

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	Memorandum for John Podesta from Neal Lane. Subject: L U.S.-U.K. JOINT STATEMENT ON THE HUMAN GENOME. (1 page)	03/08/2000	P5
001b. memo attachment	Joint Statement to Ensure that Discoveries from the Human Genome are used to Advance Human Health (1 page)	03/08/2000	P5
001c. memo attachment	Joint Statement on the Human Genome Questions and Answers. (2 pages)	03/08/2000	P5
002. note	From David Beier [Concerning the Human Genome Project] (1 page)	03/08/2000	P5
003. memo	Memorandum for the President from Neal Lane. Subject: Gene Patents. (2 pages)	02/11/2000	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Heather Hulburt
OA/Box Number: 19909

FOLDER TITLE:

Binder: Briefing Materials for MOS/MOT Event Access to Information on the Human Genome March 14, 2000

2008-0700-F
ab1219

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 8, 2000

COPY
Heater
Page 1
JHP

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN PODESTA

FROM: NEAL LANE

SUBJECT: U.S.-U.K. JOINT STATEMENT ON THE HUMAN GENOME

We are hoping to announce the U.S.-U.K. Joint Statement on access to human genome sequence data at the 3/14 Medal of Science/Medal of Technology awards ceremony (draft attached). We are very close to agreement on the text of the statement. However, it's not the text but the tight deadline between now and next Tuesday that seems to be their chief concern. I am told that a call from you to Jonathan Powell, the Prime Minister's Chief of Staff, could put this effort on track.

Jonathan Powell's phone number is 171-270-3000 – note that the U.K. is 6 hours ahead

What you might say is—

- This is an opportunity to set the record straight on our governments' policy with respect to rapid access to genome data, especially given the recent HGP/Celera flap. We want to make it clear that we endorse the principle of rapid, open access to fundamental genome sequence data.
- The joint statement strikes a balance between advocating wide access to fundamental sequence data and the need to offer incentives to the private sector in order to encourage investment.
- It plays to the desire to maximize the return on the public investment in genome research and make the results freely available--a message that should resonate with patients and perhaps even those who object to gene patenting.
- We will do everything possible to make this a joint event, recognizing the British ambassador if he is able to attend the event at the White House. We consider this to be the American equivalent of the Nobel Prize awards.
- We might also suggest the idea of the joint op-ed for next Tuesday or Wednesday with Bruce Alberts, president of the National Academy of Sciences, and Sir Aaron Klug, president of the British Royal Society.

Attachments

Draft – March 8, 2000

**JOINT STATEMENT TO ENSURE THAT
DISCOVERIES FROM THE HUMAN GENOME
ARE USED TO ADVANCE HUMAN HEALTH**

In the last decade of the twentieth century, scientists from around the world initiated one of the most significant scientific projects of all time: to determine the DNA sequence of the entire human genome, the human genetic blueprint. Progressing ahead of schedule, human genome research is rapidly advancing our understanding of the causes of human disease and will serve as the foundation for development of a new generation of effective treatments, preventions, and cures.

To realize the full promise of this research, raw fundamental data on the human genome, including the human DNA sequence and its variations, should be made freely available to scientists everywhere. Unencumbered access to this information will promote discoveries that will reduce the burden of disease, improve health around the world, and enhance the quality of life for all humankind. Intellectual property protection for fundamental genome sequence information that has been isolated from its natural state and shown to be useful will play an important role in stimulating the development of important new gene-based health care products.

We applaud the decision by scientists working on the Human Genome Project to release raw fundamental information about the human DNA sequence and its variants rapidly into the public domain, and we commend other scientists around the world to adopt this policy.

Draft - 3/8/00

Joint Statement on the Human Genome Questions and Answers

Question: How does the President feel about access to information on the human genome?

Answer: "We've got to get the basic information out to everybody who might find some particular use for it," the President said in an Oval Office interview with three news organizations on February 10. "To me, it's pretty clear what the policy ought to be."

Question: To whom is this statement addressed -- individual scientists, biotech companies, or others?

Answer: The statement is addressed to every party engaged in human genome sequencing, regardless of source of funding or intended use of information.

Question: Why are you issuing this statement at this time?

Answer: It is becoming very clear that fundamental data about the human genome is needed for development of gene-based health care products and other advances in biological science. The sooner this information is shared, the sooner these developments will occur.

Question: What is the relationship between this statement and the ongoing controversy about a cooperative relationship between the Human Genome Project and the Celera Genomics Corp? Are you trying to pressure Celera into releasing information?

Answer: This statement was not crafted or conceived as a part of a strategy relating to any pending commercial dispute. Rather it is made in recognition of the fundamental importance of the underlying science and the need for a balanced set of policies. The United States and the United Kingdom have discussed the principles of this statement for many months. The statement does not require Celera or anyone else to release information. The point of the statement is that development of a new generation of treatments, preventions and cures will be greatly accelerated if raw data about the human genome, which is not patentable, is widely shared.

Question: Aren't you asking Celera and others to release information, which they have spent a considerable amount to develop? Won't that simply allow others to profit from their investment?

Answer: The statement refers to the release of information that is not subject to patent protection. Companies may choose to release it in a way that protects their investment through contractual agreements that allow wide and easy access to the information. However, the two governments believe strongly that it is in the interest of public health for this information to be widely distributed as soon as possible.

Question: What are the implications of this statement for what can be patented?

Answer: The statement has no implications for what can be patented. Patent law dictates criteria for patentability and nothing in this statement supercedes these criteria. Raw sequence data is not patentable at this time because it cannot meet the patent law requirement for a specific and substantial utility. This policy statement has the net effect of restating current US patent

policy with respect to what is patentable subject matter. The statement goes further by expressing the aspirational goal of putting as much as possible into the public domain. This public domain oriented approach is the explicit policy of the government with respect to government funded research. It is also the approach taken by some in the private sector (The SNP Coalition, Washington Univ. effort sponsored by Merck et al., and the Wellcome Trust). This statement expresses commendation for this approach when taken by either the public or private sector.

