reaction to our statements. We are often reacting too late in the game for maximum impact.

18. ULTIMATA

This communications plan should take into account the possibility that the United States or the international community would issue a final ultimatum to the leaders in Haiti. Such a step would no doubt leak and attention should be given to the public handling of such a step.

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19. GITMO

Thought should be given to how the Haitians in GITMO factor into the equation. The movement of these people to safe havens should be tracked. It may be worth hand-picking some Haitians at GITMO to be interviewed and made available to talk about conditions in Haiti and their desire to return to a democratic Haiti.

PHASE III: EVE OF INVASION/INVASION

Again, the Pentagon has a well-thought-out plan for the checklist of immediate steps taken on the eve of military action, both internally and regarding public posture. That plan should be carefully reviewed and integrated into this communications plan. Other steps to consider include:

1. PRESIDENTIAL OVAL OFFICE ADDRESS

On the morning following military action, the President will need to address the nation from the Oval Office to describe what has transpired and why the United States participated in the action.

2. PENTAGON BRIEFINGS

The Secretary of Defense and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs will need to hold briefing several times a day for an update on the situation on the ground. Similarly, there will need to be policy briefings at State and at the White House.

3. CONGRESSIONAL CONSULTATIONS

A Hill strategy must be devised for keeping Congresspeople informed about events on the ground in Haiti as well as US intentions.

4. CARIBBEAN HEADS OF STATE

It will be important to get approval and public support from heads of state in the region. Calls from the President will also be important.

5. FOREIGN LEADERS

It will be important for the President to be in touch with allies and to release statements regarding these contacts.

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6. ARISTIDE

It is hoped that Aristide will also make strong statements of support for the international action led by the United States. Equally, if not more important, will be Aristide statements displaying democratic intentions and stressing the need for calm and order in the country. Statements of malice or revenge could create major problems.

7. CONTINGENCY PLANS FOR DISORDER

It is important the we be able to make it publicly clear that the United States was prepared for the possibility of civil unrest. The degree to which we can publicly demonstrate that the operation was well-run and that adequate thought and planning went into all potential scenarios is critical to the overall national assessment of the mission.

8. MEDIA APPEARANCES

Principals and other Administration officials will need to continuously make themselves available to explain our actions. There will be no shortage of critics and no lack of airtime for them. It is incumbent upon this Administration to field its people widely at a time when the public will be barraged with daily reporting on this issue. The window of opportunity on this story will be surprisingly narrow. Public perceptions will be formed quickly but linger long after the fact.

9. PRESIDENTIAL VISIT TO PENTAGON OR MILITARY BASE

It will be important for the President to be seen, physically, with the military--either in briefing in the DOD tank or, at some point, at a military base from which US troops were deployed.

10. HAITI EVENT

If the situation in Haiti so permits, it is recommended that an event be pre-planned which allows for the symbolism of success to be conveyed back to America. Examples include: a welcoming celebration for Aristide at the US Embassy in Port au Prince, a televised conversation between President Aristide in Haiti and President Clinton in Washington.

11. ADDITIONAL MEDIA STAFFING IN HAITI

It is recommended that thought be given now to providing additional public affairs help to the Embassy in Port au Prince. Interview requests and requests to cover events will overwhelm the current staff. It is also recommended that thought be given

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to assigning a senior spokesperson from the United States to be in Haiti making public statements.

12. MILITARY BRIEFINGS IN HAITI

Along those same lines, it is suggested that thought be given to sending a military spokesperson who is also well-schooled in dealing with the press. There will be enormous pressure from media on the ground in Haiti for information.

PHASE IV: POST-INVASION

Over the course of the days, weeks and months following military action, there will need to be thought given to how best to convey a sense of order and purpose to our efforts.

1. ARISTIDE

Aristide will play a stronger and stronger role in how the world perceives the value of the international action. Aristide's public comments will remain critical to that perception. It is imperative that we continue to work closely with him and his people on the level of public affairs.

2. CARIBBEAN NATIONS

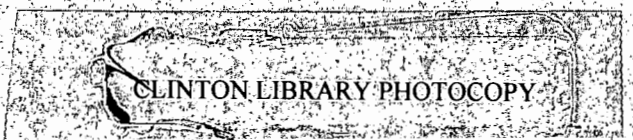
Thought should be given to having some kind of public affairs strategy for getting international participants in the UNMNF and UNMIH to publicly convey their role. This will require co-ordination through the UN, Four Friends, Caracom, etc. It is important that the United States not continue to be seen as the only voice in this story.

3. VISIT BY US DELEGATION

One hopes that the situation in Haiti will permit, at some point, a high level visit from Washington, possibly with a Congressional delegation, to survey the situation.

4. CONTINUED BRIEFINGS, MEDIA APPEARANCES, OP EDs

It will be important to continue the public articulation effort in the immediate period after military action. Having said that, there may be a process of bringing the level of rhetoric down as the situation merits. Nonetheless, it will be critical that the President get public credit for what is presumed will be major success. A successful mission will tell its own story and the public acclaim will follow. Having said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that, effort should be directed at getting outsiders to translate those accolades into a daily stream of OP EDs and commentary.

5. GITMO

The situation vis-a-vis Haitians at Guantanamo will become more and more important in the post-invasion phase. Attention should be given to a separate GITMO media plan for the drawdown and hopefully return of Haitians to Haiti.

6. UNITED NATIONS

It will become more important in the post-action phase to include the UN in the public discourse. Briefings at the United Nations, statements by UN representatives, etc. will re-inforce the international nature of the effort.

7. PRESIDENTIAL FOREIGN POLICY MOSAIC

A successful Haiti operation has the potential to spur on the inevitable cyclical change in press attitudes towards any Administration. In other words, journalists are apt to use a Haiti success story as an excuse to re-assess the foreign policy, overall. We need to be one step ahead in terms of putting Haiti in a broader foreign policy context. An operation which starts Haiti down the road towards returning itself to the democratic experience must be seen as part of an overall hemispheric integration strategy to culminate at the end of the year in the Summit of the Americas.

It would be a mistake to miss the opportunity with Haiti to begin to sketch out a more coherent foreign policy agenda which builds upon successes and places those successes in a broader, strategic context.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. fax cover sheet	Taylor Branch to Tony Lake & Sandy Berger; re: Revised Haiti Speech Draft (partial) (1 page)	09/15/1994	P6/b(6)
002. notes	re: Handwritten Notes - POTUS Meeting (1 page)	09/15/1994	P5
003. memo	Richard Clarke to Bob Boorstin; re: Haiti Speech (2 pages)	n.d.	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 421

FOLDER TITLE:
Haiti - Final Drafts/Comments

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp1756

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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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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POTUS meeting 9/15/94

Panetta. mission clear, near, achievable
may be casualties as in Panama, Grenada – that region is stronger –

national security –

POTUS – ① short, blunt sentences
② assassinated Justice Minister, 300,000 in hiding (5%), slit open the faces – body parts –
③ p. 6 – not sought a confrontation –

the Am people do not want a bunch of rhetoric

arguments that work
① not World's policeman
② no natl interest worth life of South Dakotan

I think Joe Blow doesn't care – chattering classes

when you have a democracy – Aristide marked improvement –

Adams – 54657

this year alone we

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Note to: Bob Boorstin

FM: RClarke

Re: Haiti Speech

1. Sounds like forced intervention is a given.

The fact that it is still possible for the Haitian junta to leave and for the peacekeepers to enter peacefully is not highlighted. In the current version that fact is only mentioned briefly in one para on page seven. One suggestion to add emphasis would be to add at end of first para, page one:

"and why the international community is offering the brutal Haitian junta a choice: leave now and give the Haitian people back their freedom, or democratic nations from around the world will restore democracy to Haiti."

2. Context: Post Cold War World

In one meeting the President said that he wanted to put Haiti into a context of the post cold war world. If he still wants to do that, I'd try something like:

" Let me put what is happening in Haiti in the context of where America and the world are as we approach the end of the century. The forty year long Cold War has been over for almost five years. Democracy won.

" We can not ignore that victory, after all the efforts of the American people to achieve it. We must continue the struggle for democracy. Throughout the former Soviet Union and its East European empire, democracies are taking root. In Africa, President Mandela's election was a triumph of democracy after decades of repression.

"Here in our own hemisphere we have gone from a predominance of countries run by military dictators to now having 33 democracies out of the 35 nations of the Americas. Only in Haiti and Cuba are the people still not free." Then pick up with page 4, first full para..." No American should be...

MAP: There is a vivid visual in the White Paper showing two maps of Latin America with dictatorships in red and democracies in blue. In the 70s, its got a lot of red. Now, just two islands of red stand out in a sea of blue democracies. I strongly urge that we use that map in the speech.

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3. International Support

On page five, I think we can highlight more the international nature of the support for our action.

"This is not just the United States that is trying to helping the people of Haiti. The six Central American presidents, the leaders of the thirteen nations of the Caribbean Community,

OMB will call ya directly with refugee dollars.

DL

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	From Strobe Talbott; re: Comments on POTUS UNGA Speech Draft #3 (1 page)	09/25/1994	P5
002. memo	Mitchel Schwartz to Tony Blinken; re: UNGA Speech/World Summit on Trade Efficiency (1 page)	09/22/1994	P5
003. paper	re: Outline & Themes for the President's UNGA Sppech (4 pages)	09/12/1994	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 422

FOLDER TITLE:
UNGA '94 - State Memos

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2582

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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Sunday, September 25, 1994

Comments on POTUS UNGA speech draft #3
From Strobe Talbott

- Overall, I feel it still needs a more focused, hard-hitting, memorable billboard section -- something along the lines of Leon Fuerth's suggestion, "The Fourth Coalition." "Pivot point for the 21st century" isn't bad. But right now, the speech is still too diffuse. (One of the inadvertently more memorable lines in the current draft is, "The end of the Cold War has opened the world and its problems to a new flexibility." Hardly what we want people to come out of the speech humming to themselves.) This deficiency could be largely fixed with a powerful paragraph up top, which could be reprised near the end.

- I have asked Jim Collins to look carefully at the Russia section to make sure that it adequately takes care of the synchronization/harmonization exerise we're doing with Yeltsin's speech. My initial reading suggests that we need to beef that up a bit, but Collins will be in direct touch on that score.

- There is a key point that needs to be included more explicitly: virtually all references to the end of the Cold War make it sound as though the West beat the East; somehow, we've got to work in recognition that the end of the Cold War, the fall of Communism, the collapse of the Soviet Union, the breach of the Berlin Wall and the Iron Curtain -- all that came about in large measure because of the rise of reform in the East; the velvet revolution in Czechoslovakia, the triumph of the people and reformist leaders over the dead hand of the past, etc.

- P. 3, there's a jarring transition at the bottom of the page, just before, "Let me be clear." It's as though the President suddenly remembers he's supposed to sound tough and represent his own country first and foremost. Suggest working a much smoother segue there.

- Pp. 5-6, I hope we can find some other way to deal with the assessment issue than, "The financial burden that my nation carries must be lightened." It has a whiny, special-pleading quality to it.

- P. 7, trust you'll adjust the reference to "avoid bloodshed" in the Haiti section, given last night. "Minimize bloodshed" would probably still work.

I've got some specific word- and phrase-fixes that I'll phone in.

2

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September 22, 1994

To: White House - Tony Blinken (fax: 456-6485)

From: State - Mitch Schwartz

Re: UNGA speech/World Summit on Trade Efficiency
Columbus, Ohio
October 17-21

Tony - As we discussed on the phone, this October, the United States will host the World Summit on Trade Efficiency which is sponsored by UNCTAD—the UN conference on Trade and Development. "Trade Efficiency" is UN-speak for the intersection between information technology and international trade.

The summit should be mentioned in the President's UNGA speech because:

- This is the first major UN conference hosted by the United States since 1945.
- To date, 78 nations are sending delegations—most headed by their trade minister—and organizers expect more than 100 ministers to attend. (Ron Brown will lead the US delegation). More than 2,500 international guests are expected, including a sizable contingent of US business people and mayors.
- The conference marks a major departure for the UN since it includes significant public/private partnerships in developing a new global network of computer-linked "trade points." The network is specifically designed to help small and medium-sized businesses enter the global marketplace.
- Promotion of modern information technology is a fundamental goal of the Administration—fiber optic cables will be the silk routes of the 21st century.
- The conference serves our economic goals as well—trade efficiency brings home the benefits of NAFTA, APEC, and GATT.
- The United States has chosen to host this summit because it reinforces some of our most basic ideas about free trade, trade liberalization, and economic growth. This forum provides a perfect opportunity to reinforce that message amongst developing countries and economies in transition, many of whom have made genuine efforts toward privatization and market economics but have yet reaped the benefits.
- Our active involvement in this conference sends a clear message to the developing world that our commitment to free trade and economic growth for all nations is more than lip service—we are willing to share our technology and give them the opportunity to trade with us.

Let me know if you need any more information. Thanks!

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Outline and Themes for the President's UNGA Speech

In last year's speech the President laid out some of the parameters of the post-Cold War world. He stressed the importance of free-market democracies, non-proliferation, conflict resolution and peacekeeping, and sustainable development. He asserted that "the United States intends to remain engaged and to lead."

This year we need to build on last year's speech by affirming our commitment to its agenda. The President has now been in office long enough to have real experience with the post-Cold War world, but is still a fresh presence. He speaks as Commander-in-Chief of an unprecedented relief mission to Rwanda and, looking forward, a UN-sanctioned intervention in Haiti. He knows more about the pitfalls of this era, but also about the kind of commitment required to pursue its potential.

This year's UNGA speech, above all else, needs to show that kind of commitment -- commitment to lead, to cooperate, to drive toward meeting real needs of real people, to assuring that the potential of this era is not lost.

The speech should transcend the forum. It should be only incidentally about the UN, although it should certainly touch on the Secretary's theme about integration of institutions.

The speech should challenge the world to work for a few basic goals (non-proliferation, sustainable development, education, health, democratic institutions; where possible -- e.g., NPT, CTBT -- he might specify dates certain for attainment of the goals). These are in everyone's interest, and in the enduring security interest of Americans. The speech should assert the importance of America's assets in this world -- its democracy, pluralism, flexibility, wealth, might, confidence. Above all, it should express a sense of American commitment.

The President should speak past the diplomats and press, addressing the peoples of the world, Americans included. It should be a short speech, an elegant synthesis that people can understand.

The President would help the world and the Administration by playing the change agent role we have seen often in his town meetings. Our policy discourse and political behavior, domestic as well as global, are hamstrung by assumptions and symbols that most of us sense are out of date but not yet replaced. On almost every issue (e.g., gun control), this President has had to break through assumptions and standards that are out of date and out of tune with public concerns.

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In the international arena we have moved from an era of tight control to one of fluid change. Countries and leaders that had to control the nuclear stalemate cannot control the adoption of sustainable agriculture or Radio Hutu. Yet our definitions of leadership, national interest and the comparative advantages of Americans in this new world are still evolving. By asserting his own leadership, the President can also set a tone for collective responsibility in a changing, chaotic world.

No single speech, indeed no single Presidency, will complete the conceptual adjustment we face. But if the President can start changing the terms of debate, he can escape some outdated measures of success which no President can satisfy and at the same time find more resilient political footing.

Themes:

Enduring American interests. We have an opportunity now to strengthen, extend and create institutions that serve our enduring interests: security, prosperity and expanded democracy and free markets. The G-7 pledged itself to this goal in June.

Responsibility. We are responsible. As individuals and nations, we are responsible. We are responsible for shaping this epoch of change and opportunity so that it makes life better for all our people. Others are responsible too -- responsible for prolonging war and genocide, and the world community will hold them accountable. This includes parties to conflicts who do not demonstrate the will to solve their own problems. It falls to us, to our generation, to decide whether the world proceeds toward democracy, peace and prosperity, or whether those bright prospects are allowed to slip away.

Chaos. Part of the challenge is to keep our bearings, guided by mankind's most fundamental moral commitments. These are embodied in the Charter of the United Nations. They are expressed in our conventions on human rights, etc., and they are being fulfilled. The Cold War required control and a clear vision based on maintaining that control. To promote our people's interests in today's world of chaos requires a new kind of vision -- confidence in our ideals and in ourselves. With Rwanda on the television we cannot pretend to control events; but we CAN shape events toward a freer, more secure and humane world. We have to be willing to think anew about what is going on in the world.

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Action. Why must we act in Rwanda? Why must we act to prevent Rwandas if we possibly can? First and foremost, because people are suffering and dying on a massive scale, and we have the resources and thus an obligation to relieve and prevent human suffering and death. But also because the post-Cold War world is yet unformed, and our action or inaction will directly affect the prosperity, the safety and the moral expectations of our own societies and our own children. We commemorated D-Day -- a vast mobilization of resources as well as the expression of democratic ideals. Today the challenges are more complex but the essentials are the same -- a commitment to ideals, the willingness to risk, intense cooperation, determination to prevail.

Domestic-International. Americans are adjusting after the Cold War. We are reducing our military expenditure and putting our economy on a path of sustainable growth. We are tending to long-neglected public needs such as health care for all. We are learning the possibilities of a world no longer frozen and paralyzed by nuclear confrontation. What we do outside our borders is intimately tied to what we can do at home.

Public opinion. On every issue we have fought in America -- trade liberalization, deficit control, health care, crime -- we have had to break through old politics and build consensus for new approaches. In each case we have succeeded because the public believes there are better ways to serve their real needs.

Americans support the United Nations. They support peacekeeping. This is clear from many polls. The UN and peacekeeping must work as well as possible, and we as member governments are responsible to assure that it does. That is part of our commitment to revitalizing international institutions. I doubt if public opinion is very different anywhere in the world when you are talking about the most fundamental aspirations people have for their families.

Solid progress in the last year. It is important to celebrate our gains. Since we met a year ago:

- Development of international institutions: Partnership for Peace; expansion of NATO and the EU; OECD expansion; APEC; GATT/WTO; and NAFTA. This will continue with the November APEC leaders meeting and the December Summit of the Americas.

- In the UN system:

  -- High Commissioner for Human Rights.

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-- Continued the process of streamlining the UN to respond to the challenges, e.g. Inspector General, stronger peacekeeping structure.

- Russia and the United States, the former adversaries, have continually improved our working relationship for peace.
- Middle East
- South Africa
- Rwanda mobilization
- Cambodia, El Salvador, Mozambique, Haiti (as appropriate).

Tasks Remaining. There is still much to do:

- Major non-proliferation goals, including NPT, CTBT, follow-up to COCOM.
- Further UN reform, including better peacekeeping capabilities, better humanitarian aid coordination, 25 percent limit on peacekeeping assessments, and the expansion of the Security Council with permanent seats for Germany and Japan.
- Sustainable development, population growth, terrorism, narcotics.
- We have to do better on peacekeeping and humanitarian relief: Bosnia, Somalia, Liberia, Angola, Georgia.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. notes	re: Handwritten Notes - UNGA Meeting (6 pages)	09/22/1994	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 422

FOLDER TITLE:
UNGA '94 - POTUS Meetings

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2581

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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UNGA meeting 9/22/94

POTUS

where and fundamental principle - what are the criteria?
whether force is used -
organized crime - not only nuclear - threats from non-nation states
consolidation / gradual movement - unsatisfying message -
end of Cold War makes possible new generational responsibility - broader, bigger themes -
generational: victories in WWII / victories in Cold War - ideas - victory for pluralism / tolerance -
democracy, peace in Middle East, environment, sustainable development -
less clear line from principle to action -
Haiti - they did this because they could -

Lake

build on blending of force and diplomacy
combination of unilateral, multilateral, UN -
use Haiti as springboard
generational okay & 50th anniversary - lay out a plan for where UN is going

Madeleine

POTUS

idea: end of Cold War permitted UN to be what it was meant to be -

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Madeleine — founders of UN never dreamt - we can go beyond Haiti vs Bosnia vs. Georgia -

Bergen — generational - speaking to world America's role in the world - showcase Russia, Mideast, Intl economics - When America will act - when it won't - When we will commit military - use past experience,

Soderberg — generation

POTUS — Vaccum we are accused of not filling - → Where do we want to take the world?