Question: What does the statement mean for persons who are claiming patent protection for discoveries about the human genome?

Answer: The statement refers to "raw fundamental data" regarding the human genome, which generally does not qualify for patent protection because there is no immediate use of this information other than to use it for further research. Wider distribution of this information will stimulate inventions that can be patented.

Question: Does the statement represent a change in patent policy?

Answer: The statement does not represent a change in patent policy. The United States Patent and Trademark Office has recently issued statements regarding patent claims regarding the human genome, which have imposed additional requirements for establishing valid claims. For example, PTO's new guidelines require that patent claims be more specific about the usefulness of the invention. The PTO will continue to evaluate patent claims to make sure that they meet these requirements.

From David Beier - 3/7/00

I believe that the joint declaration we sent to the UK is a good, sound and accurate description of current US patent law and that we should NOT agree with the change proposed by the British.

Second, Jeff was kind enough to share the draft Q+A. This should be reviewed by the PTO. In addition, we need to avoid getting into the Celera Collins dispute by stressing the following:

- * The single most important development in human biology in the short term will be the completion of the sequencing of the human genome. Important contributions to this result have been made by government-funded research activity. In recent years, significant advances have also been made by the private sector.

- * The single biggest challenge to humankind from these advances will be to take this vast storehouse of information and to rapidly develop new products to diagnose and treat human diseases. That process will require continued support for government research. It will also require an appropriate environment for the private sector to develop new products, including appropriate intellectual property protection.

- * Our patent system has been an instrumental driver in the development of the American biotechnology industry, and through that process lead to scores of new therapies, treatments and cures for serious diseases and conditions. That system can, when appropriately calibrated, balance the interests of the public in stimulating innovation/ protecting against free riding with the need to put additional information into the public domain, as well as setting appropriate limits on the scope and duration of patent protection.

- * This policy statement has the net effect of restating current US patent policy with respect to what is patentable subject matter. The statement goes further by expressing the aspirational goal of putting as much as possible into the public domain. This public domain oriented approach is the explicit policy of the government with respect to government funded research. It is also the approach taken by some in the private sector (The SNP Consortium, Washington Univ. effort sponsored by Merck et al., and the Wellcome Trust). This statement expresses commendation for this approach when taken by either the public or private sector.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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001. letter	Edgar Bronfman to Hillary Clinton (1 page)	05/01/2000	P5, P6/b(6)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Heather Hurlburt
OA/Box Number: 19911

FOLDER TITLE:

Binder: Holocaust Restitution

2008-0700-F

wr550

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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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.

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Edgar M. Bronfman

P6(b)(6)

MARCH 20, 2000

[001]

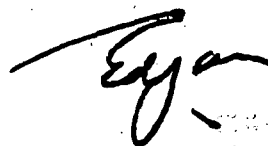
Dear Hillary,

(b)(6)

I spoke with Bill the other day about the dinner on Sept. 11. It has to be that evening because that's the only time the Waldorf is free. We are planning a real gala, and you and the President are the centerpiece. We will honor all those who were instrumental in achieving restitution of stolen Holocaust assets. I am hoping that Prime Minister Ehud Barak will chair the dinner, and I plan to call him as soon as you and the President confirm the date. The other invitees will be Avraham Hirshson, the chairman of the Knesset committee on Restitution, Leah Rabin who will accept an award on behalf of Yitzhak. Paul Volcker, Alan Hevesi, whose committee of state officers was instrumental in making the Swiss banks cave, Al D'Amato and Jim Leach. I have also decided to invite BB Netanyahu because his behavior in re our issue was absolutely first class. Just before you and then the President are scheduled to receive your awards I would like to have Stuart Eizenstat honored. I plan to present the honors to you and the President in one speech (short) and then have you and finally the president reply. Each of the presenters and the honorees, except for you and the president, will be limited to two minutes, strictly enforced. Some of the awards will start the evening, and more will be given out after the main course, and then Stuart, you and the president will be the real dessert.

If you or members of the White House staff have questions or suggestions, please send them to me. I hope it will be a great evening. I hope it will have the desired effect of telling the Jews of New York that you played a vital role in the restitution process.

Sincerely and faithfully yours,



The First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500
Via Facsimile No. (212) 643-9071

OPTIONAL FORM 99 (7-90)

FAX TRANSMITTAL

of pages 1

To <u>Ken K.</u>	From
Dept/Agency	Phone #
Fax # <u>371 5678</u>	Fax #

NSN 7540-01-317-7368

5099-101

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	Video Request. To Stephanie Street from Minyon Moore. Request: A video for the Dedication and Celebration of the Lawrence Family Jewish Community Center. (1 page)	03/17/2000	P5
001b. fax	Fax Cover Sheet from Marcia Wolochow to Minyon Moore/Vincent Fry Regarding Draft for President Clinton's Remarks for Video Greeting, JCC Dedication and Celebration, La Jolla, CA April 9, 2000. (6 pages)	03/17/2000	P5
002. memo	Midge Costanza to John Podesta [partial] (1 page)	12/15/1999	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Heather Hurlburt
OA/Box Number: 19909

FOLDER TITLE:

December 199-WH: Videos Varmus and Galinson

2008-0700-F

wr547

RESTRICTION CODES

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VIDEO REQUEST

March 17, 2000

__ ACCEPT

00 MAR 20 09:38

00 MAR 20 09:45
PENDING

TO: Stephanie Streett
Assistant to the President and Director of Scheduling and
Advance for the President

FROM: Minyon Moore
Assistant to the President and Director of Political Affairs

REQUEST: A Video for the Dedication and Celebration of the
Lawrence Family Jewish Community Center

PURPOSE: Dedication and Celebration Event

BACKGROUND: The JCC is a full-service, non-sectarian social service
agency, and has been expanded and renovated from 27,000
square feet to 97,000 square feet.