Chris — US interests coincident w/ Intl interests - Resolution on Haiti - popularity of UN - North Korea - leading intl coalitions helps us

→ Perry - where we have unique capabilities harmonize w/ certain themes -

POTUS — We didn't always know what we're doing in Cold War - taken more initiatives than anyone else -

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chairing classes

life is basically a combination of planning and then reacting —

Baer

Russia, Mideast, Haiti

Fourth

Am purposes remarkably constant — common aspirations of all humankind

Bergen

American leadership —

over the course of the century, Am power has grown

Schifter

we are out in front on Iraq, No Korea —

Fourth

enemy requires a coalition —

Lake

we are leading coalition for — fighting on # of fronts at once —

Powell

what is explanation for Georgia, Nagorno Karabakh, Rwanda Bosnia, Algeria

Lake

Ayaini + rise of nationalism —

Powell

some problems must be solved by other people —

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Madeleine

regional conflicts –
outer circle –
we have to outline the tools –
spheres of interests vs. regional responsibility

POTUS

FDR decision to stop talking about New Deal
Cold War: how do you fight and endure
Most destroying –
had a wonderful certainty –
regional security, global economics

Berger

US has taken lead on those issues
where we have natl interests,

POTUS

WWI, N Deal, WWII, Cold War,

V-POTUS

New Democracy – larger purpose

WWII – totalitarian threat
Cold War – " plus nukes
people feel there is something fundamentally new about the context in which we live
global terms – our connection through media/info/transport
new agreement that democracy is humankind's chosen form of pol organization, same goes for markets, free and otherwise
battle between more and less –

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ethnic conflict represents the abandonment of hope - US must provide that hope
confident we are headed toward human dignity - make these rights available to more and more people -
Cairo / population and consensus -
need to pay more attn to ethnic conflict, contribution
push back the fear; consolidating gains for democracy -
Jeffersonian argument that principles are universal - we must assert these are right -
leap from nation / identity to world community -
Jefferson wrote it -

New Freedom
New Liberty } Age of Liberty, Age of Freedom

you cannot escape
post-Cold War -

civil society / cultural of tolerance / age of pluralism

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① diplomacy
② economic power
③ military force
⑦ others / intl coalition

confidence – events of last year should give us hope –

tolerant society

in this coalition, diff nations will carve out diff. things –

Mission must be achieved
Rwanda – Haiti –
Middle East – Russia –

application of wisdom –

goal (Memphis) –
We are acting

New

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Tara Sonenshine to Bob Boorstin; re: Some Random Thoughts on the UNGA Speech (3 pages)	n.d.	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 422

FOLDER TITLE:
UNGA '94 - NSC Memos

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2580

RESTRICTION CODES

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TO: Bob Boorstin
FR: Tara Sonenshine
RE: Random Thoughts on the UNGA Speech

This memo contains various, different directions for the UNGA speech.

Please disregard the use of code words like "Multilateralism"--I use them as short-hand only. I am not saying they should be used in speeches--but sometimes there is no escaping descriptive language.

1. GLOBALISM, INTERNATIONALISM, MULTILATERALISM
Call it what you want--the reality is that our Admininstration has come to rely more and more on global, international, multilateral institutions and mechanisms for addressing world problems. That, in and of itself, is NOT a bad thing. The problem, in my view, is that we have failed to explain why and how we view these institutions and the role of American leadership both in driving these bodies to act, and reforming them in ways that increase their effectiveness.

a. Firstly, we have failed to explain why multilateralism is NOT and does NOT have to be a substitute for US leadership or an excuse NOT to act. We have failed to make the case for why and how America can lead international organizations to act and the ways in which we can change old institutions and build new institutions that can, more effectively, act decisively.

examples: PFP--a brand, new international body.
G-7--a new approach to an old institution by having Russia join discussions on the last day
UN--reforming the body is something we are doing
ASEAN--other regional fora--actively working
New Pacific Roundtable
Summit of the Americas--a new kind of regional forum

Somewhere in the speech we should highlight the role of this President as a pioneer in making antiquated institutions fit the new realities of the post Cold War world and giving birth to brand new institutions and mechanism for solving international problems. We can be very specific on the laundry list.

b. Secondly, we have failed to explain how American leadership can bring pressure on new, international mechanisms.
The CONTACT group--America sets the agenda for it.
NATO, UN/Bosnia--America moved the allies to act on the Sarajevo ultimatum
UN-HAITI resolution. America got the Latin Americans and other nations to support the resolution.

c. International organizations need NOT be impediments to solving problems if there is leadership within them. With new

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nations interconnected economically and politically, it is foolhardy NOT to be looking to international bodies for solutions. The key, it seems to me, is not to be held hostage to international bureaucracy and to make global institutions active agents of change. That requires leadership, which we have shown.

d. When our vital interests are threatened, America will act alone. (A point the President has made but must make, repeatedly if we end up developing this theme of globalism.

e. Spreading the wealth as well as the burdens. I think Americans understand and appreciate the basic fact that, you can accomplish more when you pool the resources, energies and talents of nations than when you act alone. We can make the case IF we continue to stress that US leadership within these bodies is key to their success.

2. ENGAGEMENT
Last September at the UN, the President said that for those who wonder if America will be engaged in the world, the question is not whether or not we will be engaged but how we will engage. For all the criticism of our foreign policy, it cannot be said that over the past year America has not engaged itself and engaged others on the international stage. What we may want to do this September is to explain the HOW part of engagement with greater clarity. (If we could find a new term of art for the KIND of engagement we seek in the world, it would be great--clearly it must take into account the various forms of engagement:)

a. HUMANITARIAN ENGAGEMENT
(Somalia, Rwanda.) American leadership when it comes to humanitarian engagement is unprecedented and daunting.

b. ECONOMIC ENGAGEMENT
Nafta, G-7. APEC, US-Japan framework, GATT, Eastern Europe....

c. POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT
Middle East, Africa, Eastern Europe, Russia, NIS...

d. MILITATY ENGAGEMENT
When our vital interests are threatened, as they were in Iraq after the plot against Bush, we will employ force. When there were violations in Bosnia of the Sarajevo ultimatum, we did not hesitate to press our allies to use force.

3. A MORAL RESPONSIBILITY TO ACT
I know you bristled at the use of the term "moral" especially vis-a-vis foreign policy, but the reality is that this President has a moral compass, feels motivated to act with higher principles in mind, and we fail to trumpet the fact that he has the moral courage to take on difficult issues such as staying in Somalia even after the killing of US servicemen, bringing the force of the entire US military to bear on the crisis in Rwanda, sticking up for democracy in Haiti (with all the costs of doing so) finding safe haven for refugees, paying attention to continents like Africa, etc. It is worth, at least, thinking

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about how he can say that America has the courage to take on the hard challenges in the face of criticism and skepticism.

4. BRINGING PEOPLE TOGETHER WHO ARE WORLD'S APART
Don't use the phrase--it is ABC NEWS' slogan! The point worth considering is that in this new, complicated era, part of American leadership involves finding opportunities for peace and seizing them. This President has done that this year with Arafat-Rabin, Hussein-Rabin, Yeltsin-Ukraine, Yeltsin-Baltics... America has inserted herself into many places where US leadership was required to encourage parties towards peace.

5. DIPLOMACY and USE OF FORCE
I keep hoping that someone will pull together a CLINTON DOCTRINE description which explains that Clinton's Foreign Policy is based on a careful calibration of force and diplomacy in which we use these dual levers to bring about the resolution of conflicts. The skillful use of force and diplomacy in Bosnia has involved building a confederation while at the very same time that NATO airpower was used to change realities on the ground. In Haiti, we began with diplomacy and have moved to the possible use of force, but only after the diplomatic track was unsuccessful. (*I plan to give this last category more thought.)

6. A TRULY GLOBAL VISION
No piece of the globe has been ignored this year by America.
Africa--laundry list of examples of our attention to Africa
Middle East--Israel-Jordan, Israel-PLO
Latin America, Carribbean--attention to Haiti, Summit of Americas
Asia-Pacific--attention to Korea, China, US-Japan, ASEAN
Europe--European integration, NATO summit, Normandy trip
Russia-former Soviet Union--Ukraine tri-lateral deal, Baltics, Riga trip.

Standing in the United Nations, this President could do some verbal globe-trotting to relfect upon all that has been done and yet still needs to be done around the world. The NO MAN IS AN ISLAND (add women)..WE ARE ALL PART OF THE CONTINENT, PART OF THE MAIN" line by John Donne still might be appropriate, overused as it is.

This memo is a work in progress. I will be back with more.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Bob Boorstin to Anthony Lake; re: Preliminary UNGA Thoughts (4 pages)	08/18/1994	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 422

FOLDER TITLE:
UNGA '94 - Outline

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2579

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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MEMORANDUM

TO: Anthony Lake
FROM: Bob Boorstin
RE: Preliminary UNGA thoughts
DATE: August 18, 1994

Preliminary discussions and thoughts about the UNGA speech have yielded, as you might expect, many opinions but little consensus, a number of specific requests yet few coherent themes. A whole lot of people are out of town; those I've reached have promised more ideas around Labor Day.

Nonetheless, some do's and don'ts and three basic alternatives have emerged from the mist.

Do's and Don'ts

(1) The President should not deliver a tour of the world or list his accomplishments. If necessary, we should issue an accompanying summary -- for the press and the diplomatic community -- of our accomplishments and initiatives over the past year.

(2) The President must not focus on the structure of the United Nations [or get caught up in an acronym game.] He should address them in passing.

(3) The President should not introduce any new all-encompassing term or phrase to describe our foreign policy. Nor should it explicitly go back to engagement, enlargement and the three pillars. The press doesn't buy them.

(4) The President should be viewed as hard-headed and realistic, yet optimistic about the future (based on the Middle East, South Africa, etc.). People should go away knowing that he "gets it" but also inspired.

(5) The President should not ask questions. He should answer them.

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(6) The President should aim his remarks at the ~~general~~ American public. He should speak past the audience in the General Assembly hall and not feel obliged to satisfy the foreign policy elite. [Your speech to the Council can take care of the latter.]

(7) The President should "make news." Whether in the form of an international appeal or a specific initiative, we cannot afford to let it pass unnoticed. (Jeremy dissents from this, arguing that we should "do no damage," that high expectations and bureaucratic pressures present more dangers than opportunities.)

(8) Non-proliferation and international efforts to combat organized crime and terrorism are two no-lose issues. Possible intiatives should be explored. Everyone is very high on Louis Freeh; suggest his work be discussed.

Alternatives

Alternative 1: Failed societies and transnational threats. Our response to Kaplan. With the Cold War history, the real threats to our security have emerged: overpopulation, environmental degradation, refugees, ethnic hatred, lack of basic health care and education. These threats -- along with terrorism, organized crime, and proliferation -- know no borders. We must confront them. We must create conditions that allow us to prevent crises, rather than just react to them.

The essential drawback to this alternative is that it does not speak directly to the interests or daily concerns of the American people. ~~Why should we spend our money on them while we're squeezed here at home?~~ In any case, no nation -- not even the United States -- can tackle these challenges alone. Americans see the advantages of multilateralism in specific situations, but they don't want to be told that we've lost control or that chaos is the order of the day. This would make for a fundamentally pessimistic speech.

On the other hand, the President would be praised as forward-looking and in tune with the needs of the vast majority of the nations represented in the General Assembly. Lifting its people out of poverty and establishing civil control are, after all, the primary goals of scores of struggling nations in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Alternative 2: The shared interests of America and the world. We face the third great choice of the century. We cannot turn inward. The question is: will we live up to the legacy of the post-World War II generation that built the structures that protected America's vital national interests for 50 years?

America has vital interests: protecting our people, preventing conflicts, particularly those that threaten to ignite entire regions, send waves of refugees over borders, or reverse the astonishing progress of recent years; controlling weapons of mass destruction (and the threats of terrorism and organized crime); increasing our people's prosperity through free trade and open markets. America's interests are the world's interests; we are using multilateral bodies to advance them.

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We recognize that nations will develop in their own ways at their own pace. But we will keep helping those who are moving toward more free, open societies, who value civil and human rights, who are making the values of democracy real. Democracies are the foundation of a secure and prosperous world, and we are and must continue to take the lead in renewing and building the structures that will create new democracies. We know where we're headed.

The drawbacks here are that the speech can easily degenerate into a tour of the world, begs specific questions of where America will intervene (engage), and is self-centered. On the other hand, it offers opportunities for very strong statements on what we believe and

Alternative 3. The long bomb: the "culture of tolerance".

Last year, I told you we must expand the community of market democracies. The establishment of democracy depends ultimately on creating a culture of tolerance within each society: tolerance for ethnic groups, regional background and religion. But as the colonial states and the Cold War pass into history, tensions increase which directly threaten this culture.

at Ireland

We must strive to create this civic culture. Look at South Africa, at the Palestinians, the Jordanians and the Israelis, at Herzog's visit to Poland, ~~at the Japanese who are confronting their past,~~ at Russian leaders fighting anti-semitism, and the French inviting German tanks to roll up the Champs Elysee. Look, too, at the terrible examples of what hatred and the lack of tolerance produces: Bosnia, Rwanda, extremists in Europe, and beyond. Walking down that path is a sure road to failure.

A Rosner suggestion, more sermon than speech that runs entirely counter to what people expect leaders to say in the General Assembly. Follows up on portions of what we said in Riga, Warsaw and Berlin, but expands the thought to the ethnic hatred that is tearing countries apart and posing a threat to our security and stretching our resources. Essentially the international equivalent of the President's Memphis speech or his comments on the breakdown of the family in America.

Two big drawbacks: runs the risk of becoming a "politics of meaning" speech -- great words but no core -- and opens up the President to attack on being soft and utopian when the world demands hard-headed leadership. It hits the American people on a moral level, but not elsewhere. On the other hand, people would certainly sit up and listen; such a speech would establish the President as a world leader who is unafraid to speak his mind.

Conclusion

I believe we should go with Alternative #2, making sure to keep it as carefully focused as possible. It best fulfills our need to speak to the American people and to deliver a series of

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forceful statements, which will clarify our policy and inject a tone of tough realism into the President's speech.

Alternative #3 strikes me as a good model for the proposed Presidential speech on "Democracy," timed to the Yeltsin and Mandela visits.

cc: Sandy Berger
Nancy Soderberg
Tara Sonenshine
Don Baer

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	From Strobe Talbott; re: Comments on POTUS UNGA Speech Draft #3 (1 page)	09/25/1994	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 422

FOLDER TITLE:
UNGA '94 - Later Drafts

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2578

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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Sunday, September 25, 1994

Comments on POTUS UNGA speech draft #3
From Strobe Talbott

- Overall, I feel it still needs a more focused, hard-hitting, memorable billboard section -- something along the lines of Leon Fuerth's suggestion, "The Fourth Coalition." "Pivot point for the 21st century" isn't bad. But right now, the speech is still too diffuse. (One of the inadvertently more memorable lines in the current draft is, "The end of the Cold War has opened the world and its problems to a new flexibility." Hardly what we want people to come out of the speech humming to themselves.) This deficiency could be largely fixed with a powerful paragraph up top, which could be reprised near the end.

- I have asked Jim Collins to look carefully at the Russia section to make sure that it adequately takes care of the synchronization/harmonization exercise we're doing with Yeltsin's speech. My initial reading suggests that we need to beef that up a bit, but Collins will be in direct touch on that score.

- There is a key point that needs to be included more explicitly: virtually all references to the end of the Cold War make it sound as though the West beat the East; somehow, we've got to work in recognition that the end of the Cold War, the fall of Communism, the collapse of the Soviet Union, the breach of the Berlin Wall and the Iron Curtain -- all that came about in large measure because of the rise of reform in the East; the velvet revolution in Czechoslovakia, the triumph of the people and reformist leaders over the dead hand of the past, etc.

- P. 3, there's a jarring transition at the bottom of the page, just before, "Let me be clear." It's as though the President suddenly remembers he's supposed to sound tough and represent his own country first and foremost. Suggest working a much smoother segue there.

- Pp. 5-6, I hope we can find some other way to deal with the assessment issue than, "The financial burden that my nation carries must be lightened." It has a whiny, special-pleading quality to it.

- P. 7, trust you'll adjust the reference to "avoid bloodshed" in the Haiti section, given last night. "Minimize bloodshed" would probably still work.

I've got some specific word- and phrase-fixes that I'll phone in.

2

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. notes	re: Handwritten Notes - Agenda for A Strong America (2 pages)	n.d.	P5
002. memo	Michael Waldman to Georgetown Speech Meeting; re: Some Thoughts on the Speech (1 page)	11/01/1994	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 422

FOLDER TITLE:
Georgetown - 11/10/94 - Outline

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2577

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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Panetta

Agenda for a Strong America

economy
jobs
crime
education/training

Points

Hoagland piece – time of transition
EJ piece –

Castro killed by economy/Iran and perception of weakness
we have things in hand

if we want to
strong fams/comms
more good paying jobs
more peaceful/prosperous

no real dividing line btwn domestic/foreign policy –

18 yrs old when went to Gtown – thought "world" would become more/more impt.

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POTUS (R)

now we see interrelation -
no common enemy, but interdependence will be significant -
no longer possible to say stress domestic or foreign policy
people have so many troubles ....

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Rob

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 1, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR GEORGETOWN SPEECH MEETING

FROM:MICHAEL WALDMAN

SUBJECT:THOUGHTS ON THE SPEECH

I am unable to attend today's meeting on the Georgetown/APEC speech. Here are a few thoughts:

* I would strongly urge that we conceive of this speech not as the kickoff for APEC solely, but rather as an opportunity to launch and frame a month of activities in which we push for open markets and expanded trade:

- APEC,
- GATT vote,
- the NAFTA anniversary,
- Summit of the Americas

This is a kickoff not for APEC but for a month-long push on trade. This means a broader, thematic emphasis on trade, rather than merely ticking off the particulars of the APEC trip. And it means significant attention to these other matters, particularly GATT. No other speech in the following month will receive the attention that this speech will receive (albeit for election-related reasons).

* It is important that the labor standards and human rights aspects as they relate to trade be squarely addressed. I care about this not only as it relates to APEC, but more importantly as it relates to the Summit of the Americas and the hemispheric free trade initiative we will be launching. We have a chance to win labor's support or at least neutrality on the Latin trade initiative; they will be looking to and reacting to this speech as they figure out how to position themselves.

* This is obvious: Trade was the only policy area where we had genuine bipartisanship over the last two years. It should be pointed to as part of the post-election thrust, recognizing that we may be seeing a lurch to nativism and protectionism by the GOP.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Lawrence Summers to Bob Boorstin & Anyone Else Interested (2 pages)	11/09/1994	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 422

FOLDER TITLE:
Georgetown - 11/10/94 - Inserts

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2576

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DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON, D. C.

UNDER SECRETARY

November 9, 1994

TO: Bob Boorstin and Anyone Else Interested

FROM: Lawrence Summers

SUBJECT: Whose Friend is Change?

I continue to be very skeptical of the wisdom of stressing the "change is your friend" and "the government is your friend in helping you deal with change" messages in addressing international trade issues. The results of the election and the continuing public opinion assessments about the economy in face of the gains we have made in trade agreements and improvements in our domestic economy create at least some presumption in favor of altered rhetoric. Four considerations support this view:

1. The American people and educated opinion vastly exaggerate the impact of trade on living standards. 75% of American workers work in jobs cutting hair, or behind cash registers, or teaching school that are not subject to international competition. The exposure of American workers to competition from low wage labor (less than 50% of American levels) has barely changed over the last 25 years. We misdirect people's fears by suggesting to the contrary.

2. One million Americans are separated from jobs each month. This number has not changed much over the last 15 years except for cyclical movements. No plausible reemployment or retraining program is going to reach any appreciable fraction of them. It is not a defensible proposition that even if our entire reemployment and training agenda was adopted it would touch the lives of the vast majority of these people in any way. We breed cynicism in government by suggesting to the contrary.

3. Our reemployment programs are very valuable and we should stress their virtue. But, we cannot credibly hold them over as an antidote to the tidal wave of change. We are much more credible stressing all the things we are doing to promote general prosperity and a strong economy. Ultimately no amount of retraining, readjustment, or unemployment insurance assistance matters unless the total number of jobs is increased.

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That is where our emphasis should be. I believe that our emphasis on change and insecurity is one of the reasons people feel no more secure than two years ago - despite the economic recovery.

4. These judgements are independent of the general question of whether the election suggests that we need to move to the left or right. If we were to move to the left, it would be much better to do so by pointing to needs like family leave, like a minimum income for those who work full time, like the ability to have grievances heard in the work place, that government can actually get met. Adjustment assistance that makes change painless or even offsets a large part of the pain is seen by people as a chimera and they are largely right.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	John Shattuck et al to Tom Donilon; re: Themes for Pre-APEC Speech - Human Rights, Democracy and Economic Development (4 pages)	09/30/1994	P5
002. memo	re: Democracy & Development (10 pages)	10/07/1994	P1/b(1)
003. paper	re: Suggested Themes for Possible Presidential Speech on Democracy, Trade, & Asia (3 pages)	09/26/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 422

FOLDER TITLE:
Human Rights - Language

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp1777

RESTRICTION CODES

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9/29/94 DRAFT

OCTOBER__ , 1994

TO: PA - Tom Donilon

FROM: DRL - John Shattuck
EAP - Winston Lord
EB - Dan Tarullo

SUBJECT: Themes for Pre-APEC Speech -- Human rights, democracy and economic development

This memorandum sets forth a framework for a speech by the President or the Secretary interpreting and synthesizing the relationship of economics, human rights and democratization in our integrated foreign policy toward Asia. This relationship will likely be in the foreground of the upcoming APEC meeting and the President's visits to the Philippines and Indonesia in November.

BACKGROUND

In keeping with the strategy approved by the Deputy Secretary for dealing proactively with human rights and related issues around APEC, we recommend a speech by the President or the Secretary that would sensitively but unambiguously enunciate the U.S.' commitment to the promotion of democracy and human rights and anchor that commitment in a compelling, nuanced understanding of our many shared interests with Asia - not least our economic ties - and of the burgeoning U.S.-Asia relationship, as we approach the next century. We believe that in light of the MFN decision and its aftermath the Administration needs to set forth an authoritative statement on what are admittedly sensitive and complex issues. The speech also needs to address and set in perspective human rights developments in Indonesia.

CHARACTER AND SUBSTANCE OF SPEECH

The speech would build on the President's concept of a "Pacific community" based on shared interests in economic development, security and democratic values, while affirmatively engaging in the ongoing debate within Asia over the relationship between economic development and political and civic freedom. Much of that debate has been dominated by a few governments and leaders who

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have vocally asserted an "Asian" view that human rights must take a backseat to economic development, or in its extreme form, that democracy and human rights are antithetical to economic development. This speech aims to resolve this "chicken and egg" debate by offering a forward-looking vision of how economic openness and political openness are mutually reinforcing, even as they proceed at different paces in different places.

FRAMEWORK OF SPEECH

The U.S. has begun to forge a long-term, strategic partnership with the Asian-Pacific region, a "Pacific community," based on principles of shared strength, shared prosperity and shared democratic values.

As we approach the 21st century, a global community is beginning to take shape around the principles of free markets and open societies. A chief historical lesson of this century is that open societies and free markets offer the fullest and most productive outlets for human development, creating and distributing wealth, fostering a just social order, and a safer world. Repression stifles creativity, breeds injustice and foments international tensions.

Open societies and free markets are always ongoing "works in progress," varying with the contours of time and place.

We in the U.S. frankly acknowledge our own society's injustices and imperfections, past and present, and regard that self-criticism and a drive for improvement as the basis of our national vitality.

The pace and extent of political and economic liberalization, will necessarily differ from country to country. When one or the other is held back or when the two are out of sync difficulties will arise, e.g. Philippines (late 60's and early 70's), Russia, China (Tiananmen), Thailand (1991). The problems in Indonesia now reflect the differentiated pace of economic and political development.

Democracy/human rights are not code words for Western imperialism or protectionism. We do not aim to replicate U.S. democracy around the world. Our long-term objective is respect for human rights as enunciated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, reaffirmed at last year's Vienna Conference, for governments to be held accountable to those they rule and to the international community, and for economic development to proceed in tandem with civic and political openness. There is a shared underlying logic to free markets and free societies; both are grounded in respect for human dignity, the rule of law and individual choice.

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The Asia-Pacific region looms large in our future. We well recognize the region's diversity and rich history, greatly admire the region's recent economic gains and welcome the benefits that economic development have brought to the Asian people. We also admire those Asian countries and leaders which have moved along the democratic path towards open societies and the protection of universal human rights (e.g. Korea, Kim Yong Sam, Cambodia and its people, and the Philippines, Ramos and Aquino, Taiwan, Aung San Suu Kyi). We look forward to working with all Asia-Pacific countries, to deepening our ties and our mutual understanding through trade, cultural exchanges and increased cooperation on global issues.

In its dealings with Asian countries as with all countries the U.S. must remain true to its values and ideals. We are unequivocally committed to respect for individual rights and human dignity, representative government and the rule of law, which, with our belief in free and open markets comprise the basis of our own brand of democracy.

Our deeply held commitment to democracy and human rights is rooted not only in values, but in our conception of our own national interests, and the interests of our partners and friends. Political systems based on representative government, governed by the rule of law and charged with protecting individual liberties, provide the most effective grounding for long-term and sustained economic growth. For example, countries cannot attract substantial investment without the assurance and credibility of an effective legal system. Likewise, economic growth and free markets foster pluralism and democracy.

Freedom (economic as well as political) releases entrepreneurial energies, empowers workers, generates reliable information, creates long-term stability and rewards private initiative. A system based on accountability and the rule of law provides a government with the legitimacy necessary to make hard choices, deal with the inevitable dislocations that come with economic and political development and enhance security by placing military power under civilian control. Such a system provides the stability of rights and responsibilities necessary to sustain long-term economic growth.

Moreover, promoting open societies and accountable governments serves our national interest in promoting security and stability. Such governments do not attack each other or drive domestic groups into armed opposition. They do not generate refugees or practice terrorism.

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We seek not debate but dialogue. While the U.S. is deeply committed to our beliefs, we recognize and understand that there are other views on structuring the relationship between a people and their government. We welcome frank and open dialogue with the countries of Asia on issues like the relationship between rights and responsibilities, the balance to be struck between the respective needs of the individual and the community. We look forward to increased cultural exchanges between the U.S. and the Asia-Pacific and are proud of the growing prominence of Asian-Americans in the U.S.

This discussion will enrich our broad-based engagement with the Asian nations in our many areas of mutual interest, in a synthesis of dialogue and cooperation. The speech should close by reaffirming our policy of including human rights in our relations with other countries and reiterating our belief that long-term security and prosperity and inextricably bound up with economic and civic freedom.

CONCLUSION

We believe that a speech along these lines will serve two purposes. First, it will reaffirm our commitment to the core values that bind and define the U.S. as a nation and anchor those values in a meaningful long-term understanding of our national interests in security and prosperity. Second, the speech will present the governments and - not least - the people of Asia with an alternative to the much-touted "Asian Model" of authoritarianism-cum-growth. By framing the ongoing exchange over these issues in terms of dialogue, the President or the Secretary will avoid being seen as lecturing or debating these issues, but rather, we hope, use the discussion to broaden our sense of what it means to engage with the Asian-Pacific region.

Laying out these issues in advance of the President's trip and the APEC meetings will set a broad framework for both our doemstic and Asian audiences on these sensitive subjects. It should make it easier for the Presdient and the Secretary to handle the specific issues and general dialogue that will unflod during the Asian Pacific trips.

Please let us know what you think about the preceding structure and themes for a Presidential speech on our Asian policy. Our bureaus are prepared to work with your staff as we begin to draft the speech.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. letter	Robert Boorstin to Stephen Cohen; re: Moscow State Speech (partial) (1 page)	05/17/1995	P6/b(6)
002. letter	Strobe Talbott to Bob Boorstin; re: Moscow State Univerity Speech (4 pages)	05/04/1995	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 423

FOLDER TITLE:
Russia, 5/95 - Moscow State [University] - Experts

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp1791

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)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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To: NSC - Mr. Boorstin from S'tal

cc: Berger
Blacker
Danilovich
Collins / Herbst
Bruno Steinberger

Thursday May 4, 1995

Bob:

Some thoughts on the Moscow State U. speech, following up on the discussion in the Cabinet Room yesterday... I'll continue to send along such missives as thoughts occur to me. I'll be working all weekend at home on Summit stuff, and would be glad to get together with you, either by phone or in person, if I can be of any help on the speech.

==========

The speech needs, I think we all agree, a Lift of a Driving Dream (known here in the bureaucracy as a LOADD, which makes you, as the speechwriter, a LOADD master or a LOADD star).

Suggest that you have POTUS echo, perhaps with direct reference, his Ostankino speech in Jan. 94, particularly the passage where he said that Russia had one of those rare opportunities to redefine itself -- and that the whole world was waiting to see how it did so: would it redefine itself in terms of the past (might-makes-right and empire), or the future?

That could lead into a riff on integration:

The world wants and needs Russia in the 21st century to be a strong state and an active player on the international stage. Russia has an immense amount to contribute, because of its vast human and natural resources. But when we say we want and need Russia to be strong, we do not mean just *any* Russia; we believe that a strong, active, internationally engaged Russia must also be a democratic, prosperous Russia, fully at peace with itself and with its neighbors, fully integrated into the world community. Moreover, we believe that Russia can be strong *only if it is democratic and integrated*.

We fully recognize that the basic choices are up to Russia and to Russians. Russia's fate is in its own hands. But we can help. We do so not just for your sake, but for our own. Just as your foreign policies will be rooted in your leaders' sense of your self-interest, so ours will be rooted in our own. And our self-interest demands that we support Russian reform, because a reformist Russia is a Russia with which we can work together to make the world a better place.

[In the way you craft that passage, be careful to avoid any whiff of condominium.]

One way we can support reform and advance our own interests as well as yours is to use our own position in and with international institutions to make sure that doors are open to you... [Then list some: G-7/P-8, export-control regimes, commercial space launch market...]

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Chip Blacker has some very good thoughts and formulations on this whole integration bit.

Somehow we need to work into this passage a cautionary point: we can open the doors, but it's up to you, Russia, to walk through.

The opposite of integration is self-isolation: don't do that; you tried that already. It led not only to the opposite of integration but to the opposite of strength -- the Soviet Union collapse.

Another point that will help avoid the danger of sounding patronizing or condescending that both POTUS and the VP are concerned about:

We all talk about the end of the Cold War, and we celebrate it as an event in this century as significant as the end of World War II, which, of course, was the reason for my visit to Moscow yesterday.

But there is one point that sometimes does not get enough recognition: the Cold War ended not just because the West steadfastly championed a set of principles and pursued a consistent strategy (although that was part of it); the Cold War ended because the Russian people and Russian reformers, along with others throughout the former Soviet Union and Central Europe, demanded changes -- insisted upon basic political and economic freedom. The forces of reform in this part of the world were not just among the victors -- they made the victory possible. And you did so at considerable risk and sacrifice. We know that reform and transformation have brought with them hardship and uncertainty. So let me echo today, in the context of the end of the Cold War, what I said yesterday at the WW2 Museum in the context of the end of that other great struggle: you have our gratitude; you have our admiration; you have our support.

On Chechnya:

Perhaps after a segue from the immediate previous...

One of the many extraordinary -- and admirable -- aspects of what is sometimes justly called the Second Russian Revolution has been that it has been generally peaceful, nonviolent. You have gone from being part of an empire held together by force to reinventing yourselves as a modern nation-state, prepared to take its place in the community of nations.

It is against the backdrop of that achievement that the tragedy and blunder of Chechnya are particularly lamentable. Violence on a massive scale have stained the map of Russia with blood.

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You'll need a sub-riff here on how we're not questioning Russian sovereignty; quite the contrary, part of our concern is precisely that Russia be a modern state in which all people feel like full citizens, not subjects of Moscow's rule; a modern state at peace with itself as well with its neighbors. Chechnya has been a setback to precisely that goal for yourselves that we share. It has weakened Russia -- in part because it has weakened the forces of Russian reform.

Now, for the coda or peroration...

Here's where I'd elaborate on the "We are with you" line that I suggest would be a good chance for the President to show off his mastery of Russian -- and to sound an overarching theme.

In Russian it's (phonetically) *mwee svami*.

I'd suggest that you have him use it three or four times (we'll have to script this carefully with the simultaneous interpreter); and it should be done in a way that is both a vow of solidarity and also an exhortation to keep on the course of reform.

Something like this....

Yesterday, I joined 000 world leaders in paying homage to the Russian people's heroic contribution and sacrifice in World War II.

Yesterday, we looked back 50 years. Today, I would like to look ahead 50 years.... look ahead to the next century, when Russia can, and we hope will, be a strong, democratic, etc. etc. [this point is fleshed out below].

We hope that your children and grandchildren will be deeply grateful to the Russians who stood up against the coup of August 91 and who voted in the first post-Communist constitution and who voted in free and fair elections in December 95 and June 96 -- just as you, and we, are grateful to your parents and grandparents who fought and, in such dreadful numbers, died in the struggle against Fascism.

As you work to build that future, we are with you -- *mwee svami*.

If you can stay on the course of reform -- economic reform dedicated to the market, political reform which means democracy -- we are with you -- *mwee svami*.

If you can resist the forces of ugly nationalism and ethnic hatred and fear of the future, we are with you -- *mwee svami*.

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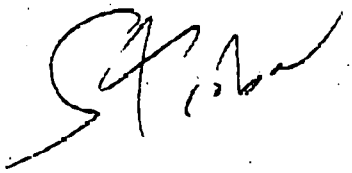
Anyway, you get the idea, and if you think it has any merit, I'm sure you can make it sing.

By the way, speaking of warning against fear of the future, that makes me wonder if we could, without being too corny, have POTUS echo FDR's most famous single line -- it would be a way of establishing empathy as opposed to condescension. Give it some thought...

And I repeat: I'm available any time, anywhere, over the weekend.

CC: Chip Blacker
Tom Donilon



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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. letter	Strobe Talbott to Hillary Clinton; re: Interview in Moscow with Radio Nadezhda (3 pages)	05/02/1995	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 423

FOLDER TITLE:
Russia, 5/95 - Moscow Stae [University] - Background

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2583

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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United States Department of State

The Deputy Secretary of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

May 2, 1995

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

Melanne called last week to say that you have agreed to do an interview in Moscow with Radio Nadezhda ("Hope"). It's a terrific idea. Part of the President's purpose in going to Moscow is to reach out to the Russian people.

Not knowing Radio Nadezhda myself, I asked my executive assistant, Victoria Nuland, for her thoughts on the best approach. Before joining me in the Department, Victoria worked as a political officer in our embassy in Moscow. She knows the Russian media in general and Radio Nadezhda in particular. She has stayed in close touch with developments in Russia, and has been an invaluable advisor and reality check for me in my own effort to advise Chris and the President.

The basic point to stress is that Russians are exceedingly -- I'd even say increasingly -- concerned about security and stability (a concern that is not entirely incomprehensible or alien to many Americans). After the initial euphoria of throwing off the dead hand of the past, Russians have come increasingly to identify reform with crime, corruption, hardship and fear of the future. That has made them vulnerable to the most dangerous sorts of demagogue. They also care very much about how they are seen by the rest of the world.

Your message should be that we admire what they have already done, and we support them in what they are trying to do. That can be seen essentially as undergoing a traumatic transition now so that their children can have a better future.

Radio Nadezhda is, as you know, a station founded and run by women. That makes it all the more appropriate for you to touch upon your special concern with women's issues, such as day care for working mothers and reproductive health (abortion is still the birth-control technique of choice -- or perhaps I should say of default).

Mrs. Hillary Clinton,
The White House,
Washington, D.C. 20500.

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But Victoria notes that Radio Nadezhda has a remarkably wide listenership, across gender lines as well as across a broad spectrum of social, political, and economic backgrounds and interests. Therefore it would be good if you could develop two broader democracy themes that are germane both to what's happening in Russia and to our policy.

One is the essential role a free media plays in a healthy democracy. You could draw on our own experience in this country with the Fourth Estate and its key role in informing the public, in spurring national debate on major policy initiatives like health care reform and in ensuring transparent election campaigns.

You could then talk about the healthy role the Russian media has played on the toughest issues of the day there: Chechnya, economic reform, crime and corruption, etc. There's not much of a silver lining in the Chechnya debacle, but at least the Russian press and TV have brought vivid, critical reporting into people's homes -- and been left more or less free to do so.

The second theme is the importance of elections in a democracy and the obligation of all responsible citizens to vote. As you know, Russians of all stripes have expressed concern that the December '95 parliamentary elections and/or the June '96 presidential elections will be canceled. President Yeltsin has pledged to hold the elections on time and President Clinton will, both publicly and in their private encounters, remind him of that promise on this trip. You have a chance to make our stand on this issue clear to a wider audience.

Many Russians have become apathetic about politics and elections. Politicians are perceived to be corrupt and in it for themselves. Voter turn-out has been lower than 20 percent in some local elections. This trend is particularly serious because younger voters, new entrepreneurs and other beneficiaries of reform have not been voting in representative numbers. This was clearly a factor in the Zhironovskiy party's landslide in 1993. You can use your radio interview to remind Russians that in a democracy the politicians work for the people -- but the process only works if the people participate. The best way to send a message to government and to protect their children's future is to cast a well-considered vote. This ties into the free media theme because the press can serve to educate voters about candidates.

Another angle to hit is the link between private property and the right to vote. In a democracy, citizens protect their property from government abuse through the good work of their elected representatives. Now that 70 percent of Russian

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property is in private hands and virtually every Russian owns something (an apartment, a private garden plot, stocks, or a private business), Russians should have more incentive to vote, not less.

Whenever possible, I'd urge that you work in personal experience and observation. It will also help if you can find ways of telling the Russians that, tough as their problems are, they're neither unique nor ignoble. Even though our country has had over two hundred years of practice in trying to perfect the institutions and attitudes of democracy, social justice and civil society, we still haven't gotten any of those entirely right. We regard it as grounds not for condescension but for admiration that after 70-plus years of totalitarianism and only four a half years of freedom, the Russians have made as much progress as they have.

I hope these ideas are helpful as you plan what could be a very helpful reinforcement of the main themes we're striking in our policy as a whole.

I'll look forward to seeing you on the trip.