DATE AND TIME OF EVENT: April 9, 2000

DURATION: 1-2 minutes

LOCATION OF EVENT: Lawrence Family Jewish Community Center
Jacobs Family Campus
Mendell Weiss Eastgate City Park
4126 Executive Drive
La Jolla, CA 92037

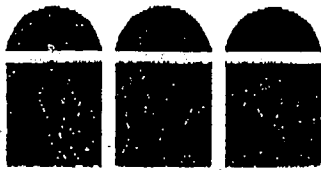
SCRIPT: Script Attached

SOURCE OF PAYMENT: Lawrence Family Jewish Community Center

CONTACT: Minyon Moore or Vincent Fry, 6-7910

ORIGIN OF THIS PROPOSAL: Marcia Wolochow

COPY



JCC

LAWRENCE FAMILY JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTERS OF SAN DIEGO COUNTY
JACOBS FAMILY CAMPUS

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FAX COVER SHEET

From: Marcia Wolochow

Phone: (858)453-6826

Fax: (858)452-1406

Email:mrwolochow@aol.com

To: Minyon Moore/Vincent Fry
The White House
Fax: (202) 783-0007

Number of pages transmitted including cover sheet: 6

Here is the draft of copy for the video President Clinton will be doing for the Dedication and Celebration of the Lawrence Family Jewish Community Center, Jacobs Family Campus that is taking place April 9, 2000.

Please contact me with instructions for making the \$500 payment to cover the costs of production.

Please also advise as to the format of the video (VHS or Beta). We need to arrange for a projector to fit the format.

Thank you for your help. Please contact me if you have any questions concerning the JCC.



United Way / CHAO

JACOBS FAMILY CAMPUS

Manell Weiss Eastgate City Park • 4126 Executive Drive, La Jolla, CA 92037



JCC

LAWRENCE FAMILY JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTERS OF SAN DIEGO COUNTY
JACOBS FAMILY CAMPUS

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*Past President

Draft for President Clinton's Remarks for Video Greeting, JCC Dedication and Celebration, La Jolla, CA, April 9, 2000

March 17, 2000

Contact person: Marcia Wolochow (858) 453-6826

Good afternoon!

Hillary joins me in sending greetings and congratulations to the entire community of San Diego as it proudly celebrates and dedicates the newly-expanded and renovated Lawrence Family Jewish Community Center, Jacobs Family Campus.

With modern, spacious facilities for music, plays, film, art, books, early childhood education, plus state-of-the-art physical fitness facilities, the JCC provides San Diegans with an opportunity to expand their horizons while strengthening family ties.

Our families and neighborhoods are the building blocks for a stronger country; you can take pride in the fact that many people, working together toward a common goal, have

-more-



United Way / CHAD

JACOBS FAMILY CAMPUS

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Lawrence Family JCC Page 2 Draft remarks, President Clinton

accomplished what you see all around you---a place for growth, enrichment, health and fitness, artistic expression, and most of all, a sense of community.

You are to be commended for your programs for children, and the way you have embraced children with special needs. Your programs for senior adults help them keep active, involved, and an integral part of the life of your Center. Such caring is a virtue to be emulated by all of us.

As we celebrate this beginning in a new building, it's important that we remember what it took to get here---the hard work and generosity of many individuals. I especially want to thank my good friends Joan and Irwin Jacobs, for their exemplary leadership in the San Diego community. The involvement of four generations of their family is one more example of the significance of "Dor L'Dor"--from generation to generation.

I wish you all many years of active enjoyment in this sparkling new facility; I'm sure the JCC will truly be the center of San Diego's Jewish Community!

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COPY

Lawrence Family Jewish Community Center
JACOBS FAMILY CAMPUS

Background Information for President Clinton's Video for the
Dedication and Celebration Event on April 9, 2000

The JCC is a full-service, non-sectarian social service agency that provides educational, recreational, social and cultural programs for people of all ages and interests.

The first San Diego County JCC dates back to 1945. That Center in the eastern part of the county was a landmark for over 40 years. In 1982 the community leaders negotiated a one dollar, fifty-year lease with the City of San Diego to build a second JCC in the North City area. In 1999 that lease was extended for another 50 years.

In 1986 a 27,000 square foot building was constructed. That building has been expanded and renovated. On April 9, 2000 the JCC will be dedicating a new 97,000 square foot facility - we have tripled in size. There are three major complexes to serve the community:

- THE GLICKMAN/GALINSON EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION COMPLEX
- THE POTIKER FAMILY ARTS AND CULTURE COMPLEX
- THE SPORTS, FITNESS AND AQUATICS COMPLEX

The completion of the construction marks the end of 13 years of planning and three years of building. More than 15 million dollars were raised in a capital campaign led by Capital Campaign Chairpersons, Joan and Irwin Jacobs and their son, Gary Jacobs, President of the JCC.

The April 9th Dedication Ceremony participants will include Capital Campaign Chairpersons Joan and Irwin Jacobs, Gary Jacobs, President of the JCC, incoming JCC President Frederick Schenk, California Governor Gray Davis, Elaine and Murray Galinson, Congressional, State, and City Council Representatives.

COPY

SOME FACTS:

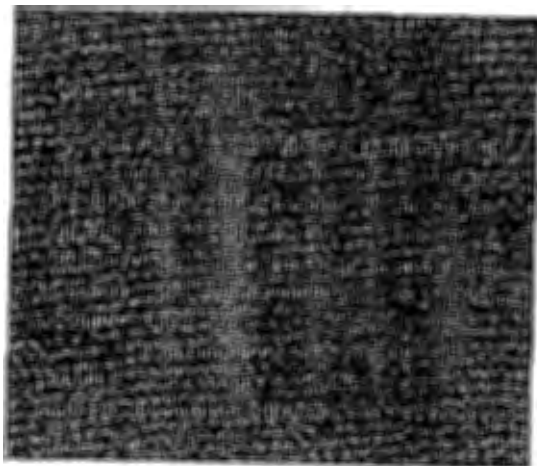
- 2200 membership units (serving over 10,000 members)
- 70,000 visits per month
- 90% of income is self-generated from membership and program fees, 10% from grants.
- The preschool serves over 230 children and is the largest Jewish preschool in San Diego.
- Camp Jaycee serves over 850 children and is the largest Jewish day camp in California, on one site.
- The Inclusion Program brings children with disabilities into all JCC activities. It was the first of its kind in San Diego and is being emulated by the YMCA's, Boys and Girls Clubs and other agencies.
- A nationally recognized cultural arts program includes:
 - The Jewish Film Festival/15,000 tickets sold
 - The Jewish Book Fair/7,500 people, 2,000 titles, 25 authors
 - The Streisand Festival of New Jewish Plays/sells out
- 750 Seniors per week use the facility for educational, fitness and wellness, recreational, and social programs
- Over 200 people per day use the Fitness Center
- The Olympic-size pool is in use from 6:30 AM until 10:00 PM
- Over 3,000 people per week enjoy basketball, volleyball, and martial arts in the NBA size gymnasium.
- Out-door facilities include baseball and soccer fields and the Mandell Weiss Eastgate City Park, a public park built by the JCC for the entire community.