Sincerely,

Strobe Talbott

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. speech draft	re: President William Jefferson Clinton - Address to the Canadian Parliament - Ottawa, Canada (with extensive edits by POTUS) (12 pages)	02/23/1995	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speeechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 423

FOLDER TITLE:
Canada, 2/95 - Parliament

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2590

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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WJC edit

2/22/95 2:30 p.m.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
ADDRESS TO THE CANADIAN PARLIAMENT
OTTAWA, CANADA
FEBRUARY 23, 1995

Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Speaker of the Senate, Mr. Speaker of the House of Commons, honorable Senators, Members of the House of Commons, distinguished members of the diplomatic corps, ladies and gentlemen:

~~I am greatly honored to address you today. This is the first Parliament that I've spoken to, since my State of the Union Address before our Congress last month. And I want to thank you for not rescinding my invitation when you learned that I plan to deliver the second half of that speech today.~~

I want to thank Prime Minister Chretien for welcoming me to your beautiful capital. The Prime Minister first came to this chamber to represent the people of Canada when John F. Kennedy was in the White House and has occupied nearly every seat in his nation's cabinet. His service to his nation has earned him the gratitude of the Canadian people and the respect of the United States.

~~Outside, the winds blow cold. Mais ici, dans cette halle magnfique, nous sentons la chaleur de l'amitie. [Here in this great hall, we are warmed by friendship --pronounce coming.]~~ It has become traditional for American presidents, when they address this body,

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to speak of their affection for, and ties to, the Canadian people. In my case, I am reminded every day of Canadian contributions to my life. For it was a daughter of your nation, Joni Mitchell, whose brilliant music and bright words inspired Hillary and me to name our daughter Chelsea.

We gather here in the name of Chelsea's generation -- our children's generation. They face a world that is changing at lightning speed. Technology constantly brings individuals closer together. But conflicts both ancient and new have appeared at our doorstep. We face a new generation of problems that know no borders. And our deepest values -- of family, community and faith -- are challenged on many fronts.

Our nations must adapt to this new day in the New World. But we must never lose sight of the tried and true -- what brought us together in the past and generates such benefits for our people. From the oil from Alberta that fires our factories to the silicon chips from California that power your computers, we are together living proof of the the value of engagement -- of the tangible benefits it brings for our peoples at home and abroad.)

Technologies produced in your nation save lives in our hospitals while food from our farms line your supermarket shelves. Our horizons have broadened because we can listen to the CBC and you can watch our ABC. And our culture is richer because of exports like the novels of Robertson Davies and Margaret Atwood.

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This is what I want to talk with you about today: the fruits of engagement. Why we must continue to build on what is the world's most remarkable relationship between any two countries. Strengthen the partnership that must continue to help spread the benefits of democracy, freedom and peace beyond our shores. And broaden the ties of trade and commerce that have brought prosperity to so many of our people -- and hold out the promise of opportunity for millions more.

More than ever before, we must join together. In a world that grows ever closer, our engagement abroad is ever more crucial, our partnership ever more vital. There are those in both of our nations who say we can no longer afford to or no longer need to exercise leadership in the world. They are wrong. The tasks that we must face together are as broad as the continent we share, as swift and steep as the rivers and mountains that link our nations. But if we navigate those currents and conquer those peaks -- if we engage in the world -- we will leave our children a legacy as rich as those enjoyed by all the generations of North Americans that have gone before.

There is an obvious truth behind all of this but it bears repeating. There is no more successful partnership between any two nations in the world than the relationship between Canada and the United States. We are neighbors by the grace of nature. But we are allies and friends by choice. And every day we produce progress by partnership.

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We are two nations blessed with great resources, built by men and women who fled the tyranny and intolerance of the Old World for the New. We are nations of pioneers -- people armed with the confidence to strike out on their own and the talents to give shape to their dreams. Character and history distinguish us from one another. But we share core values: a devotion to hard work, an ardent belief in democracy, and a commitment to giving each and every citizen the opportunity to reach his or her God-given potential.

These common values have nourished a friendship that has become a model for nations around the world -- ~~and we should take pride in that~~. New and revitalized democracies in Central and Eastern Europe, Latin America and Asia now look to us and draw hope for the future. They see just how much stronger bonds between nations can be when their governments answer to their citizens' desire for freedom, democracy, enterprise. ~~peace and greater prosperity.~~ ~~They see~~ and when they work together to build each other up not tear ~~how a world of cooperative efforts comes alive because the interests and aspirations of~~ each other down. ~~free peoples like ours converge time and again.~~

We have our differences, to be sure. But we approach them directly and solve our problems in good faith. And we respect -- and learn from -- what is different about your nation and its many peoples. Canada has shown the world how to balance freedom with compassion and tradition with innovation. In your efforts to outlaw the automatic weapons...to provide health care to every citizen...and to treat your senior citizens with the respect they deserve, you have blazed a trail. You have shown true reverence for nature from the Maritimes to the Rockies.

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In a world darkened by ethnic conflicts that tear nations apart, Canada stands as a model to the entire world of how people of different cultures can live and work together in peace, prosperity and mutual respect. President Truman summed it up well in 1947 when he said that "Canada's eminent position today is a tribute to the patience, tolerance and strength of character of her people....Canada's notable achievement of national unity and progress through accommodation, moderation, and forbearance can be studied with profit by sister nations." Those words ring every bit as true today. [I am sure I speak for most Americans in expressing the hope that the people of this great country will settle their differences and stay together. At the same time, we recognize that Canada alone must decide its political future.]

For generations, our two countries have joined in efforts to make the world more secure and more prosperous; we have reached out to defend our values and our interests. In World War I...on the beaches of Normandy ....and in Korea. Together we helped summon the United Nations into existence. Together we stood fast against communist tyranny and prevailed in the Cold War, and we stood shoulder to shoulder against aggression in the Gulf War. Now, our nations have stepped forward to help Haiti emerge from repression and restore its democracy. In one international forum after another, we stand side by side to shape a safer, better world....whether it be at the World Population Conference or in pushing together for indefinite extension of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

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We know that for Canada, this history of action is a matter of deep tradition -- a tradition that says "We must be engaged" in the affairs of the world. You have always shown the wisdom of reaching out instead of retreating...of rising to new responsibilities instead of retrenching. Your tradition of engagement continues to this day, earning respect around the world. In places like Cyprus and the Sinai, Canadian troops have played an invaluable role in preventing more violence in critical hotspots. And today, your 2000 peacekeepers in the former Yugoslavia are courageously fulfilling their mission in the midst of one of the most intractable, difficult conflicts in memory.

For half a century, the United States has shared that philosophy of action and consistently exercised our leadership abroad. I am determined that we preserve that commitment. These times may be turbulent, but we have an historic opportunity to increase security and prosperity for our peoples and around the world. And I will do everything in my power to keep my country constructively engaged in the world. Imagine what the Persian Gulf region would look like today if we had not risen to the challenge of Iraqi aggression. Imagine just what tariffs and barriers would plague the world trading system if we had not worked so hard for liberalization. And imagine how much worse the tragedy in Rwanda would be if we had not been there to provide essential help in the refugee camps. We must not let anyone or anything break this great tradition of our nations.

In our partnership, we will find the key to protecting our people and increasing their prosperity -- and the power to reach beyond our shores in the name of democracy and

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freedom. To meet the challenges of this new era, we must now adapt the that institutions helped us win the Cold War so that they can serves us as well in the decades ahead as they did in those past. Some have evolved with a changing world, discarding old missions and assuming new roles. But we have also seen that the end of the East-West conflict, the advent of 24-hour financial markets, sudden environmental disasters and the rise of international terrorism put new demands on our institutions that the statesmen of 50 years ago could not have foreseen. The 21st century will leave behind those who sit back and rest.

To meet the security needs of the future, we must work together to see that NATO, the most successful alliance in history, adapts to the new era. That means we must make certain that the inevitable process of NATO expansion proceeds smoothly, gradually and openly. There should be no surprises. We will work so that conditions, timing and military implications will be well and widely known in advance. And parallel to the enlargement of NATO, we must develop close and strong ties with Russia. [Possible sentence about Canadian contribution to North Korea deal.] And we must continue working together at the United Nations, where our nations have taken the lead in efforts to reform peacekeeping operations -- controlling costs and improving information gathering and command and control.

We must continue reforming our international economic institutions. We have already made great strides in reshaping the new global economy with passage of the GATT, the

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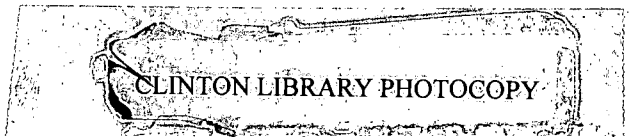
most comprehensive trade agreement ever. The work will not stop there. At the upcoming G-7 summit in Halifax, we will work to ensure that our international trade institutions advance the cause of trade liberalization to tangible gains for our peoples. We will also reexamine the institutions created at the time of Bretton Woods so that they can master the new, increasingly complex generation of transnational problems that face us -- like explosive population growth and environmental degradation. Real progress will depend on our partnership.

Together, Canada and the United States are striving to seize all the advantages the new global economy has to offer -- and our efforts to expand trade show just how rich the fruits of engagement can be. For your people, as for ours, international trade has become the ticket to success in a new global economy. Trade produces high-wage jobs -- the kind of jobs that provide our people with the opportunity to care for their families, to educate their children, and to leave the next generation better off than the last.

The success of NAFTA, which is generating new jobs and opening new markets from Monterrey to Medicine Hat, is the proof. And now, as Prime Minister Chretien has said so well, we are on the road to becoming Four Amigos. Negotiations with Chile for accession to NAFTA will soon be underway, and the addition of that thriving economy will only continue to increase the benefits for all of us. And let me take a moment here to thank your nation for its help in the recent financial crisis in Mexico. Canada stood



shoulder to shoulder with us, contributing one and a half a billion Canadian dollars and strongly supporting international efforts to bolster the Mexican economy.

As we expand trade, we must also defend what we have inherited -- the natural riches of our continent. Our nations have cooperated to such great effect on our continent in the past -- now we must now build on those accomplishments. As host to the NAFTA environmental commission, your country will play a key role in ensuring that we protect the extraordinary bounty that has been given us -- for our children and for theirs.

NAFTA is only one of several fronts on which we are working together to increase prosperity and expand free trade. Our nations are building on the progress of last year's Summit of the Americas, which will create a free trade area embracing the entire hemisphere. Across the Pacific as well, we have paved the way for new markets and free trade among the most dynamic economies in the world -- a development that will ensure that the prosperity of today continues to grow strong in the years and decades to come.

These efforts will only enhance what is now the greatest trading relationship in the world -- ours. Today -- every day -- people, ideas and goods stream across our border. Bilateral trade between our nations -- more than 370 billion Canadian dollars last year -- is the largest in the world. Our trade with each other has become an essential pillar in the architecture of both our economies. Today, 4.5 million of our citizens have jobs that involve trade between our countries. Those are the concrete benefits of our friendship.

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Between 1988 and 1994, trade between our nations rose by 50 percent; last year alone, it increased by 11 percent.

But statistics do not give the human reality behind this flourishing exchange of goods and ideas. Our trade is creating real jobs for real people. In Boscawen [BAHS-kwin], New Hampshire, for example, a small company called Secure Care Products produces monitoring systems for patients in nursing homes. Recently, Secure Care began exporting its products to Canada. Sales there are already growing fast and the company expects them to triple this year. And so Secure Care is hiring people like Susan Southwick -- the granddaughter of Quebeckers, the mother of two and now, the company's 26th employee. Giving Susan and her husband a shot at the North American dream is what our partnership is all about.

In Greensboro, North Carolina, another small company called Createc Forestry Systems is showing how our trade helps people turn their hopes into realities. Founded by a man named Albert Jenks in his family's kitchen, Createc makes hand-held computers that track lumber mill inventories. Those computers help managers assess their needs better, so fewer trees are cut unnecessarily. A few years ago, Createc started exporting to Canada, and now those sales account have already risen to nearly 20% of the total. That means a more secure future for Createc, for Mr. Jenks's, and for his son Patrick, who works with his father. Createc shows how our trade can increase our prosperity and can protect the environment.

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[Example of Canadian firm profiting from bilateral trade coming.]

Our biggest industries benefit as well. Working closely together, American and Canadian companies have integrated the North American auto industry and staged one of the greatest comebacks in history. We have drawn on each other's strengths. And today, our companies work so closely that we do not speak of American or Canadian content in the vehicles but North American content -- whether it is a Chrysler minivan made in Windsor or a Chrysler jeep made in Detroit. Productivity and employment have risen and the auto industry now supports [tk] jobs in our countries. [more to come from Amb. Blanchard]

To reinforce our commitment to NAFTA and dramatically expand an important market, tomorrow Prime Minister Chretien and I will sign an agreement to open the skies between our nations. This agreement -- which allows for a dramatic expansion of US and Canadian service to each others nations -- will create more than tens of thousands (ck) of new jobs and spur more than one and a half billion Canadian dollars in new business. We have reached a fair solution that will make life easier for travelers on both sides of the border and profit both Canadian and American airline carriers. That we have done so amicably provides a model of how neighboring nations can settle their differences.

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Friendship. Engagement. Canada and the United States have shown the best there is in friendship between nations -- all the great potential that awaits free peoples when they join in common cause. We are, as the monument at the St. Lawrence Seaway declares, "two nations whose frontiers are the frontiers of friendship, whose ways are the ways of freedom, whose works are the works of peace."

Every day we see the enormous benefits that this partnership gives us -- in jobs, prosperity and the great creative energy that trade brings. We have only seen the beginning. For the Susan Southwicks who want a chance to build better lives and the companies like Createc that are trying to build solid businesses that will last...this friendship holds a promise with all the vast horizons of our continent.

Together, we have turned our energies toward improving the world around us for nearly a century. Today, more than ever, we must reaffirm and renew that tradition -- and we must engage and confront the global issues of our time. We must sustain our efforts and enhance them, maintain our partnership and strengthen it.

This is our task and our mission. Together, we are equal to the challenge.

A border separates our peoples, but there are no boundaries to our common dreams.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. speech draft	re: President Willaim Jefferson Clinton - Nixon Center Address - Washington, D.C. (with extensive edits by POTUS) (13 pages)	03/01/1995	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 423

FOLDER TITLE:
Nixon Center, 3/1/95 - Drafts [1]

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2588

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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2/28/95 Noon

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

[Acknowledgments: Henry Kissinger/Nixon Center]

Just a month before he passed away, President Nixon wrote to me about his last trip to Russia. As with all our correspondence and conversations, I was struck by the rigor of his analysis and the wisdom of his suggestions. ~~But more than its specifics~~, I was moved by the letter's larger message -- a message that ran through Richard Nixon's ~~presidency, his prolific writings, indeed through his whole life. Richard Nixon believed deeply that the~~ United States ~~would never~~ be a strong ~~nation~~ at home unless we ~~led~~ abroad. ~~He~~ did everything in his power to reach out -- to enemies and friends alike. ~~He would not allow America to quit the world.~~

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. On any list of his foreign policy accomplishments, the giant steps he took toward reducing the nuclear threat must stand as among his greatest achievements. ~~He outlived the Cold War, but he knew that the knowledge of how to unleash the forces of the atom could never be unlearned. And~~ he understood that the Atomic Age could never be won -- but could be lost.

As President, I have acted on that same imperative. Over the past two years, the United States has made real progress in lifting the threat of nuclear weapons. In 1995, we face a year of decision -- a year in which the United States will pursue the most ambitious agenda to dismantle

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and fight the spread of weapons of mass since the atom was split. We know that ours is an enormously complex and difficult task. But we can -- and we will -- do all we can to meet it.

~~As we pursue this cause, let us not lose sight of our ultimate objective: making a real difference in peoples' lives. Just as a tremendously complex 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 weapons of mass destruction touches the lives of our people. And today, we have the best chance since the dawn of the nuclear age to reduce that threat and allow all our citizens to rest in greater security.~~

To meet this challenge, we must overcome a dangerous and growing temptation in our land to ~~narrow our~~ focus solely on the problems we face at home. There is a struggle going on between those who want to carry on the tradition of American leadership abroad and those who would produce a new American isolationism. If our work to dismantle and stop the spread of weapons of mass destruction is to succeed, if we are to continue to improve the security and prosperity of all our people -- then the tradition of American leadership must prevail.

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. And to ~~[illegible]~~ because they do, Americans have new opportunity to make their own.

At the same time, the post-Cold War world has revealed a complex of problems that defy quick or painless solutions -- aggression by rogue states, transnational threats like overpopulation, terrible environmental degradation,

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ethnic conflict...economic dislocation. Yet at the heart of these challenges lies a timeless struggle. The same idea that was under attack by fascism and then by communism remains under attack today -- the idea of the open society. ~~We are living through yet another stage of the age-old struggle between~~ freedom and tyranny, ~~between~~ tolerance and repression. ~~Our challenge is to choose hope over fear.~~

Yet some would choose escapism over engagement. The new isolationists, whether of the left or the right, ~~would have us believe that open markets appear as if by magic -- and not because of our hard work with GATT, NAFTA, APEC and the Summit of the Americas.~~ They ~~would argue that democracy springs spontaneously from the earth -- when we have shown that, from the former Soviet Union to South Africa, it must be nurtured and defended.~~ ~~And, at their most hypocritical, the~~ new isolationists ~~would~~ trumpet the rhetoric of American strength -- ~~but then~~ deny the resources we need to bring stability in the Persian Gulf, restore democracy to Haiti, ~~or~~ control the spread of drugs and organized crime.

This is a moment of decision. ~~The plain truth is that~~ The extraordinary trend toward democracy and free markets is ~~neither easy nor inevitable~~. Yet, at the very time when more countries than ever before are working to establish or shore up fragile democracies -- and look to us for support -- the new isolationists ~~would~~ pull America out of the game after just a few hours of debate.

The new isolationists 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 achieved real progress around the world, from the Middle East to Africa. They would take resources away from fledgling democracies, from our peacekeepers and

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even from our troops. And they would ~~take~~ those precious resources on ~~the failed, $35 billion~~ Star Wars ~~fantasy~~. They would have us face the future alone. They are wrong. And we must not let the ripple of isolationism they have generated build 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 and combat terrorism ~~and~~ our insistence on maintaining the most effective fighting force in the world we have chosen to seize the opportunities and to 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 continue to build a consensus behind our choice -- a coalition of internationalists. That coalition comes~~ from both houses of Congress, from both sides of the aisle and from coast to coast in our cities, towns and communities. ~~The members of this coalition know that the United States did not single-handedly drive the powerful trend toward democracy around the world. But we know, too, that it would not have happened without us. And we share~~ a conviction that the wealth and well-being of our people at home depend on our leadership abroad.

That conviction runs throughout our history. Even during the early days of the Republic, when our leaders sought to avoid great power politics, they understood that to turn away from the world completely would invite peril. With independence on the line, we helped build a coalition in Europe against Britain. With the Union at stake, we helped prevent France and Britain from supporting the Confederacy. Before Lincoln was President, farmers from the plains of Illinois to

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the hills of North Carolina sold their crops overseas and we dispatched missions all the way to Japan to open new markets. By the Civil War, our navy had sailed every ocean.

Our entry into World War I brought home to us that a great power with vast territory and strong values has a responsibility to lead. But then we failed to make the peace endure -- and the forces of hatred and tyranny filled the vacuum.

After World War II, our wisest leaders were determined not to make the same mistake again. But five years of war left Americans yearning to shift their great energy from the front lines to the home front. As tension with the Soviet Union mounted and Europe's economies teetered on the brink of collapse, President Truman -- through the force of conviction -- persuaded an uncertain nation to launch the most productive period of engagement in our history. A remarkable generation of Americans worked hard to create and sustain the structures -- such as NATO, the United Nations, the Marshall Plan and the Bretton Woods institutions -- that brought half a century of security and prosperity to America, Europe and Japan. ~~Ultimately~~, the solidity of those structures, the strength of America's military, the draw of democracy, and the heroic determination of people to be free consigned the Cold War to history.