Have you heard the news? We have tripled in size to make the Lawrence Family Jewish Community Center better than ever!

The newly expanded and renovated Jacobs Family Campus provides members with an exciting array of recreational activities, social programs and services. We offer state-of-the-art equipment and facilities, highly qualified and friendly staff members, as well as all of the cultural and social enrichment programs you've come to expect from the JCC.

Our History

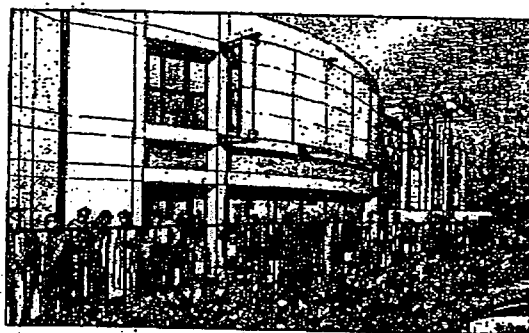
Over 50 years ago, the development of the first JCC on 54th Street was a landmark for the community. In 1982, we opened a second location in partnership with the City of San Diego which includes the Mandell Weiss Eastgate City Park. After outgrowing the facility within a decade, the Board of Directors planned the "Get Centered" Capital Campaign, led by Joan and Irwin Jacobs, for the expansion and renovation of the JCC. We have tripled in size with the completion of the 97,000 square-foot facility and we welcome you to enjoy all that we have to offer.



"Community is our middle name"

Potiker Family Arts & Culture Complex

Our new Potiker Family Arts and Culture Complex is a beautiful venue to experience arts and entertainment. The 500-seat David and Dorothea Garfield Theatre will be used for performances, banquets and receptions. Also in the Complex: Mandell Weiss Theatre Rotunda * Viterbi Family Galleria * Foster-Ratner Performing Arts Education Center * Gotthelf Art Gallery and more.



Glickman-Galinson Early Childhood Education Complex

The Glickman-Galinson Early Childhood Education Complex is a wonderful place of learning for all children. The programs are designed to develop the social, emotional, physical, and intellectual well-being of each child. The Nierman Preschool has 12 classrooms for 250 children. The Complex also houses: Weingart Foundation Preschool Courtyard * Goldberg/Novak Estate Youth Activity Center and more.



Jacobs & Klein Senior Center & Education Wing

This beautiful wing has the new 3,000 square-foot Astor Judaica Library, the Jacobs Senior Lounge and the Rady Education Center.

Sports, Fitness & Aquatics Complex

We have revised our programming and completely renovated the complex to better meet your needs. We have an updated schedule of classes, highly qualified fitness instructors and professionals, eager to help you achieve your health and fitness goals! The Jacobs Fitness Center has 3,000 square feet of workout space, CYBEX strength training equipment, treadmills, bikes, elliptical and stepp machines. This complex offers: Aerobics and dance classes * Senior Fitness program * Massage therapy room * Babysitting service and locker rooms * Friedenberg Olympic-size Pool * Albert A. Hutler Tennis Center * Jacobs Family Gymnasium * Mandell Weiss Eastgate City Park * Edgar F. Berner Ballfields and more!



Also at the JCC

Holocaust Memorial and Garden * Wax Family Teen Activity Center * Multi-purpose rooms for games, lectures, discussions, and new programs.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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001. fax	Memorandum from KAR to ADW. Re: Presidential Visit. (2 pages)	03/28/2000	P5
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Heather Hurlburt
OA/Box Number: 19909

FOLDER TITLE:

Fiscal Responsibility 3-30-00 [Seniors]

2008-0700-F

db3348

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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(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]

03/28/2000 12:27

COPY
Tom Friedman
1 of 2

MEMORANDUM

TO: ADW
FR: KAR
RE: PRESIDENTIAL VISIT
DA: 3/28/2000

- According to CQ, Congressman Weiner supported the President more often than any other member of the NY delegation and more than any other Freshman. He voted with President Clinton on 88% of the votes where he took a position (there were 82 such votes).
- From his seat on the Judiciary Committee Anthony has carried the administration's legislation on Civil Asset Forfeiture (as the lone Democrat) and is the lead sponsor of HR 3144, a bill to extend the President's COPS program for an additional 5 years.
- Congressman Anthony Weiner's announced primary opponent, Noach Dear, is an outspoken supporter and fundraiser for Mayor Giuliani for the Senate. Mr. Dear, who frequently brags about his access to the POTUS, was a strident critic of Hillary's meeting with Mrs. Arafat.
- Anthony Weiner has been the most outspoken and visible Member of Congress in support of Hillary's candidacy, appearing on numerous television and radio talk shows.
- The administration handed Weiner a major set-back when it overruled the Parks Service and decided to site a airport weather tower in the National Park in his district.
- The 9th is the oldest district in New York.
- While he answers to Tony, the Congressman prefers Anthony.
- Anthony is the Whip of the Freshman Class

For the Record

**Presidential Support
and Opposition: House**

1. **Presidential Support Score.** Percentage of recorded votes cast in 1999 on which President Clinton took a position and on which the member voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with the president's position. Failure to vote did not lower an individual's score.