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.

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Today, it is Vandenberg's spirit that should drive our foreign policy -- and our politics. If we continue to lead abroad and work together at home, we can take advantage of these turbulent times. If we retreat, we risk squandering the opportunities and abandoning the obligations entrusted to us.

Imagine the tariffs and barriers that would cripple the world trading system if internationalists coming together across party lines had not worked so hard for liberalization, from GATT to NAFTA. Imagine what the Persian Gulf region would look like today if we had not ~~risen to the challenge~~ to meet 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. And imagine the chaos that would have ensued if we had not moved to help stabilize Mexico's economy.

~~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, the United States ~~has led global efforts to reduce the threat of weapons of mass destruction. As Commander-in-Chief, it is my foremost duty to protect and defend the lives, territory and interests of Americans and their allies. 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 recognize

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that there is no single policy, no silver bullet that will prevent or reverse 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.

We have focused -- and we will continue to focus -- on two distinct but closely connected areas: decreasing and dismantling existing weapons, and preventing nations or groups from acquiring weapons of mass destruction and the means to deliver them. Our progress is clear:

- As a result of an agreement President Yeltsin and I reached, for the first time in a generation, Russian missiles are not pointed at our cities or our citizens -- greatly reduced the lingering fear of an accidental nuclear launch.

- We put into force the START I Treaty with Russia that will eliminate from both our countries delivery systems that carry over 9,000 nuclear warheads -- each with the capacity to incinerate a city the size of Atlanta. START I is the first treaty that requires nuclear powers actually to reduce their strategic arsenals. Both our countries are dismantling weapons literally as fast as we can. And, thanks to the most far-reaching verification system yet devised, each of us knows what the other is doing. START I -- negotiated by two Republican administrations 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.

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

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breakup of the Soviet Union left nuclear materials dispersed throughout the newly independent states. Opportunities to buy or steal weapons or their components dramatically increased and organized criminals have entered the nuclear smuggling business. Add to this volatile mix the fact that a lump of plutonium the size of a soda can is enough to build a bomb, and the urgency of the effort to stop the spread of nuclear materials should be clear. That's why we have acted to promote non-proliferation:

- 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 and now, they are.

- Thanks to farsighted legislation by Senator Nunn and Senator 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 uranium and plutonium available for nuclear weapons.

smuggling

add p. 11

- And because of our efforts, four potential suppliers of ballistic missiles -- Russia, Ukraine, China and South Africa -- have agreed to control the transfer of these missiles and related technology.

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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.

In the year ahead -- a year of decision -- our agenda is even more ambitious. It must be. If we fail to build on our non-proliferation efforts, dozens of nations, hostile ethnic groups and terrorists could gain access to nuclear tipped missiles, chemical weapons or bombs. We must do everything we can to prevent another World Trade Center tragedy. We must take every possible step to avoid living with the 21st Century version of fall-out shelters and "duck and cover" exercises. If our people are to know real, lasting security, we must redouble our arms control and non-proliferation efforts.

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. Nations without nuclear weapons that sign on to the Treaty pledge never to acquire them. Those that already possess weapons vow not to help others get them, to facilitate the peaceful uses of atomic energy and to pursue nuclear arms control and disarmament.

inspections + safeguards & monitoring

To demonstrate our commitment to the NPT, today I have ordered that 200 tons of fissile material be permanently withdrawn from the U.S. nuclear stockpile. That's enough for 8,000 nuclear weapons [TK TK TK]. It will never again be used to build a nuclear weapon.

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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. Failure to extend NPT indefinitely 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. We must secure universal adherence to the NPT.

Ratifying START II is a second key goal. When that Treaty is put into effect, it will eliminate from the Russian and American arsenals delivery systems that carry more than 5,000 weapons, on top of the major reductions already underway thanks to START I. Both treaties together will reduce by two-thirds the number of strategic warheads deployed at the height of the Cold War. At my urging, the Senate has already begun hearings on START II. I commend the Senate for their quick action and urge them to ratify the Treaty as soon as possible. And, once START II is ratified, we will consider with the Russians additional reductions of, and limitations on, remaining nuclear forces. We have a chance to lift the nuclear cloud further and we dare not miss it.

To stop the development of new generations of nuclear weapons, we must also quickly complete negotiations on a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. Last month, I extended the nuclear testing moratorium -- which I put into effect when I took office -- until a CTB Treaty enters into force. And to speed conclusion of the Treaty, we have abandoned our attempts to secure a special escape clause while reaffirming our determination to maintain a safe and reliable nuclear stockpile.

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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. If North Korea fulfills its commitments, the Korean peninsula, and the entire world, will be less threatened and more secure. The critics of the agreement are wrong: the deal stops North Korea's nuclear program and commits Pyongyang to 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 North Korean agreement top our agenda for the year ahead. But there are other critical tasks we face if we want to make every American more secure. That's why we will carry on the fight against international terrorism and redouble our efforts to stop nuclear smuggling. This will require cooperating still more closely with our allies, working with the Russians and the newly independent states, improving safeguards at nuclear facilities, strengthening multilateral export controls, and undertaking unilateral actions such as Operation Sapphire when necessary.

The American people will also be safer when we win Senate ratification of the Chemical Weapons Convention, negotiate legally binding measures to strengthen the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention, secure a treaty banning the production of the fissile materials that go into weapons, clarify the ABM Treaty so as to preserve its viability while permitting highly effective defenses against theater missile attacks, continue to support regional arms control efforts in the Middle East and elsewhere, and push for ratification of the Convention on Conventional Weapons, which, among other things, would help us reduce the suffering caused by the indiscriminate use of antipersonnel mines.

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~~We know~~ This is a very full and challenging agenda. ~~We are well aware of~~ the obstacles ahead. But we can do no less than to make every effort to complete it.

Tonight, let us remember what President Nixon told a joint session of Congress when he returned from his historic trip to Moscow in 1972. "We have begun to check the wasteful and dangerous spiral of nuclear arms," he said. "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."

~~Now, we stand at a special moment when~~ it is within our power to consolidate the gains those who came before us worked so hard to achieve. ~~The Cold War has left us a world of new troubles to be sure, but we must continue to lead the fight for hope~~. 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 looked at its prospects~~ in the struggle between hope and fear ~~and blinked~~.

Instead, let us find inspiration in a great tradition of ~~American leadership~~. A tradition that builds bridges of cooperation, not walls of isolation. A tradition that opens our arms to change instead of throwing up our hands in despair. A tradition that casts aside partisanship and brings Democrats and Republicans together for the good of the people. A tradition of leadership that made the most of this land, won the great battles against tyranny and secured our prosperity.

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Above all, let us not forget that all our efforts begin and end with the American people. 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. ~~Let us draw on the wisdom of~~ Americans like Harry Truman and Arthur Vandenberg ~~who knew our country's place~~ in the world -- ~~who took on the burdens of their time when others shied away. Let us summon the courage to be bold. And let us seize this moment -- whose~~ challenge is matched only by its ~~infinite~~ possibility.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. email	Daniel P. Poneman to Jonathan H. Spalter et al; re: Nixon Center Speech (1 page)	02/16/1995	P5
001b. email	Alexander R. Vershbow to Jonathan H. Spalter & Neal S. Wolin; re: Nixon Center Speech (1 page)	2/16/1995	P5
001c. email	Jonathan H. Spalter to Neal S. Wolin; re: Nixon Center Speech (1 page)	02/16/1995	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 423

FOLDER TITLE:
Nixon Center, 3/1/95

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2587

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]

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Bob FYI

Blinken, Antony J.

From: Poneman, Daniel B.
To: Spalter, Jonathan H.; Vershbow, Alexander R.; Wolin, Neal S.
Cc: /R, Record at A1; @PRESS - Public Affairs; @UP - APNSA Special Assistants; @SPEECH - NSC Speechwriters
Subject: RE: NIXON CENTER SPEECH [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Thursday, February 16, 1995 3:33PM

Strongly concur with Sandy Vershbow. As March 3 is last working day before March 5 anniversary of entry into force of NPT, the timing is indeed right for the nonproliferation speech we have been discussing. Also concur with the concept that in order to be Presidential this speech should put our nonproliferation policy in the broader context of post-Cold War challenges. While the President should address the substance directly and clearly, he should not go into agonizing detail.

From: Vershbow, Alexander R.
To: Spalter, Jonathan H.; Wolin, Neal S.
CC: /R, Record at A1; Poneman, Daniel B.; @PRESS - Public Affairs; @UP - APNSA Special Assistants; @SPEECH - NSC Speechwriters
Subject: RE: NIXON CENTER SPEECH [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Thursday, February 16, 1995 02:41 PM

For TL/SB/NS:
fI am increasingly convinced that the President should accept the Nixon Center invite. Being in Washington, and given the high level of other participants in the conference, it is likely to get extensive C-Span coverage, and it would be a mistake to let this be turned from a bipartisan into a Republican-dominated affair. The timing is right for the specch on non-proliferation (although I assume that non-pro would be placed in the broader framework of responding to the new security challenges of the post-Cold War era).

As I've mentioned, the Nixon Center needs an answer by the first half of next week, since they need to print the programs, and since Newt Gingrich is champing at the bit to take the keynote slot if neither the President nor Vice President agree to speak.

From: Spalter, Jonathan H.
To: Wolin, Neal S.
CC: /R, Record at A1; Vershbow, Alexander R.; @PRESS - Public Affairs; @UP - APNSA Special Assistants; @SPEECH - NSC Speechwriters
Subject: NIXON CENTER SPEECH
Date: Thursday, February 16, 1995 02:07 PM

Our office forwarded to your office quite some time ago (late january) proposed responses to an invitation from Henry Kissinger and the Nixon daughters from the Nixon Center who invited the President to keynote its March 1 and 2 conference.

The package was returned to us today without a reply from Tony.

As the conference is drawing near, we need to move on this quickly. Tom's view and Bob Boorstin's view was to decline. Sandy Vershbow now understands that Tony and Nancy might have a different view.

Please advise soonest.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Deputy Secretary, Department of Veterans Affairs to Bob Boorstin; re: POTUS VFW Speech (1 page)	03/03/1995	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 423

FOLDER TITLE:
VFW, 3/6/95 - Agency Notes [2]

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2586

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

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Department of Veterans Affairs

Memorandum

Date: March 3, 1995

From: Deputy Secretary (001)

Subj: POTUS VFW Speech

To: Bob Borsin

We question the advisability of the proposal in the speech to establish a Presidential Advisory Committee on Gulf War Veterans' Illnesses. The Committee is described as being needed in order to ensure that the Clinton Administration's Departments of Defense, HHS, and VA carry out good research and make swift use of any resulting medical breakthroughs. There are a number of problems with this approach:

- It calls into question the managerial effectiveness of three of our Cabinet Secretaries. Why should we do this to ourselves?
- The Committee is extremely unlikely to help produce any major advances in medical research. Though the research efforts are extensive, no one believes significant discoveries of causes or cures are possible in the next year or two.
- Such an Advisory Committee may at times, with the benefit of hindsight, second-guess the Administration -- giving new ammunition to our critics.
- The speech claims that the Committee will "speed the use of new treatments." This would raise a false hope that there are such "new treatments," when none exist. (There is also no reason to expect that Secretaries Brown and Perry could not get any advances into use quickly.)
- If there must be a new Advisory Committee, it seems more advisable to have it question the actions of the previous Administration, i.e., were there exposures to chemical and biological warfare agents and other health hazards and did the military cover them up or fail to respond appropriately?

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. speech draft	re: President William Jefferson Clinton - Remarks to the Veterans of Foreign Wars - Washington, D,C. - March 6, 1995 (partial) (1 page)	03/03/1995	P6/b(6)
002. speech draft	re: President William Jefferson Clinton - Remarks to the Veterans of Foreign Wars - Washington, D.C. (with extensive edits by POTUS) (11 pages)	03/06/1995	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 423

FOLDER TITLE:
VFW, 3/6/95 - Drafts

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp1800

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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3/3/95 1:00 p.m.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS
WASHINGTON, D.C.
MARCH 6, 1995

Acknowledgments: Secretary Brown
Commander Kent
Mrs. Harsh (President Ladies Auxiliary)
Mr. Durning (Chairman of National Salute to Hospitalized Veterans)
Mr. Rivers (Adjutant General)

Commander Kent, thank you for that warm introduction. I want to thank the Veterans of Foreign Wars for inviting me here to speak with you. For almost a century, the VFW has made a difference in the lives of American veterans. You are lucky today to have a forceful, thoughtful leader in Gunner Kent.

This year we mark the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II. Many of you fought in that great struggle. One of my greatest privileges as President has been meeting men and women who sacrificed so much a half century ago for our freedom. On the windswept beaches of Normandy, at a cemetery in England, on the Rock of Corregidor in the Philippines I have gotten to know true American heroes. ~~They are some of the finest people our nation -- or any nation -- has ever produced.~~

We owe them a debt we cannot repay. With their lives before them, they left everything -- ~~family, loved ones, home~~ -- to fight for a just cause. From the Aleutians to Okinawa and from the Mediterranean to the North Sea, ~~they faced mortal dangers and never wavered.~~ They watched

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friends fall at their side -- 400,000 died, 700,000 were wounded -- and never faltered. They gave everything so that we might be free. I ask the veterans of World War II to stand and be recognized.

To honor your deeds -- and those of all the veterans who fought for freedom in World War I, Korea, Vietnam, the Persian Gulf and around the world -- ceremonies are not enough. We must deliver action as well. Wherever you fought, whatever you did, your nation must show its gratitude by preserving and protecting the benefits you have earned. And we must go the whole distance to address new injuries that modern warfare brings. Today, that means deploying every effort to uncover the causes of the mysterious illnesses that some of our Gulf War veterans brought home. We must redouble our energies to find cures for these veterans. Just as we ask men and women in uniform to fight new dangers and face new weapons and combat environments, we must see to it that every step is taken to bring these veterans back to health. They put everything on the line for us. We cannot do less for them.

Honoring your deeds also means we must preserve all you fought for; We must uphold a tradition paid for with your blood and sacrifice: the tradition of America's leadership in the world.

Today, that tradition is under siege. If the new isolationists have their way, we will abandon policies -- backed by Republicans and Democrats -- that have guided us for half a century. We will back away from institutions like the United Nations, which promote stability around the world. We will be forced to give up peacekeeping and our support for fragile democracies. We

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will cut deeply into our support for emerging market economies. Finally, under the mask of budget-cutting, we will deny our military the resources it needs.

No one knows better than our veterans the grave dangers of withdrawal. The last time isolationism held sway -- during the years after World War I -- Europe and Asia slid into catastrophe, and we had to fight a second world war. You in this room -- whenever you served, wherever you served -- know what could happen if America retreats from today's turbulent world. Yes, nations on every continent are embracing democracy and free markets. But no law of history says this will continue. We must seize the moment. We must shape events to serve the cause of freedom and prosperity.

Think back and consider how things might have been, and you will see why. The world could have become a dangerous trade battleground without American leadership on GATT. Chaos might be lapping at our borders if we had not worked to stabilize the Mexican economy. Refugees might have poured into our country if we had not pushed to restore democracy in Haiti. Peace might never have caught a foothold in the Middle East without our continual involvement.

In the last speech he wrote, the greatest commander-in-chief of this century, Franklin Roosevelt put it well: "We have learned in the agony of war that great power involves great responsibility." But, Roosevelt observed, "We as Americans do not choose to deny our responsibility. Nor do we intend to abandon our determination that, within the lives of our children and our children's children, there will not be a third world war."

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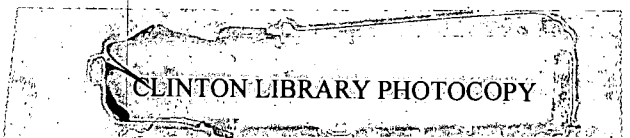
Your devotion and the service of millions of other veterans has helped prevent that war. You prevented communist expansionism from spreading across the globe during the Cold War. Your service made possible the growth of democracy and prosperity in the West and Japan. And when tyranny raised its head and Saddam Hussein threatened the Middle East, you stood up and stopped him.

We must be clear about this: your legacy is threatened -- a half century of American leadership that you worked and fought for. We must preserve that leadership at all costs -- to keep history on our side so our children have the future they deserve. As Commander-in-Chief, I will do everything in my power to prevent your legacy from being dismantled -- and to make certain that we move into the next century the strongest nation in the world and the greatest force for peace, freedom and democracy.

That means, first of all, preserving a strong American military. More than anything else, our armed forces guarantees our security and our influence over world events. They ensure our credibility. They are the backbone of our diplomacy. They showed that in the Persian Gulf, when our troops' swift deployment convinced Saddam Hussein that he didn't want to make the same mistake twice. They showed that in Haiti too, when the news that our forces were poised to invade convinced the corrupt generals that it was time to go.



I have pledged that the United States will have the best-equipped, best-trained, best-prepared military in the world. My administration is keeping that promise every day. Our forces are ready to fight.

I am determined to maintain that readiness. That is why I am committed to increasing defense funding an additional $25 billion over the next six years. We have fewer troops today, and we ask more of them than ever -- which means we must pay to prepare them for the different missions they may face. Our combat pilots will fly the training hours they must fly, our artillery units will fire the rounds they must...so our troops can meet their mission of being ready to fight two major regional conflicts nearly simultaneously. Some of the money will also go toward improving the quality of life for those who serve and ~~those~~ their families who stand by them. We must raise their pay, provide better housing and child care and other benefits they deserve. If we want to continue drawing educated and motivated professionals to our armed forces -- and hold on to those who make up the finest fighting force on earth -- we must do right by them.

Improving quality of life is not the only way to ensure that our armed forces perform as well in the future as you did in the past. People who fight for the United States have the right to know that the United States will fight for them -- and not just for a few years but for their entire lives. The soldiers of tomorrow will only be as good as our commitment to the veterans of today.

Since before I took office, I vowed to defend the interests of all those who have fought for America. Our administration has kept that pledge.

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- I have been meeting with veterans groups since before my inauguration. I have made sure that our administration's doors were opened to veterans as never before -- as they were when Gunner Kent visited me WHEN and we agreed to fight to protect veterans benefits. And I look forward to signing the VFW charter reform legislation in the next few days. (ck)
- We have consistently looked to veterans to help shape our policy. Much of your influence is due to the outstanding work of Secretary Jesse Brown. You could not have a more energetic fighter on your side.
- We protected veterans' preference when your national commander wrote to us last year and said it was in danger. We turned the issue around in days -- and overruled our own postal service. Veterans must get the shot they deserve at federal jobs.
- We reached out and contacted veterans around America when interest rates fell to tell them about refinancing opportunities under the GI bill. No one has more of a right to the American dream than those who went to war for America.
- We have worked to improve health care for veterans and expand veterans' nursing care benefit. We process claims faster. We are getting you the benefits you're owed.
- We made certain that when a U.S. delegation visited Hanoi, representatives of the VFW and other veterans' groups were there to discuss the painful issue of MIAs -- and we have continued to press for the fullest possible accounting for those lost while serving in Vietnam and in Korea.

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When the federal government is shrinking faster than at any time in memory, our Administration has not just maintained but expanded care for veterans. This year, while virtually all federal agency budgets are being cut, we are going to the mat for you. We are pushing for $1.3 billion more for the Department of Veterans Affairs -- $1 billion of that devoted to the Veterans health system. That means care for 43,000 more veterans...two new hospitals...three new nursing homes...and these are just some of the things we are fighting for.

Sadly, some here in Washington do not share our determination to honor our nation's debt to veterans. Some in the Congress want to reduce the benefits that veterans have earned. New legislation, if passed, will cut deeply ~~where there should be no cuts~~. Medical equipment won't be bought, outpatient centers won't be built. And a successful program to reintegrate homeless veterans -- to give them temporary housing, job training and help with job placement -- will be abolished.

The cuts on the drawing board will harm those veterans who need their nation's help most. These cuts won't strengthen America. Closing the door to a homeless vet who is looking for a way to get off the street doesn't strengthen America. An America that forgets its obligation to veterans is an America that has lost some of its greatness. And a country that can fight billion dollar battles must never nickel-and-dime its veterans. I pledge to you today that we will fight for you every step of the way. But we need your help. Only your voices will make it clear: caring for veterans is not a national option but a national tradition and a national duty.

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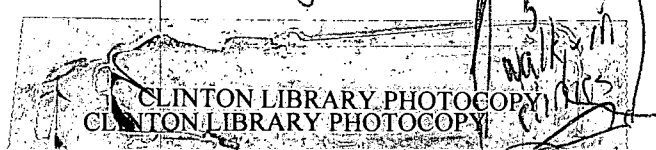

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No matter when you fought or where, we will stand with you. And we are working to meet the challenges in veterans' care that our nation's last two wars have brought. We have confronted the terrible problem of Agent Orange, ending years of neglect. We reached out to 40,000 veterans suffering from exposure to Agent Orange and told them about expanded treatment and the long list of related illnesses that we now cover.

I am determined that the kind of unacceptable treatment of veterans who were exposed to Agent Orange will not be repeated with veterans from the Gulf War. Last year, I signed landmark legislation that for the first time compensates veterans suffering from undiagnosed illnesses resulting from Operations Desert Storm and Desert Shield. Two weeks ago (ck), I gave one of the first of those checks to Michael Sills, an Illinois veteran (ck).[possible quote coming] Even if we do not know the exact reason for these veterans' disability, we know they are sick. These vets fought America's fight, and they have paid a high price. We must not compound that injury by making them wait for science.) who served in the Gulf.

But we must do everything we can to push science forward so that they can get their health back. My wife and I feel very strongly that we can spare no effort for these Gulf War veterans. Many of these veterans have written to us, with harrowing accounts of respiratory trouble, muscular and skeleton pain, headaches and stomach disorders. We heard from Dylan Callahan of New Hampshire, for whom "The Gulf War Syndrome [has become what he and his wife call] "the never ending nightmare." We hear these veterans' message: we know that they just want to be well again, to be the people they were when they went off to fight for our country.

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In the last two weeks, Hillary has visited with Gulf veterans at Walter Reed and the Washington VA Medical Center -- and she has been deeply moved by their experiences. She also met with Gunner Kent and Bob Currieo of the VFW and other service organization representatives to discuss Gulf War veterans' illnesses and what needs to be done for them.

Gulf War veterans are receiving the attention they need in VA facilities, and those still on active duty are receiving specialized care in military hospitals. We have enlisted some of the finest scientists in the nation and a range of government agencies to explore these ailments, and a broad range of research projects is under way. We have mounted a massive outreach effort to let all Gulf War veterans know about the care that is available to them. But we must do more.

That is why today I am announcing the creation of a Persian Gulf Advisory Committee that will review the hazardous elements in the Gulf region that our personnel were exposed to -- so that we can find answers to the mystery of these illnesses. This Advisory Committee will be made up of scientific experts, doctors and veterans and will ~~report to~~ the Secretaries of Defense, Health and Human Services and Veterans Affairs.

We will continue to step up our efforts to explain these illnesses and cure them -- because even though they are mysterious, we know they are real. This year the Veterans Administration and the Department of Defense will spend up to $13 million on new research, looking into issues like the effects of oil well fires, pesticides, depleted uranium ammunition, drugs used to protect

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against chemical and biological weapons. We are investigating the infectious diseases in the Gulf area, and we are examining whether illnesses have been transmitted in veterans' families. We will not stop until we have run these sicknesses to ground and done what we must for our veterans. We must spare no sacrifice for the men and women who have sacrificed so much for us and our freedom.

Last month, at the Iwo Jima commemoration, we heard two Latin words repeated again and again: Semper Fidelis. Always faithful. The Marines noble motto is one that serves well for a great branch of the service but also for our whole nation. Being faithful to one another and being faithful to our traditions -- they are tied together. And those bonds of fidelity are at the heart of our community as nation.

Being true to our tradition of leadership in the world means reaching out across the oceans to support democracy and freedom and all the benefits they bring us. We must honor the sacrifice of those who served by carrying forward all they fought for. We must lead around the world so that the America of the 21st century enjoys the peace and stability that you wanted for your children.

Staying faithful to our veterans honors the deepest ties in our society. You know better than anyone what these bonds of reliance are -- they are a lot like the ones that between troops in battle. Dan Pollack, an Iwo Jima veteran who commanded the unit that took Mt. Suribachi (ck) recalled what it was like last month: "You never had to watch your back," he said, because he was in what he called "a band of brothers." Whether it is 50 years later for World War II

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veterans or five years later for Gulf War veterans, you should know that your nation will never forget your service.

As long as I am President, the sacred tradition of protecting our veterans will continue, and a strong America will march forward. You put your faith in America. America will continue to keep faith with you.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. speech	re: President William Jefferson Clinton - Address to the People of Haiti - Presidential Palace, Port-au-Prince (with extensive edits by Sandy Berger & Tony Lake) (4 pages)	03/31/1995	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 423

FOLDER TITLE:
Haiti, 3/31/95 - Palce Drafts

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2585

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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2) A ted flowers for occasion?

3/24/94 6 pm

1) Should thank Haitian people for welcome to troops.

TB—

Berger/Lake

Good, but lacks magic moment. HAITIAN proverb at end @, with theme of hope, courage, peace?

@

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF HAITI
PRESIDENTIAL PALACE, PORT-AU-PRINCE
MARCH 31, 1995

President Aristide, distinguished guests, citizens of a free and democratic Haiti:

I am deeply honored by President Aristide's invitation to speak with you. In the many months that we have known each other, I have learned firsthand of President Aristide's tremendous courage. His strength in the face of great ~~danger and~~ challenge is a testament to the unbreakable will of the Haitian people.

Today we come together as friends. Today we celebrate the bonds between two peoples -- peoples separated by hundreds of miles of rough sea but tied together by the power of shared ideals. Today, once again, we give life to the ideals of opportunity, ~~justice~~ democracy and freedom.

[Justice is a loaded ~~word~~ word in HAITI!]

These are essential elements of democracy -- a way of life that is as old as history, as powerful as the waves that pound your shores, and as bright as the sun that shines upon this land. You have brought democracy to your country -- and it must never again be stolen away.

For centuries, ~~your~~ the Haitian people have known blood and terror. You have suffered the whims of tyrants. You have been robbed of opportunity and deprived of basic rights. Your children have grown old before their time -- if they have had the chance to grow at all.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

From the Cite de Soleil to the smallest village in the farthest corner of your land, you have fought hard, and sacrificed much, in your quest for liberty. You have learned that freedom and independence are promises that must be won and defended. That the forces who are ready to set back history and take away your hard-earned rights may hide themselves, but never disappear.

must be careful that POTUS is not accused of encouraging vengence/retaliation

Now, today, you stand on the brink of a new, more hopeful time. You are ready to push forward together against those who would hold you back. You have the chance to make real the dreams of those who liberated your nation more than two centuries ago.

The tasks ahead will not be easy. Democracy does not flow naturally like the tides. It is the product of hard work. Prosperity does not spring full grown from the earth. It demands careful cultivation. Justice does not fall like the spring [ck] rains. It rises up from the people. But, as President Aristide has said, "[your] challenge is great, but [your] will to succeed is greater."

[again, this, in HAITIAN terms, can mean 'take justice into your own hands']

You must guarantee and guard your new democracy because -- as you have learned sometimes cruelly and violently -- it is not inevitable or irreversible. President Aristide has said that, when you start a democracy, the most important election is the second election. He has said that his mission will be fulfilled only when he leaves office to the next democratically elected president of Haiti.

*Rephrase "emphasis on elections" - don't need to distinguish just from second. need to talk about free, fair & election ... tolerance of debate ... effort to make democracy work as hard as to restore it.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We must all match his courage. My nation and the United Nations will do all we can to guarantee free, fair and open elections first in June and then in December. But these elections will be hollow unless you participate. You must do the hard work of democracy. Viv demokrasi popile [pronunciation; Long live popular democracy]

[don't think this quote works for POTUS]

President Aristide has said that your nation must move from "misery to poverty with dignity." Your nation has been stripped bare of many of its resources [ck riches?] but the most important of them -- you, the people -- have survived with dignity and hope.

Now you have a chance to come together. To make the cane fields come alive and the coffee plants grow [ck crops], to build the schools that promise a better future for your children. I urge your countrymen who fled the terror to return and help rebuild their native land. We -- your neighbors, your allies and your friends -- will do our best to support your efforts to transform your economy and attract private investment. But you must recognize that a newly-planted tree does not quickly bear fruit, and summon the patience that progress demands.

There will be times of great frustration as you build your democracy and move towards prosperity. But now, more than ever before, I urge each and every citizen of this nation to come together in the spirit of reconciliation that President Aristide has so eloquently advanced. I can do no better than repeat his words: there should be no vengeance, no violence, no retribution.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Justice will not always be swift, or seem fair. But the rule of law can prevail. The police and the courts must get stronger so that they can do their jobs. Citizens need not take the law into their hands. Different opinions need not lead to violence. Each of you can choose to build up, not to tear down.

History records that two centuries ago, more than 500 of your ancestors came to my nation and died in the fight to bring the United States to life. Two hundred years later, the United States is proud to have helped give you a second chance to build your democracy and recognize the dreams of your liberators.

can make more of this. Where did Haitians fight? At least mention Revolutionary War

Now you must do the hard work of democracy. You must find the courage to bring freedom to life. You must summon the energy to build prosperity. You must cast aside vengeance and let justice rule. Never again must the darkness of tyranny shut out the bright light of liberty.

Your tasks are not easy. But if your spirit is strong, you will prevail. Men ampil, chay pa lou [pronunciation; With many hands, the burden is not heavy.]*

*Proverb used by Aristide responding to U.S. Ambassador's welcoming remarks in October, 1994.

good, but abrupt ending. Go back to applauding courage of HAITIAN people. Endured much. Never gave up. New challenge. Can prevail.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Tom Malinowski, John Hannah, & Andrew Weiss to Bob Boorstin; re: Moscow State University Speech (1 page)	05/03/1995	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 423

FOLDER TITLE:
Russia, 5/95 - Moscow State [University] - Outlines

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2584

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

To: Bob Boorstin
From: Tom Malinowski, John Hannah, Andrew Weiss
Re: Moscow State University speech

Here are some comments based on your "Themes and Ideas" paper. We think it's on the right track, but have some concerns and suggestions.

On World War II: A speech that strives to be honest about the present also needs to be honest about the past. That means you should eloquently extol the sacrifice and achievement of the Russian people (an achievement that is, in fact, all the greater when you consider Stalin's purges of the military, the two-year alliance with Hitler, and all of the suffering ordinary people endured because of the actions of their government). But you should be more careful and sober when you recall the wartime alliance between governments.

The "Themes" paper makes it seem as if the Cold War was some otherworldly force that "tragically" imposed itself on the United States and the Soviet Union, rather than the result of Soviet actions after World War II. The Cold War certainly did not "stunt democracy" in the USSR -- there was no democracy there to be stunted; the leadership had no intention of permitting democracy; and our opposition to the Soviet Union had nothing to do with it. Nor can you say that absent the Cold War, the Soviet Union would have devoted its resources to "constructive ideas" rather than destructive weapons. In the Soviet economy, resources not wasted on weapons were simply wasted elsewhere. And while we do face a "different challenge" today, that's because Russia has changed, not because the Cold War somehow magically gave way to a global economy.

One way to handle all this is to note that the alliance was based on our shared opposition to Nazi aggression. The end of the war eliminated the basis for that alliance, and left Europe divided. Now the Cold War is over; the empire is gone; Russians, Poles, Balts, etc. are building democratic institutions; and we can build a more lasting set of relationships -- this time based on shared interests and values among free peoples and governments. We can also complete the task we could not have achieved in the 40's and 50's, by uniting Europe's eastern and western halves under common security and economic institutions.

That leads naturally to the theme of integration and European security, where you might mention the danger of Russia isolating itself from Europe and the West. Talk about what integration did to rebuild shattered economies in Western Europe after World War II, and how, and describe it as the key to reconstruction and lasting prosperity in the east today. Stress that the door to Western institutions is open to countries that respect international norms and that are capable of meeting the obligations that Western nations share -- it's in Russia's interests to walk through it.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. speech draft	re: President William Jefferson Clinton - Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the Signing of the United Nations Charter - San Francisco, Ca. (with extensive edits by POTUS) (32 pages)	06/26/1995	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 424

FOLDER TITLE:
UN Charter 50th [Anniversary] - Drafts [2]

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2591

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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PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
COMMEMORATION OF THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE SIGNING OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER
SAN FRANCISCO, CA.
JUNE 26, 1995

Mr. Secretary General, Mr. Secretary, delegates to the Charter conference, distinguished members of the diplomatic corps, Members of Congress, honored guests, Mr. Mayor and the people of San Francisco:

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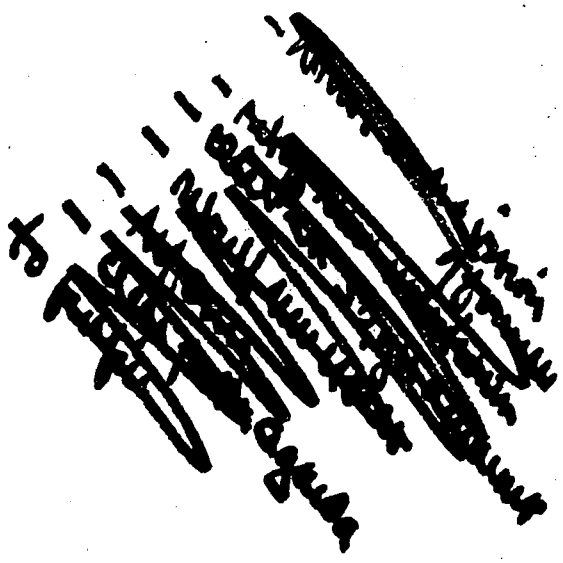

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Half a century ago, eight hundred delegates from fifty nations came to San Francisco to lift the world from the ashes of war and bring life to the dreams of the peacemakers. Among the delegates were giants of diplomacy and untested leaders of infant nations. They were separated by tradition, race and language. ~~Cynics said they faced an impossible task~~. But they shared a vision of a better, safer future.

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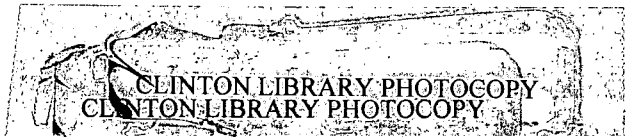

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Three months after they began their task ~~in this place and~~ on this day fifty years ago ~~the peoples of the world~~ they pledged ~~to merge their energies~~ to maintain peace and "promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom." President ~~Franklin Delano~~ Roosevelt did not live to see it, but the delegates had launched his dream of "a democratic organization of the world."

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The Charter they signed reflected the harsh lessons of their experience. In the 1930s they had watched the world react slowly and passively to Fascist aggression... they had seen millions sacrificed on the battlefields ~~of a devastating war~~... and, in the death chambers of Auschwitz and Dachau, ~~they had seen the darkest evidence of humankind's capacity for evil~~.

~~After the war~~ They knew that celebrating victory was not enough. ~~And they had learned~~ and remembered that merely punishing the enemy was self-defeating. They ~~saw the need~~ wanted to build an effective, permanent ~~structure~~ system to ~~foster~~ preserve peace and ~~promote~~ freedom....

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While war still raged in the Pacific, San Francisco gave the world ~~a reason to [illegible] with~~ in the future renewed confidence and hope. "This is proof," President Truman said that day, "that nations, like men, can state their differences, can face them, and then can find common ground on which to stand."

Some of those who worked at the conference are here today -- including our Senator Claiborne Pell, who to this day carries a copy of the UN Charter in his pocket. I want to ask them all to rise and be recognized.

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Five decades later, the world has been transformed. ~~Four decades~~ The Cold War has given way to liberation and cooperation; as we meet here today, a Russian spacecraft and an American spacecraft are preparing to link in orbit some 240 miles above the earth. From Jericho to Belfast, ancient enemies are searching for peace. On every continent nations are struggling to embrace democracy, freedom and prosperity. New technologies move people and ideas around the world at record speed.

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These new forces of integration ~~offer great opportunities but they~~ also carry within them the seeds of disintegration. New technologies and great openness make our borders more vulnerable to terrorists, dangerous weapons and drug traffickers. Newly independent nations offer ripe targets for international criminals and nuclear smugglers. ~~And~~ fluid capital markets make it easier for one nation's economic troubles to first become exaggerated and then to become a threat to all of us overnight.

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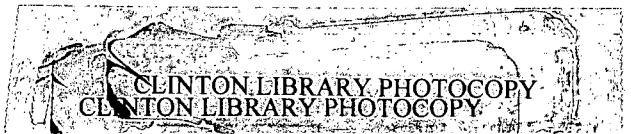
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Today we face no Hitler or Stalin. But we do have their enemies who share ~~a~~ contempt for human life and the rule of law, who put modern technology to lethal use, who seek personal gain in new divisions and age-old conflicts.

Our enemies ~~include the~~ terrorists -- ~~individuals~~, ~~groups and~~ their state sponsors... who ~~blow up buses and turn~~ children into orphans... who target innocent people in order to prevent peace, who attack peacemakers like President Mubarak, who, in the name of nationalism, slaughter those ~~who share another~~ faiths ~~of humanity~~ -- and drive the survivors from their homelands....

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Our enemies are ~~those who put profits ahead of people~~ -- international criminals ~~who step in to fill the vacuum when governments disappear~~ and drug traffickers who threaten our children ~~for untold~~ ~~riches~~. And our enemies are the forces of ~~destruction~~ ~~contamination~~ ~~disintegration, both man-made and natural~~ -- encroaching deserts that threaten the earth's balance... famines that test the human spirit ~~and our technologies~~... deadly, new diseases that endanger whole societies.

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~~As President of the United States, my duty is~~ to ~~advance the security, interests and values of the~~ American people. ~~This requires our involvement with the world. Sometimes we must act alone.~~ In this increasingly interdependent world, ~~it is often better to pursue those goals in cooperation with other nations~~ -- ~~it strengthens our allies~~, shar[illegible] burden~~s reduces~~ ~~our~~ costs, and increase[illegible] our chance[illegible] of success.

President Roosevelt said just months before his death, "We have learned that we cannot live alone, at peace; that our own well-being is dependent on the well-being of other nations, far away."

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Today, more than ever before, those words ring true.

Yet some in my country dismiss Roosevelt's wisdom.

They acknowledge that the United States must play a strong role overseas, but they refuse to supply the non-military resources that our nation needs to carry on its tradition of leadership. Others believe that, outside our borders, America should only act alone. ~~These unilateralists~~ ignore the benefits that coalitions bring our nation. ~~They~~ reject decades of bipartisan American support for international cooperation. ~~And they~~ dismiss fifty years of hard evidence.

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In those years we have seen the United Nations compile a remarkable record of progress, ~~progress~~

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that advances America's interests and the interests of free people everywhere. From President Truman in Korea to President Bush in the Persian Gulf, America has built UN military coalitions to contain aggressors who threaten stability in vital regions. UN forces also often pick up where U.S. troops have taken the lead....