2. **Presidential Opposition Score.** Percentage of recorded votes cast in 1999 on which President Clinton took a position and on which a member voted "yea" or "nay" in disagreement with the president's position. Failure to vote did not lower an individual's score.

3. **Participation in Presidential Support Votes.** Percentage of the 82 recorded House votes on which President Clinton took a position and on which a member was present and voted "yea" or "nay."

NEW YORK			
1 Forbes*	50	50	98
2 Lazio	39	61	98
3 King	32	68	99
4 McCarthy	77	23	98
5 Ackerman	87	13	96
6 Meeks	88	14	96
7 Crowley	81	19	98
8 Nadler	84	16	100
9 Weiner	85	12	98
10 Towns	79	21	95
11 Owens	85	15	98
12 Velázquez	76	24	100
13 Fossella	28	74	94
14 Maloney	82	18	98
15 Rangel	81	19	98
16 Serrano	70	30	98
17 Engel	84	16	98
18 Lowey	86	14	98
19 Koff	41	58	100
20 Gilman	48	52	100
21 McNulty	77	23	98
22 Sweeney	25	75	98
23 Boehlert	52	48	99
24 McHugh	29	71	100
25 Walsh	32	68	100
26 Hinchey	87	13	91
27 Reynolds	25	75	99
28 Slaughter	81	19	92
29 LaFalce	78	22	100
30 Quinn	38	62	99
31 Houghton	48	51	97

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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001. letter	Edgar Bronfman to Hillary Clinton [partial] (1 page)	09/06/2000	P5, P6/b(6)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Heather Hurlburt
OA/Box Number: 19911

FOLDER TITLE:

Holocaust Restitution 9-11 [9-11-00 Remarks]

2008-0700-F

wr564

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

Edgar M. Branfman

P6(b)(6)

March 20, 2000

[001]

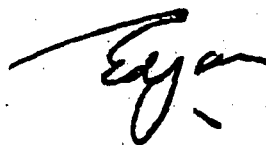
Dear Hillary,

(b)(6)

I spoke with Bill the other day about the dinner on Sept. 11. It has to be that evening because that's the only time the Waldorf is free. We are planning a real gala, and you and the President are the centerpiece. We will honor all those who were instrumental in achieving restitution of stolen Holocaust assets. I am hoping that Prime Minister Ehud Barak will chair the dinner, and I plan to call him as soon as you and the President confirm the date. The other invitees will be Avraham Hirshson, the chairman of the Knesset committee on Restitution, Leah Rabin who will accept an award on behalf of Yitzhak, Paul Volcker, Alan Hevesi, whose committee of state officers was instrumental in making the Swiss banks cave, Al D'Amato and Jim Leach. I have also decided to invite BB Netanyahu because his behavior in re our issue was absolutely first class. Just before you and then the President are scheduled to receive your awards I would like to have Stuart Eizenstat honored. I plan to present the honors to you and the President in one speech (short) and then have you and finally the president reply. Each of the presenters and the honorees, except for you and the president, will be limited to two minutes, strictly enforced. Some of the awards will start the evening, and more will be given out after the main course, and then Stuart, you and the president will be the real dessert.

If you or members of the White House staff have questions or suggestions, please send them to me. I hope it will be a great evening. I hope it will have the desired effect of telling the Jews of New York that you played a vital role in the restitution process.

Sincerely and faithfully yours,



The First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500
Via Facsimile No. (202) 643-9071

OPTIONAL FORM 99 (7-99)

FAX TRANSMITTAL

of pages 1

To Ken K.	From
Dept./Agency	Phone #
Fax # 371 5678	Fax #

NSN 7540-01-317-7368

5099-101

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. draft	Speech Draft. President William J. Clinton Speech to World Economic Forum Davos, Switzerland. (8 pages)	01/29/2000	P5
001b. note	Here are some preliminary thoughts [about the Speech Draft. President William J. Clinton Speech to World Economic Forum Davos, Switzerland]. (3 pages)	n.d.	P5
002. note	[Handwritten meeting notes] (4 pages)	n.d.	P5
003. memo	Memorandum for Gene Sperlin, NEC from Robert Z. Lawrence. Subject: Some Ideas for the Davos Speech. (3 pages)	01/19/2000	P5
004a. note	[Handwritten Note] Questions for Gene. (1 page)	n.d.	P5
004b. note	Issues for Discussion [Concerning Davos Speech, with Sperling meeting notes on the reverse of both pages] (4 pages)	n.d.	P5
004c. email	Joshua S. Gottheimer to Heather F. Hurlburt, Terry Edmonds, and Jeffrey A. Shesol. Subject: davos notes fr sperling to shesol (1 page)	01/06/2000	P5
004d. note	[Handwritten Notes on ruled paper] [Notes concerning Davos speech] (2 pages)	n.d.	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Heather Hurlburt
OA/Box Number: 19909

FOLDER TITLE:

January 2000 - WH: Davos [World Economic Forum 1/29/00][1]

2008-0700-F

db3349

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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COPY

Heather —
ignore my panicked tone —
Draft 01/24/00 7:00pm
Heather Hurlburt

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
SPEECH TO WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM
DAVOS, SWITZERLAND
January 29, 2000

Acknowledgements, etc.

It is a privilege and a pleasure to speak at a forum that prides itself on spotting trends before they become cliches. You predicted a backlash against globalization before the WTO ever decided to hold a meeting in Seattle. [TK] And you spotted the networking of society before the Internet was out of infancy.

And you have shown a broad commitment to the cause of global peace and development — from helping end the division of Germany to supporting reconciliation in South Africa to promoting economic integration in the Middle East.

This year Davos has chosen as its theme “New Beginnings: Making a Difference.” To really make a difference in this new century, we need to recognize that global economic integration is at a critical crossroads; and we will have to face hard truths, and take hard steps, to move ahead. With our wealth and scientific advances, we have no excuse for inaction. With the world coming closer and closer together, we have no excuse for indifference.

For it is not going to be enough, in the 21st century, to build our economies as we did in the past — and by the past, I mean as little as 5 years ago. After all, we are all swept up in the process of globalization as it tears down barriers between nations, economies, and cultures — and as it builds networks that are wholly new. We can change the equation between burning energy and producing wealth; shatter the limits that time and space pose to doing business or getting an education; extend growth and opportunity to places that have not known it in our lifetimes.

Sometimes, it's tempting to believe that all this has come about because of technological change. But human decisions played a large role — and must do so again so that we can keep moving forward.

Remember that in many ways, the global economy was almost as integrated 100 years ago as it is today. Its progress was arrested by shortsighted decisions -- by protectionism, which led to the Depression; and by the unchecked rise of fascism, which led to the Second World War. Nations failed to look beyond the most short-term of interests — and millions of people paid the price. For almost half a century, globalization actually went in reverse. But after the war, leaders chose the path of partnership. They set the stage for the growth we are experiencing today. And no one can seriously argue that the world would be a better place if they had not.

Heather —
I'm very concerned about this speech. The language is not clear. The President's ideas are there but they're lost in the language and the structure.

But with that growth we also face unprecedented challenges to the status quo. No one could watch the demonstrations we saw in Seattle, or the strength of concerns about trade in many developing countries, and imagine that we can have progress without finding a place for voices that haven't always been heard in our trade discussions. And no one should be able to look at the people and places left behind – especially the 1.3 billion people who earn less in a year than what a hotel room in Davos costs for one night – and imagine that we can have progress without lifting them up as well.

Today we must have broad goals on which we can agree. We want an international economy that works. One where sound investment and hard work pay off. One that invests in people, and gives every person a chance to be productive. One that advances technology to make and do, but also to teach and heal. One that preserves growth for those who have it and extends it to those who need it most.

But we must face hard truths in order to reach those goals. There is no alternative to trade and globalization, if we want to fight poverty and lift lives. But free-trade advocates must understand that there are no magic wands – trade works for developing countries only if the industrialized countries commit themselves to making it work. All nations, developing and developed, must commit to ensuring that all growth is shared growth. And we must acknowledge that our global trading system is built on a set of values – and make sure those values are the right ones.

Our partners in civil society must commit themselves to working to strengthen a rules-based trading system, not seek to tear it down. And all of us – in government, civil society and business – must recognize that we are bound tightly together by a global economy that, rather than giving any one of us total power over the others, has made it imperative that we all listen to each other more.

My time to play a role by leading America's support for global integration is getting short. But I don't think we can afford to put these questions off – and risk letting this moment of opportunity slip from our hands. So I want to do my part to begin that work by beginning what I hope will be a wide-ranging and global conversation about the new realities and hard truths that must shape our efforts to strengthen the global economy for the 21st century.

First, global trade and integration are the engines of rising living standards and shared prosperity for the 21st century. Whether you sit in Detroit, Davos or Dhaka, there is no alternative.

I know that many who are suspicious of open markets are genuinely concerned about the fate of the poor and disadvantaged. But they need to ask themselves, what will happen to a Bangladeshi textile worker or a migrant from the Mexican countryside without the prospect of jobs in an industrializing economy? What happens to farmers in Thailand and Zimbabwe – or in Australia and the United States -- if protectionism makes it impossible to market produce abroad? And how can you possibly have an impact on working conditions in developing

teacher

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countries if you keep those countries isolated from the global mainstream?

In the United States, we have never been more open, and we have never been more prosperous. We have the fastest economic growth in 30 years; and we are just days from marking the longest economic expansion in our history. Our exports have created more than a million new jobs in four years, paying wages well above the average. And we have been able to attack our social problems, cutting poverty levels and unemployment among minorities and even beginning to reduce income inequality these last four years.

Now some people say that the United States is unique, that trade does not lift living standards everywhere. But that is wrong. Just about everywhere you look around the world, open markets mean growth and growth means rising standards. Think about Japan or the nations of Europe that were poor rural societies fifty years ago, prosperous global leaders today. Or look at South Korea or Taiwan or Thailand, which chose a policy of openness thirty years ago. Even after the financial crisis, their national incomes are still more than double 1970 levels. And their gains in literacy, education and life expectancy are also extraordinary – far outpacing countries that chose not to open to the world.

Since 1970, developing countries overall have cut infant mortality in half and made significant progress in life expectancy, caloric intake, and literacy. Open trade and new technologies have been important engines of this progress.

Trade must not be a race to the bottom. But there's no excuse for using fears about trade to keep part of our global community stuck forever at the bottom.

We must also commit ourselves to ensuring that trade works to lift developing economies. That means tackling our special interests at home, and ensuring market access for countries that play by the rules. As Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak said here last year, too often our international economic policy will "address two-thirds of the world's output and ignore two-thirds of the world's population."

We can begin by making the case for imports. They make more goods and services available to more people; and put money in the pockets of working families. They bring new technology and ideas, and they spur new innovation which boosts technology and productivity.

America kept our market open during the financial crisis; our market for imports sustained global growth for two years, helping many developing economies avoid outright freefall. And I'm also proud that we have reached out to build real trade relationships with Asia, Africa and Latin America. But we still struggle with the temptation of protectionism, sometimes for very good causes. We always have and we always will.

We need to overcome that, improve the pace of progress toward a Free Trade Area of the Americas instincts, and pass our groundbreaking African and Caribbean Basin trade initiatives.

I ask our partners in Europe and Asia need to follow suit, moving to expand and open

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What does this mean?

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? And they must take on the entrenched interests blocking free agricultural trade. I appreciate that this is politically difficult. But it makes no sense to spend hundreds millions of dollars to fight rural poverty, yet keep farm products out of our markets.

This won't correct or clear

We should also launch a comprehensive program to make it possible for any country that wants to navigate open markets to do so. I believe that, when we set up the WTO after the Uruguay Round, we did not pay enough attention to helping developing nations build the economic and legal institutions they need to succeed in the global market. We should rectify that mistake, and pool our resources to provide quality technical assistance.

We must take responsibility for ensuring that all growth is shared growth. Trade by itself is necessary but not sufficient. We have made a firm commitment to do this in the United States; but I would be the first to say that we are not there yet. And those of us who are reaping trade's benefits must meet our responsibility to help other nations prepare to do the same.