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Just yesterday -- when Haiti held free parliamentary and local elections with the aid of UN peacekeepers and election personnel -- we saw ~~further proof that~~ the UN ~~can~~ work in partnership with the United States ~~to~~ and the Haitian people, as they labor to create a ~~advance~~ democracy. ~~Thanks to the courage of the Haitian people, the actions of our government and our military, and the commitment of the United Nations,~~ ballots ~~have~~ replaced bullets and the citizens of Haiti now have a second chance to renew the promise of their long-troubled land.

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On every continent, the United Nations has played a vital role in making people more free and more secure. For decades the UN fought to isolate the South African regimes that perpetuated apartheid. Last year, under the watchful eyes of UN observers, millions of South Africans who had been disenfranchised for life cast their first votes for freedom. In Namibia, Mozambique -- and, soon we hope, in Angola -- the United Nations is helping people to bury decades of civil strife and turn their energies to building new democratic nations.

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In Cambodia, where a brutal regime left more than one million dead in the killing fields, the UN helped hundreds of thousands of refugees return to their native land and stood watch over democratic elections that brought 90 percent of the people to the polls. And in El Salvador, where the UN brokered an end to 12 years of bloody civil war and stayed on to help reform the army, bring justice to all citizens, and open the doors of democracy.

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From the Persian Gulf to the Caribbean, UN economic and political sanctions have proved to be a valuable means, short of military action, to isolate regimes and make aggressors and terrorists pay a price for their actions -- in Iraq to help stop that nation from ~~ever again~~ developing weapons of mass destruction or threatening its neighbors... in the Balkans, to isolate aggressors... and, in North Africa, to pressure Libya to turn over for trial those indicted in the bombing of Pan Am flight 103.

again

PHOTOCOPY
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The record of the United Nations is equally proud in the battle for child survival and against human suffering and disease. Every year UNICEF oral vaccines save the lives of three million children. Last year alone, the World Food Program -- using the contributions of many governments, including our own -- fed a record 57 million hungry people. The World Health Organization has eliminated smallpox from the face of the earth... it is making great strides in its campaign to eradicate polio by the year 2000... and it has helped contain fatal diseases -- like the Ebola virus -- that could have threatened a continent.

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~~Read the headlines and you might think that high profile peacekeeping operations are all the UN~~ is ~~about. But~~ to millions around the world the United Nations is the meal that keeps a child from going to bed hungry; the knowledge that helps a farmer coax strong crops from hard land; the shelter that keeps together a family displaced by war or disaster; or the vaccine that allows a mother cradling a newborn infant to know her baby will have a good chance to survive.

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In the last fifty years, these remarkable stories of success were too often obscured and limited by the Cold War -- ~~a deep rift that blocked the UN's ability to act except when East and West agreed~~. ~~In later decades~~, as colonial rule was broken, differences between industrialized and developing countries and regional rivals added new tensions. Invective, not debate, filled the General Assembly. ~~In too many crucial areas, united action was not possible~~.

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Now, ~~the promise of the United Nations is restored.~~

The end of the Cold War ~~has erased the division that time and again prevented the United Nations from taking action. Never before have the nations of the world so converged around democratic ideals or faced~~ so many problems that can best be solved by collective action. ~~→ then [illegible] under the UN, after 50 yrs, to fulfill the promise of its founders. [illegible]: But we must face the truth~~: for all its successes and possiblities, the UN does not work as well as it should.

It must be reformed.

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

In this age of relentless change, successful governments and corporations must reduce their bureaucracies, set clear priorities, and focus on results. The UN must do the same. Over the years, it has grown bloated; too often it encourages duplication and spends its resources holding meetings rather than getting results. As its board of directors, we, the member states, must create a UN that is faster and more flexible, that wastes less and produces more.

US econ. boomed during Truman & Reagan, Turnaround & neglect, reducing gov't
Democrats big since JFK.
That inspires confidence in our govt's and taxpayers.

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In the past few years, we have seen some good reforms: a new oversight office to hold down costs; a new system to review personnel; and a start towards privatization and modernization.

But we must do more, [redacted] The United States supports the proposal of the President of the General Assembly, Mr. Essy, to prepare a blueprint for renewing the UN and to approve it before the 50th General Assembly finishes work next fall.

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(USSR on a lot of levels
our country)

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We must consider major structural changes. The United Nations does not need a separate agency -- with its own acronym, stationary and bureaucracy -- for every problem. The new UN must peel off what doesn't work and get behind what will.

We must realize, in particular, the limits of peacekeeping and not ask the Blue Helmets to undertake missions they cannot be expected to handle. We have too often asked UN peacekeepers to work miracles while denying them the military and political support required.... C+C? ... the modern command and control systems needed to do their job safely and effectively.

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Peacekeeping can only succeed when the parties to a conflict understand they can not profit from war.

Today's United Nations must be ready to handle tomorrow's challenges. Those of us who most respect the UN must lead the charge to reform. Not all critics of the United Nations are isolationists. Many are supporters who would pay for the UN's essential work if they were convinced that their money was well spent. As we improve the UN, I will continue to work to see that the United States pays its fair share to support it.

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Meanwhile, let us all remember. The United Nations, like the world it represents, ~~is far from~~ perfect. But just as withdrawing from the world is impossible, turning our back on the UN is no solution. It would be shortsighted and self-destructive. It would strengthen the forces of global disintegration and threaten the security, the interests and the values of the American people.

~~Let us~~ Instead, on this fiftieth anniversary of the Charter's signing, renew our vow to "live together...as good neighbors". And agree on a new UN agenda for peace and prosperity for the next fifty years.

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

· First, the United Nations must strengthen its efforts to isolate states and people who traffick in terror -- and support those who continue to take risks for peace in the face of violence. The bombing in Oklahoma City, the deadly gas attack in Tokyo and recent discoveries of laboratories capable of producing biological weapons demonstrate the dangerous link between terrorists and weapons of mass destruction.

working the problem?

I want ME / Adv.

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

· Second, the United Nations must continue its efforts to protect our planet from the spread of those weapons. States on their own ~~are taking~~ countries dramatic steps -- the United States and Russia are destroying nuclear missiles ~~as fast as possible, for example~~ rapidly -- but the UN must also play its role. We were honored to help secure the indefinite extension of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty under UN auspices, and we rely on UN agencies to monitor nations bent on acquiring nuclear capabilities.

Comm Iss Final 15

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· Third, the UN must support the fight against man-made and natural forces of disintegration. From crime syndicates and drug cartels to new diseases and disappearing forests, these enemies are elusive and cross borders at will. Nations can and must oppose them alone , but international cooperation ~~will prove to be~~ the most effective opposition. require strong.

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

· Fourth, we must reaffirm our commitment to strengthen United Nations peacekeeping as an important tool for deterring, containing and ending violent conflict. The UN can never be an absolute guarantor of peace, but it can reduce human suffering and advance the odds of peace.

· Fifth, we must continue the United Nations' unmatched efforts on the front lines of the battles for child survival and against disease and human suffering.

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· Finally, let us vow to make the United Nations an increasingly strong voice for the protection of fundamental human dignity and human rights -- the cornerstones of any free and open society.

~~The United Nations stands poised to fulfill its promise as never before. Every day brings fresh evidence that countries who work together have the best chance of seizing new opportunities and triumphing over new threats, and evidence that rebukes those in all nations who advocate isolation and extreme nationalism.~~

Today we honor the founders.
We celebrate 50 yrs of achievement
We commit ourselves to real reform
We reject siren song of new isolationism
We act clear eyed to fulfill founders vision

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The measure of this generation will be whether we give up because we cannot achieve a perfect world, or strive on to build a better world. Fifty years ago today, President Truman reminded the delegates gathered here that history had not ended with Hitler's defeat. "It is easier," he said, "to remove tyrants and destroy concentration camps than it is to kill the ideas which gave them birth....Victory on the battlefield was essential, but it was not enough for a good [and] lasting peace, ~~the decent peoples of the earth must remain determined to strike down the evil spirit which has hung over the world.~~"

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~~Today,~~ the challenge of building that good and lasting peace is in our hands. → We must honor the promise by bringing this vision to life → Reject unilateralism Reform the UN Set a strong vision for the post

In this historic chamber, on this historic day, ~~let us all resolve to meet that challenge.~~ it Let us remember that each child saved, each refugee housed, each disease prevented, each barrier to justice brought down and each sword turned into a ploughshare brings us closer to the vision of the founders.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. speech draft	re: President William Jefferson Clinton - Commemoration of 50th Anniversary of the Signing of the United Nations Charter - San Francisco, Ca. (with extensive edits by POTUS) (12 pages)	06/26/1995	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 424

FOLDER TITLE:
UN 50th [Anniversary], 6/26/95 - Drafts [1]

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2592

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(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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NOT

6/24/95, 6 pm - updated draft

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
COMMEMORATION OF THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE SIGNING OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER
SAN FRANCISCO, CA.
JUNE 26, 1995

Mr. Secretary-General, Mr. Secretary, delegates to the Charter conference, distinguished members of the diplomatic corps, Members of Congress, honored guests, Mr. Mayor and the people of San Francisco:

Half a century ago, eight hundred delegates from fifty nations came to San Francisco to put war to rest and bring life to the dreams of the peacemakers. Among the delegates were ~~great~~ giants of diplomacy and untested leaders of infant nations. They were separated by tradition, race and language. Cynics said they faced an impossible task. But they shared a vision of a better, safer future~~ for their children~~.

Three months after they began their task -- in this place and on this day fifty years ago -- the peoples of the world pledged to merge their energies to maintain peace and "promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom." President Franklin Delano Roosevelt did not live to see it, but the delegates had launched his dream of "a democratic organization of the world."

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The ~~declaration~~ Charter they signed ~~(the Charter of the United Nations)~~ reflected the harsh lessons of their experience. In the 1930s they had watched the world react slowly and passively to Fascist aggression... they had seen millions sacrificed on the battlefields of a devastating war... and, in Auschwitz and Dachau, they had seen the darkest evidence of humankind's capacity for evil.

And they had learned that merely preventing the next war

After the war they knew that celebrating victory was not enough. They saw the need to build an effective, permanent structure to foster peace and promote freedom. While war still raged on in the Pacific, San Francisco gave the world a reason to face the future with renewed confidence and hope. "This is proof," President Truman said that day, "that nations, like men, can state their differences, can face them, and then can find common ground on which to stand." Some of those who worked at ~~the~~ conference are here today -- including our Senator Claiborne Pell, who to this day carries a copy of the UN Charter in his pocket. I want to ask them all to rise and be recognized.

Five decades later, the world has been transformed. Four decades of Cold War have given way to liberation and cooperation. ~~As we meet here today, a Russian and an American spacecraft are linked in orbit some 240 miles above the earth.~~ From Jericho to Belfast, ancient enemies are searching for peace. On every continent nations are struggling to ~~embrace~~ embrace democracy, ~~market economies and new freedoms~~ freedom and prosperity. And new technologies move people and ideas around the world at record speed.

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These new forces ~~bring us together~~ and offer ~~limitless~~ opportunities -- but they carry within them ~~as well~~ the seeds of disintegration. New technologies make our borders more vulnerable to terrorists and drug traffickers. Newly-freed nations offer ripe targets for international criminals and nuclear smugglers. And fluid capital markets make it easier for one nation's economic troubles to become a threat to all of us overnight.

In many ways, our challenge is unfamiliar. But the battle is not. The struggle between the forces of integration and disintegration -- between freedom and tyranny -- is a new phase in a contest as old as history: the battle between hope and fear. Every day we are reminded that peace is not inevitable and that democracy and freedom must have their champions. Liberty is rising, to be sure, but our goal of creating a world of open societies of free people is under attack.

Today we face no Hitler or Stalin. But ~~our~~ enemies ~~are as deadly as any who have come before~~. ~~They~~ share a contempt for human life and the rule of law. ~~They~~ put modern technology to lethal use ~~in age old conflicts~~. ~~And in a world where strife respect no borders, they evade our efforts to hunt them down~~.

Our enemies include the terrorists -- individuals, groups and ~~the~~ states ~~that~~ sponsor ~~their deadly work~~ -- cowards who blow up buses and turn children into orphans, who target innocent people in order to ~~stop all those who seek~~ peace. ~~Our enemies are the barbarous~~ who, in the name of ~~nation building~~, slaughter those who share another faith or tradition -- and ~~send~~ the survivors

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out of their national home it across borders in search of homes. Our enemies are those who put profits ahead of people -- international criminals who step in to fill the vacuum when governments disappear and drug traffickers who illegally threaten our children. And our enemies are the forces of disintegration, both man-made and natural -- encroaching deserts that threaten the earth's balance... famines that test the human spirit and our technologies... deadly new diseases that we have never seen.

As President of the United States, my job is to make the American people safer and protect their interests. At times my nation must act alone -- and does still. But there are many times when we cooperate with other nations. We do this for clear reasons: it is in our self-interest; it saves money; it strengthens our allies; it is often the best way to advance our democratic ideals.

Because of our responsibilities as a great power, the United States can and should take the lead in forming international coalitions. President Roosevelt knew that America had to reach out, and not retreat. "We have learned," he said just months before his death, "that we cannot live alone, at peace; that our own well-being is dependent on the well-being of other nations, far away."

Today, more than ever before, those words ring true. Yet some in my nation dismiss Roosevelt's wisdom. They acknowledge that the United States must play a strong role overseas, but they refuse to supply the non-military resources that our nation needs to carry on its tradition of leadership. Others believe that, outside our borders, America should only act alone. These unilateralists ignore the benefits that coalitions bring our nation. They reject decades of bipartisan American support for international cooperation. And they dismiss fifty years of hard evidence.

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In those years we have seen the United Nations compile a remarkable record of progress, ~~and~~ ~~watched the UN help advance American interest~~s. From President Truman in Korea to President Bush in the Persian Gulf, America has built UN military coalitions to contain aggressors who threaten stability in vital regions. UN forces also pick up where our troops have taken the lead. Just yesterday -- when Haiti held free parliamentary and local elections with the aid of UN peacekeepers and election personnel -- we saw further proof that the UN can work in partnership with the United States to advance democracy. Thanks to the courage of the Haitian people, the actions of our government and our military, and the commitment of the United Nations, ballots have replaced bullets and the citizens of Haiti now have a second chance to renew the promise of their long-troubled land.

On every continent, the United Nations has played a vital role in making people more free and more secure. For decades the UN fought to isolate the South African regimes that perpetuated apartheid. Last year, under the watchful eyes of UN observers, millions of South Africans who had been disenfranchised for life cast their first votes for freedom. In Namibia, Mozambique -- and, soon we hope, in Angola -- the United Nations is helping people to bury decades of civil strife and turn their energies to building new democratic nations.

In Cambodia, where a brutal regime left more than one million dead in the killing fields, the UN helped hundreds of thousands of refugees return to their native land and stood watch over

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democratic elections that brought 90 percent of the people to the polls. And in El Salvador where the UN brokered an end to 12 years of bloody civil war and stayed on to help reform the army, bring justice to all citizens, and open the doors of democracy.

From the Persian Gulf to the Caribbean, UN economic and political sanctions have proved to be a valuable means, short of military action, to isolate regimes and make aggressors and terrorists pay a price for their actions. UN sanctions are working -- in Iraq to stop that nation from ever again developing weapons of mass destruction or threatening its neighbors... in the Balkans, to isolate aggressors... and, in North Africa, to pressure Libya to turn over for trial those indicted in the bombing of Pan Am flight 103.

The record of the United Nations is equally proud in the battle for child survival and against human suffering and disease. Every year UNICEF oral vaccines save the lives of three million children. Last year alone, the World Food Program -- using the contributions of many governments, including our own -- fed a record 57 million hungry people. The World Health Organization has eliminated smallpox from the face of the earth... it is making great strides in its campaign to eradicate polio by the year 2000... and it has helped contain fatal diseases -- like the Ebola virus -- that could have threatened a continent.

Read the headlines and you might think that high profile peacekeeping operations are all the UN is about. But to millions around the world the United Nations is the meal that keeps a

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child from going to bed hungry; the knowledge that helps a farmer coax strong crops from hard land; the shelter that keeps together a family displaced by war or disaster; or the vaccine that allows a mother cradling a newborn infant to know her baby will have a good chance to survive.

In the last fifty years, these remarkable stories of success were too often ~~obscured by political conflict. Even while delegations lined up to sign the Charter, they could feel the growing chill of~~ the Cold War -- a deep rift that blocked the UN's ability to act except ~~in rare occasions~~ when East and West agreed. In later decades, as colonial rule was broken, differences between industrialized and developing countries and regional rivals added new tensions. Invective, not debate, filled the General Assembly. In too many crucial areas, united action was not possible.

Now ~~history has brought us to a fork in the road.~~ The end of the Cold War has erased the ~~terrible~~ division that time and again prevented the United Nations from taking action. Never before have the nations of the world converged around democratic ideals or faced so many problems that can best be solved by collective action. ~~The promise of the United Nations has been restored at a time when its unique capabilities are needed more than ever.~~

But we must face the truth: the UN does not work as well as it should. It must be reformed.

In this age of relentless change, successful governments and corporations ~~downsize~~ their ~~operations~~, ~~set~~ priorities, and focus on ~~the bottom line~~. The UN must do the same. Over the

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years, it has grown too large and too slow; too often it encourages duplication and spends its resources holding meetings rather than getting results. As its board of directors, we, the member states, must create a UN that wastes less and produces more, that is ~~faster and~~ more flexible.

In the past few years, we have seen some good reforms: a new oversight office to hold down costs; a new system to review personnel; and a start towards privatization and modernization. But we must do more, and the United States supports the proposal of the President of the General Assembly, Mr. Essy, to prepare a blueprint for renewing the UN before the 50th General Assembly finishes work next fall.

~~The authors of the UN Charter knew their creation would have to change with the times. Today~~ We must consider major structural changes ~~in the organization~~. The United Nations does not need a separate agency -- with its own acronym, stationary and bureaucracy -- for every problem we face. The new UN must peel off what doesn't work ~~-- and those who don't work --~~ and get behind what will work.

~~Reforms will save us money, of course, but the primary reason we support them is because~~ Today's United Nations ~~is not yet~~ must be ready to handle tomorrow's ~~threats. The 21st Century UN must be capable of quick reaction~~ challenges. Those of us who most respect ~~and support this institution must lead~~ the UN must lead the charge to reform. ~~And as we streamline the UN, I will work hard to make sure the United States pays its full share to support it.~~ As we improve the UN, I am committed to work to see that US pay its fair share to support it.

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Meanwhile, let me remember.

The United Nations, like the world it represents, is far from perfect. But just as withdrawing from the world is impossible, turning our back on the UN is no solution. It would be shortsighted and self-destructive. It would strengthen the forces of global disintegration and threaten the to security the values & the interests of the American people.

~~Instead, we must prepare the United Nations to meet the challenges of its second fifty years.~~

Let us start

~~Today~~, on the fiftieth anniversary of the Charter's signing, ~~let us~~ renew our vow to "live together...as good neighbors" and agree on a new UN agenda for peace and prosperity for the next 50 yrs.

- First, the United Nations must strengthen its efforts to isolate states and people who traffick in terror -- and support those who continue to take risks for peace in the face of violence.

- Second, the UN must support the fight against man-made and natural forces of disintegration. From crime syndicates and drug cartels to new diseases and disappearing forests, these enemies are elusive and can cross borders at will. Nations can and must oppose them alone, of course, but international cooperation will prove to be the most effective opposition.