What's this?

Transparency In every nation, that means promoting strong regulatory institutions and good governance. Above all, we cannot let up in our fight against corruption – for its first victim is our citizens' trust in the marketplace.

Corporations too have a responsibility to know the rules and live by them – and to recognize that fundamental rules of fairness apply everywhere.

In a high-tech economy, the most important means of production is gray and weighs a little under three pounds – not the latest laptop but the human brain. There is nothing mysterious about developing it. It needs sustenance, health care, quality education, and free movement of information and ideas. What is new is thinking about such assistance not as a handout, but as an investment with a sure payoff.

In an economy running on brainpower, no investment pays off faster than education. We ought to launch a global initiative to meet [which UN agency] goal of sending every child to primary school by 20XX. [U.S. contribution?] And every corporation that expects to need a workforce with 21st-century skills should pitch in to help.

We should use the brainpower we have to fight the killer diseases that hold too many nations back. We have the technology to find vaccines for malaria, tuberculosis and perhaps soon AIDS. That would save millions of lives – and billions of dollars that could be invested in development. But let's face facts: the pharmaceutical industry simply has no incentive to develop products for customers too poor to buy them. In my State of the Union address, I asked our Congress to offer a tax credit and say to private industry – if you develop these vaccines, we will help pay for them, and together we will lift millions of lives. Now I ask other nations and the corporate world to join us; let's make these illnesses a problem of the past.

We can help countries help themselves by lifting their crippling burden of debt. Debt

crowds out investment in the future, and steals money that should be spent on the poorest of the poor. The United States, the United Kingdom, Italy and France have pledged to cut 100 percent of debt for countries which agree to spend their savings on education, health care and other fundamental development needs. I hope other donors will join us in turning the vicious cycle of debt and poverty into a virtuous circle of development.

We must also accept that an open global economy must be built on a foundation of shared values and respect for the dignity of work. This is not protectionism. Nor is every discussion of values – specifically, environmental protection and labor rights – an effort to block the growth of developing nations.

I know that the words labor and environment are heard with some suspicion in the developing world, especially if uttered during a discussion of trade. I understand the concern that the words are just code for rich man's protectionism. And I want to make sure we do nothing that would hinder growth in the developing world.

I believe that you can't improve working conditions or convince people to protect the environment if you destroy economic growth. But I also believe that you can't sustain growth forever if it is not accompanied by higher standards.

It is central to human progress – and never more so than in this fast-moving age – that we be able to abandon big ideas when they are no longer true. The old idea was that the best or the only way for a nation to get rich and stay rich was to burn up its resources – human and material -- as fast as it could. That the best source of development was old-fashioned heavy industry. And that basic political and civil rights were luxuries an emerging economy could not afford.

The past two decades have shown that this idea was misguided. And the nature of the new economy has made it clearer than ever that intelligent use of resources, and the liberation of human potential, are central to growth and prosperity. Amartya Sen, who won a Nobel Prize for bringing insights from our social and moral lives to bear on economics, tells us that development is "a process of expanding the freedoms that people enjoy" and "a momentous engagement with freedom's possibilities."

I hope that insight can guide us all to some new thinking about values and growth.

We must finally put to rest the false choice between the economy and the environment. With new conservation technologies and alternative energy sources, that is simply no longer true. The United States and Europe are growing and getting cleaner. And in the next few years, no one will be able to deny the fact that we will actually have more stable, more widespread, more long-term economic growth if we improve the environment.

There is no reason we cannot work with other countries to achieve the same thing. And we already are. We sponsor renewable energy projects that touch the lives of more than a million people in India and Mexico. We support clean energy projects through the World Bank. And I have asked our Congress to put aside \$100 million to help developing countries adopt

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clean energy technology.

We have only begun a second painful process – re-evaluating the connections between human rights, especially labor rights, and the global economy. We don't have all the answers. A global minimum wage is not the answer. But dismissing every human rights concern as protectionism is not the answer either. For trade to be free, it must command popular support. And for trade to be popular, we have a clear message from our citizens that it must be fair.

As you know, we have proposed a working group on trade and labor at the WTO. And we have suggested that Committee on Trade and the Environment be invited to examine the environmental implications of WTO negotiations. These are modest, but good ideas. Developing countries would not only be present, they would dominate the sessions. I hope the discussion would give developing countries more policy tools, not more trade headaches. Our goal should be finding practical ways to promote growth by raising, not lowering, labor standards.

Take just one example – a pilot program that USAID launched, working with the garment industry in Bangladesh to take children out of factories and put them back in school. That program got kids to learn and boosted garment exports. Now factories in neighboring Pakistan are looking at this initiative. We can do more of this – if human rights activists and the business community and governments will stop focusing on the rhetorical high ground – and start looking for common ground.

We must support the rules-based system we have – the WTO – even as we seek to reform and strengthen it. Those who heard a wake-up call on the streets of Seattle are right. But those who call for freezing or disbanding the WTO are flat wrong. Think about it. Who wants to live in a world without rules – a world where any product can be dumped anywhere, a world where there is no international scrutiny of health or labor or environmental issues.

There is no substitute for the confidence and credibility the WTO lends to the process of expanding rule-based trade. There is no substitute for its dispute resolution mechanisms – a process whose results nations obey. And there is no substitute for the protections the WTO offers national economies, especially against dumping and import surges.

Most important, there is no alternate structure that can mediate in any way among the competing demands of economies and industries. Losing such a forum would be catastrophic.

Let me also say that I do not agree with those who say we should give up on a new round. On the contrary, we should move forward to launch one – a round which focuses squarely on trade that promotes development and boosts living standards around the world.

But we have work to do to make the WTO the public interest institution we intend it to be, not the special interest so many perceive it as being. It is imperative that it become more open and accessible. If we expect public support, we have to let the public see what we're doing. That means making more documents available and doing it faster; opening dispute panel

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hearings to the public; and allowing organizations and individuals to give panels their views in a formal way. We've seen in other international organizations that public involvement increases public support. This is the right thing to do – and we should do it sooner rather than later.