- Third, the United Nations must continue its efforts to rid our planet of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. States on their own are taking dramatic steps -- the

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United States and Russia are destroying missiles as fast as possible, for example -- but UN agencies must continue to monitor nations bent on acquiring nuclear capabilities.

- Fourth, we must reaffirm our commitment to strengthen United Nations peacekeeping as an important tool for deterring, containing and ending violent conflict. ~~No,~~ the UN ~~has~~ can never ~~been, nor was it ever expected to be~~, an absolute guarantor of peace. ~~It cannot substitute for the regional and national actions that countries must take, together or alone, to defend their interests. But it has a unique ability to bolster the confidence of parties who are wary of~~ laying down arms. Instead of discarding peacekeeping ~~because it is not equal to all tasks, we should sharpen it so that we may respond more rapidly when and where we can act effectively~~.

- Fifth, we must continue the United Nations' unmatched efforts on the front lines of the battles for child survival and against disease and human suffering.

- Finally, let us vow to make the United Nations an increasingly strong voice for the protection of fundamental human dignity and human rights -- the cornerstones of any free and open society.

~~Fifty years after its founding,~~ the United Nations stands poised to fulfill its promise as never before. ~~The divisions of the Cold War have been erased. Nations are embracing democracy and~~

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~~History~~. Every day brings fresh evidence that countries who work together have the best chance of seizing new opportunities and triumphing over new threats, and rebuke those in all nations who advocate isolation and extreme nationalism.

True, within most societies there are people who advocate isolation and extreme nationalism. Among the UN's member nations there are enormous differences of status, outlook and circumstance. Obstacles will always block our path to a better, safer future.

~~Yet~~ The measure of this generation will ~~not~~ be whether ~~it avoids setbacks, but in how it responds to them; whether~~ we give up because we cannot achieve a perfect world, or strive ~~nevertheless~~ to build a better world. Fifty years ago, President Truman reminded the delegates gathered here that history had not ended with Hitler's defeat. "It is easier," he said, "to remove tyrants and destroy concentration camps than it is to kill the ideas which gave them birth....Victory on the battlefield was essential, but it was not enough. For a good [~~&~~ and]...lasting peace, the decent peoples of the earth must remain determined to strike down the evil spirit which has hung over the world."

Today, the challenge of building a good and lasting peace is in our hands.

Like those before us, we resolve to strengthen the institutions that contain conflict, make the law abiding more secure, and champion freedom and democracy. Like them, we draw inspiration and strength from the memory of past sacrifice, the extraordinary dignity of ordinary citizens across

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the globe and the ennobling vision embodied in this Charter signed here -- by men and women much like us -- 50 years ago.

~~It has been said that all work that is worth anything is done in faith.~~ In this historic chamber, on this historic day, let us all resolve to meet great challenge. Letters remember ~~keep the profound faith~~ that each child saved, each refugee housed, each disease prevented, each barrier to justice brought down and each sword turned into a ploughshare ~~will enrich the future and expand the boundaries of what is achievable on this earth.~~ brings us closer to our founders

Hebrews
vision
###
Visionaries created UN
Visionaries must bring its promise to life.
Visionaries created this UN
Now ... must bring it to fruition

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	From Robert Boorstin; re: UN Speech Draft (partial) (1 page)	06/22/1995	P6/b(6)
002. speech draft	re: President William Jefferson Clinton - Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the Signing of the United Nations Charter - San Francisco, Ca. (with extensive edits by Sandy Berger) (14 pages)	06/26/1995	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 424

FOLDER TITLE:
UN 50th [Anniversary], 6/26/95 - Drafts [3]

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
jp2145

RESTRICTION CODES

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cut by 3-4 pages

→ 2d half very good (pp 8→)
→ first half ~~[illegible]~~ has frightened and defensive tone.
See comments.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
COMMEMORATION OF THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY → Mostly rewritten
OF THE SIGNING OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER
SAN FRANCISCO, CA.
JUNE 26, 1995

Mr. Secretary-General, Mr. Secretary, authors of the Charter, distinguished members of the diplomatic corps, Members of Congress, honored guests, Mr. Mayor and the people of San Francisco:

One half century ago, on this day and in this place [ck], the peoples of the world came together around an historic undertaking: ~~and pledged~~ to promote freedom, to advance progress, and to "unite [their] strength to maintain international peace and security."

new ¶

← another ¶ describing '45 UN conference — drama — mindful Pres Truman - Molotov — Eleanor Roosevelt little was sense of history would elevate

The document they signed -- the Charter of the United Nations -- reflected the harsh lessons of recent history. Its authors had ~~seen~~ watched the world react too slowly and passively to Fascist aggression... they had seen the flower of a generation sacrificed in a devastating war... and in ~~Buchenwald~~ Auschwitz and Dachau, they had seen evidence of humankind's ~~infinite~~ capacity for evil.

After that war, they knew that marking victory would not be enough. The generation that defeated Hitler surveyed the broken world around them and ~~saw the~~ were convinced of need to build a permanent structure ~~of~~ that would foster peace and goodwill. They came together to bring ~~life to~~ democracy, liberty and shared prosperity in all nations, small and large. They dreamed of a better, freer and safer world for their children.

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And on that day they gave the world a reason to face the future with renewed confidence and hope. Some of the Charter's authors are with us today -- and I want to ask them to rise and be recognized.

Five decades after these people finished their work, the world is scarcely recognizable. As we meet here today, our words are being shared along the highway called the Internet. The Cold War has ~~come and gone~~ dominated the intervening years, and now receded. Some [tk] miles above our heads, Russian and American astronauts have linked their spacecrafts and are orbiting the earth. Across both oceans, once-devastated nations command great economic and political power. Democracy is rising on every continent. Enemies -- ancient and modern -- have begun the search for peace. And a technological revolution moves people, information, and money around the globe at ever increasing speeds.

These forces bring us together but they also carry within them the seeds of disintegration. New technologies promise expanding opportunity -- but make our borders more vulnerable to terrorists and drug traffickers. The breakup of the Soviet Union has freed us from constant fear of nuclear confrontation -- but makes it harder to control the materials and the knowledge required to build a bomb. New fluid capital markets increase prospects for trade -- but they make it easier means that one nation's economic troubles can become a threat to all of us overnight.

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In these new, unfamiliar times we face a contest as old as history: the struggle between freedom and tyranny, between hope and fear. Every day we are fighting to make our people safer and expand the community of democracies that promise increased stability and security for all.

In this struggle, the United Nations can be an important force for peace and prosperity. But, as the San Francisco delegates recognized, the UN is only powerful when its member nations feel that it is serving their interests. The first duty of every member of the UN -- of each and every one of the delegates in this hall -- is the security and well-being of its own citizens. As President of the United States, my number one obligation is clear: to do everything within my power to make the people of my nation safer [and more prosperous].

There are times, when the national security interests of the United States are threatened, that we will act alone -- to reduce Russia's nuclear stockpile and protect our people from terrorists. At other times, when our interests correspond to other nations', we will act together -- to spread democracy to Haiti and expand our export markets. And at still other times, the United States will recognize the responsibilities that accompany great power and our historical role as a model for freedom-loving peoples -- to support peace in the Middle East and help victims of conflict in Rwanda. Here we act even though our interests may not be immediately visible.

Now history has brought us to a fork in the road. The end of the Cold War has erased the terrible division that time and again prevented the United Nations from taking action. Never before have

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Almost everyone fighting for democ/freedom

MOVE

the nations of the world faced so many problems that defy borders and can only be solved by collective action. The promise of the United Nations has been restored at a time when its unique capabilities are needed more than ever.

INSERT P. 2 description

Today

At the same time, the ~~interests~~ of the United States and the United Nations ~~are converging~~ as never before. Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, the United Nations has joined the United States and increasingly become an international agent for the spread of democratic ideals. As outlaw nations and terrorist groups have grown more bold and deadly, the United States and the United Nations has moved to isolate them economically and politically. And as ethnic conflicts ~~kept in~~ check by the Cold War have reignited, the United Nations has moved peacekeepers into conflicts that threaten to destabilize entire regions. [? on last sentence]

work together

need stronger statements of how UN action/successes have served U.S. as well as global interests lead to buildup UN before being critical. The all has frightened some.

[or the voices against UN?]

Despite this trend, the ~~voices of isolation~~ in Washington have grown more and more strident. ~~These are~~ some people who insist that the United States must play a strong and active role overseas, but refuse to supply the resources that our nation needs to carry on its tradition of leadership. They are unilateralists -- people who believe America should only act alone ~~and that we must never contribute to efforts that do not yield immediate benefits for our people.~~ And, in the most extreme cases, they believe the United States should withdraw completely from the United Nations.

against the U.N. -- indeed the voices against U.S. leadership in the world --

Use examples here: Gulf War, Korea

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Let me be clear: the United Nations is far from perfect, but withdrawing from it is no solution. To do so would be shortsighted and self-destructive. Instead, we must continue our work to reform it. We must recognize that, in the long run, the United Nations will save taxpayers millions and millions because we share financial burdens with other countries. And we must look beyond the difficulties of today and recognize what the United Nations does every day for the American people and the world.

In its five decades, the United Nations has made the world safer by helping to prevent outbreaks of violence in long-troubled areas, such as Cyprus and the Middle East. It has worked to ensure that nuclear materials are not diverted to the construction of nuclear arms. It has made the world more just by working to overturn apartheid in South Africa and invoking sanctions against Iraq and other regimes that break faith with the community of nations.

The United Nations has made the world more free by working to end colonialism. In some of the great untold success stories of our times, the UN has helped peoples worn down by civil violence and repression to make the great leap to democracy and peace --in Namibia, Cambodia, El Salvador, Mozambique and now-- we hope -- in Haiti and Angola and others to come. And it has made the world more humane by saving millions from disease, starvation and the ravages of war.

Read the headlines and you might think that high profile peace operations are what the UN is all about, but to millions around the world the UN is the meal that keeps a child from going to bed

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hungry; the knowledge that helps a farmer coax sustainable yields from hard land; the shelter that keeps together a family displaced by war or disaster; or the vaccine that allows a mother cradling a newborn infant to know her baby will have a good chance to survive.

We support and believe in the United Nations because its goals are right and it has accomplished much. But as we scan the horizon from the Balkans to Central Africa to the Caucasus, and as we look forward to the next fifty years, we know also that we must change the methods and habits of the past.

The San Francisco delegates knew that the United Nations was a work in progress, an organization whose very life would depend on its ability to adapt to new times. But the truth is the UN has not adapted quickly enough. It is too big and too wasteful. It does not work as well as it should.

In this age of relentless change, the United Nations must learn the lessons the 1990s -- like ~~multinational corporations and large~~ governments, it must increase productivity by trimming staff, setting rigorous priorities, and focusing on the bottom line. As its board of directors, we, the member states, must create a UN that wastes less and produces more ~~and that is faster and more flexible~~.

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In the past few years, some progress has been made: a new oversight office to hold down costs; a new system to review personnel; and a start towards privatization and modernization.

But this is just a beginning. We need to consider major structural changes. We do not need a separate agency, with its own acronym, stationery and bureaucracy, for every problem we face. As the G-7 leaders concluded at Halifax two weeks ago, we should eliminate some UN agencies and reduce the total number of UN civil servants. The United States supports the efforts of the President of the General Assembly, Mr. Essy, to present and pass a specific reform proposal at this fall's 50th General Assembly. [statement on US share of budget, arrears?]

yes

We ~~support~~ these efforts ~~because they~~ will save us money, of course, ~~But we are not in favor of~~ reform for reform's sake. ~~We back these changes because, without them,~~ but the primary reason we support them is the United Nations will not be able to take on the threats that demand collective action by nations. The 21st Century UN must operate in real time and be capable of rapid reaction. And it must integrate agencies so that precious resources are not wasted.

modern UN to meet modern problems

We know from experience that crises that sometimes seem to come out of nowhere have deep roots. But if UN agencies identify problems early enough, and plan a coordinated and quick response, we can save countless lives and resources, ~~while opening new doors to growth.~~ Properly focused, the United Nations can help prevent or ease the effects of famine, fighting, environmental catastrophe and disease. And by helping to track down terrorists and collect

how about using example here - drought in Sub-Saharan africa?

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evidence against states that sponsor them, the United Nations can identify security threats and contribute directly to the safety of our citizens.

Today, on the fiftieth anniversary of the Charter's signing, let us renew our vow to work together against the enemies of peace and prosperity. Let us summon the energy to fight one nation's troubles before it becomes every nation's nightmare.

First, we must continue our historic efforts to rid our planet of the nuclear weapons that pose a threat to global survival. No item is more important to ~~my Administration~~ and the United States has already taken strong steps to increase the safety of our people and the world: ~~we have agreed~~ with ~~the Russians not to~~ aim our missiles at each other, ~~we have succeeded in convincing Ukraine,~~ Belarus and Kazakhstan ~~not~~ to become nuclear ~~states;~~ and we are working hard to stop North Korea's nuclear program.

This spring ~~at~~ the United Nations, ~~we led the fight~~ to extend indefinitely the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. Now we must rigorously enforce it, strive to make it universal and see that nuclear and non-nuclear nations comply with it in letter and spirit. We must also join together and agree to a comprehensive ban on nuclear tests and a ban on the production of fissile materials from which bombs are made. And in what we sell or transfer, we must not contribute to the spread of weapons of mass destruction.

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Second, we must pledge full support for those in the Middle East, ~~Northern Ireland~~, South Africa, Central America and elsewhere who have stood up to terrorism and extremist violence in the pursuit of peace. ~~Historic achievements~~ do not come easily ~~or without opposition~~. You have to ~~gamble against high odds, risk rejection by the very people whose futures you are striving to secure, know that your hopes may be derailed by events beyond your control,~~ and forge ahead anyway because that is the only ~~honorable~~ course, and the only way you ~~know in your heart to~~ serve your people.

Taking on ~~brazen~~ outlaw nations and ~~stealthy~~ terrorist groups is no task for the faint of heart. But member nations must cooperate publicly and privately to isolate those who threaten our citizens. Such actions will sometimes require companies to forego profitable economic contacts and our nation to risk retaliation. But these are deadly criminals -- and we must unite in opposition to defeat them.

Third, we must reaffirm our commitment to strengthen United Nations peacekeeping as one important tool for deterring, containing and ending conflict. No, the UN has never been, nor was it ever expected to be, an absolute guarantor of peace. It cannot substitute for the regional and national actions that countries must take, together or alone, to defend their interests. But in responding to the world's bloody and complex struggles, we need every available tool.

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Because of its history and ~~universal legitimacy [?],~~ broad the United Nations has a unique ability to bolster the confidence of parties who have had enough of war, but who are fearful of what might happen if they lay down their arms. This capacity allows the UN to keep peace and to aid democratic transitions where others cannot; this asset is too valuable to lose. Even where the UN has not been able to fulfill ambitious mandates --as in the former Yugoslavia -- it has saved many lives.

Today, there are some who say that UN peacekeepers should leave Croatia and Bosnia. Their frustration is understandable. When something is not working well, it is natural to want to try something else. But my government believes the "something else" in this case would ~~likely~~ be wider war, with more killing, more refugees, no greater degree of justice, and a greater risk of another European catastrophe.

We believe the UN force, given a more robust capacity to defend itself, can keep alive the possibility of a negotiated peace based on the Contact Group plan. We want a political solution -- one that would preserve Bosnia's independence within its recognized borders -- by maintaining pressure on those who reject the peace plan. That cause remains ~~worthwhile, for although~~ discussions drain our patience, ~~there are no gravestones on the battlefield of debate, and Balkan~~ cemeteries are already ~~far too full.~~

Sure there are / if people die while governments debate

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Those who would dismiss international peacekeeping because it cannot do everything would deprive us of the ability to accomplish anything. They ignore the fact that, from 1990 to 1994, the UN launched as many peacekeeping operations as it had in the previous 45 years. They forget the UN's successes in Cyprus, the Middle East and along the [tk example...Indian?] border. Instead of discarding peacekeeping because it is not equal to all tasks, we should sharpen it so that we may respond more rapidly when and where we can act effectively.

Fourth, we must keep this organization on the front lines in the battles against threats posed by nature and the increasing perils of manmade scourges.

In the battle for child survival and against infectious disease -- perhaps the purest definition of crises that need early warning and rapid response -- the UN's record is proudest. When three million children who would have died each year live, because UNICEF has provided oral vaccines; when viruses, like Ebola, which would have raged across a continent, are contained because of the efforts of the World Health Organization; when a drought, which would have killed thousands in South Africa, claims no victims because the Food and Agriculture Organization has alerted the world to the risk of famine; we understand both the value of the UN system and its promise as we prepare to enter a new century.

In the fight to protect our planet -- against encroaching deserts, disappearing forests, and toxic wastes -- we must redouble our efforts to cooperate. In the fight to protect our children from the

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danger of illegal drugs, we must come together -- as Colombia recently has -- to put the traffickers out of business. And in the fight to protect our communities, we must move rapidly to attack the growing dangers of international crime; these criminals have stepped into the vacuum left by the the collapse of the Soviet Union and the disintegration of governments in the developing world and they will not loosen their grip voluntarily.

Finally, let us vow to make the United Nations, over the next fifty years, an increasingly strong voice for the protection of fundamental human dignity and human rights. The first international war crimes tribunals since Nuremberg must be a powerful instrument of justice and truth. Lasting reconciliation in Rwanda and former Yugoslavia will not be possible until presumptions of collective guilt for the atrocities committed there are expunged and individual responsibility assigned. And as we survey the landscape of democracy, and work for free speech and elections, let us broaden our definition of rights and affirm that physical violence directed against women is nobody's prerogative; it is a crime.

Today, as we honor the achievements of a past generation, and in the presence of the International Children's Choir symbolizing our hopes for the next, I issue this twin challenge to each and every nation represented here -- including my own. Let us together renew the United Nations so that it works better and smarter, and let us each contribute our fair share of energy and resources to guarantee its success.

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Within most societies, there are forces of cynicism, isolationism and extreme nationalism that focus only on what separates one people from another. Enormous differences of outlook and circumstance separate the peoples whose countries are represented at the UN. But as President Truman said to the delegates in San Francisco when they signed the Charter: "This is proof that nations, like men, can state their differences, can face them, and then can find common ground on which to stand. That is the essence of democracy; that is the essence of keeping the peace in the future."

Today, more than ever before, the United Nations stands poised to make a difference. The divisions of the Cold War ~~have been~~ are being erased. The goals of democracy and freedom ~~have been~~ are being embraced. We have come to recognize that no nation, acting alone, can deal with challenges that respect no borders. That we must act for the collective interest in order to protect our national interests and make all of our people safer. That we all have a stake in making real the vision laid out a half century ago in the UN Charter.

need some of this up front

The measure of this generation will not be whether it avoids setbacks, but in how it responds to them; whether we grow more frustrated or more determined; whether we give up because we cannot achieve a perfect world, or strive nevertheless to build a better world. The good news, in which my own nation has always believed, is that human security and prosperity and freedom are dynamic, not finite; if we plant the seeds and till the soil, they will grow.

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Like those before us, we will fence in the conflicts, rip out tyranny at its roots, and plan for a new season. Like them, we will draw inspiration and strength from the memory of past sacrifice, the extraordinary dignity of ordinary citizens across the globe and the ennobling vision embodied in this Charter signed here -- by men and women much like us -- 50 years ago.

It has been said that all work that it is worth anything is done in faith. In this historic chamber, on this historic day, let us all resolve to keep the profound faith that each child saved, each refugee housed, each disease prevented, each barrier to justice brought down and each sword turned into a ploughshare will enrich the future and explode outward the boundaries of what is achievable on this earth.

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