The final hard truth I want to leave you with is that we're all in this together. Thirty years ago, that was a statement of ideology; nowadays, it's just telling the truth. The revolution in communications and technology has fixed things so that no one group of us can impose its will on the rest for very long. Instead, we are all going to have to listen to each other more.

This means workers in developed countries thinking about the future of workers in Africa or Latin America; it means governments finding the courage to rise above short-term political expediency. It means corporations taking responsibility for the effects of their actions – whether in the Niger Delta or a New York highrise. And it means a new and more active idea of corporate responsibility -- stepping up to the plate when it comes time to pay for vaccines, educate a new generation of workers, or share growth widely.

Not quite one hundred years ago, Theodore Roosevelt became America's President. The times bore a lot of similarities to today. The nations of North America and Europe were changing from agriculturally-based economies to industrial ones -- just as we're going from being an industrial country to an information-based global society now. Technological change was creating large corporations and concentrating capital. The result was tremendous opportunity – and tremendous turbulence.

Then as now, there was debate and uncertainty about how local communities and local customs would adjust, and what place human beings and the natural environment held in this new industrial machine.

The United States was fortunate enough to have Roosevelt and other leaders who understood both the promise of change and the need to guide it wisely. They established effective standards that protected consumers, labor, investors and the environment. Over time, those standards helped underpin strong, steady economic growth. For Roosevelt saw that we may not be able to alter the pace of change, but we do have the power to shape it. He said then, and it is still true today, that the great hallmark of every young and growing society must be that it takes the long look ahead.

Our challenge is similar in kind, but global in scope. Leaders in government, but also in business, labor and civil society, must be far-sighted enough to see beyond the issues of the day, and wise enough to see beyond our own parochial concerns. We must stand together as we take that long look ahead.

If we do, if we think together about what we want for our children and ourselves in 20, 30, 50 years, we will rise to the challenge. We will expand the economy and protect our environment. We will extend opportunity – and with it, the freedom and dignity owed to every human being. We will lift the lives of the very poorest, and secure the future for all of us. We will make a difference.

THIS IS THE RIGHT THING TO DO

THIS IS THE RIGHT THOUGHT AND LANGUAGE THAT SHOULD PERMEATE THE SPEECH

COPY

Thank you very much.

Here are some preliminary thoughts. I will add more soon.

I. USING HARD TRUTHS TO ESTABLISH THE CLINTON DOCTRINE

In writing the 5-6 hard truths, we should make sure that they are stated in an affirmative manner. Some of them, like #1, are already written that way; others just need some tweaking.

➤ *There is No Alternative to Trade and Globalization for Global Growth and Poverty Reduction*

- Show tighter connection between open markets and development

✓ *Industrialized Countries Must Build Domestic Support for Ensuring that Trade Works for Lesser-Developed Countries*

- It is a stronger and more precise assertion to say, "that countries like US and Europe must find way to get support for trade performance for LDCs."
- ✓ Two key examples are:
 1. Europe – Agriculture subsidies
 2. U.S. – CBI, Africa

➤ *Nations Must Take Responsibility for Ensuring that All Growth is Shared Growth*

- The fact that trade leads to growth will mean less in nations if common folks don't feel that the growth will be shared
- Mention that the U.S. has tried to work on this. Still more needed on adjustment ???
- LDCs must show that there won't be corruption or nepotism, but instead democracy and freedom of association
- Education: All nations must do more

➤ *Must Ensure That Open Trade Can Continue With larger Values*

- To Achieve these Hard Truths:
 1. Must include values
 2. Must not let them be pretext for protectionism
 3. LDCs can't believe that all values are designed to hurt them
 - climate change analogy
 - child labor vs. education example

(HH: need to be clearer that POTUS does not want to do anything that will hurt LDC growth)

The African Growth & Opportunity Act H.R. 434

"One of the continent's smallest countries-the island of Mauritius with little more than a million people stands to benefit most. With clothing and textile exports worth Dollars 960, this year, it is the region's largest exporter. Although Mauritian textile and clothing exports to the US have been subject to quota since 1981, the US is its second largest market, after France, with 1998 sales of Dollars 265m. Already US buyers take about a quarter of the sales of the Mauritius Export Processing Zone. Despite the price war with Asian exporters, an average import duty of 18 percent as well as quotas, sales to the US have almost doubled since 1996. Mauritius accounts for 43 per cent of sub-Saharan clothing and textile exports to the US, though at a mere 0.86 per cent of the clothing imports, the African market share is tiny."

Hawkins, Tony. "Trade: Africa's Exporters Stumble before America's Open Door." Financial Times. 17 December 1999, p.11.

" 'This legislation not only offers a solid package for Africa and the Caribbean basin, but it is good for our people here at home,' said Senator William V. Roth Jr., the Delaware Republican who heads the Senate Finance Committee. 'The textile industry says it will bring in \$8.8 billion over five years and provide jobs for 121,000 Americans. And this is just the textile industry.' "

Schmitt, Eric. "Senate Passes Trade bills for Caribbean and Africa." The New York Times. 4 November 1999, p.A11.

"But that could be a big difference on the African economy, the Clothing Federation of South Africa said. An increase in South African clothing exports from .1 percent to 1 percent would mean at least 30,000 new jobs, it said this week."

Alpert, Bruce. "African Firms Want U.S. Access; Bill Would Help Economy Grow." The Times-Picayune. 28 March 1998, p.A12.

"Backers of the bill, sponsored in the Senate by Richard Lugar (R-Ind), contend it would represent the most significant shift in U.S. policy toward Africa in four decades, changing the focus from "aid to trade" and opening a relatively untapped market of nearly 700 million potential consumers."

Wallison, Ethan. "Clinton Backs Bill for Giving Africa Trade Preference." Chicago Tribune. 18 June 1998, p.24.

- *Must Support Rule Based System – the WTO – Even While We Seek to Reform It*
 - Need reform and transparency: the U.S will fight for it
 - But need rule-based system: WTO has made remarkable progress
- We Are All in This Together

II. STRENGTHENING THE INTRODUCTION

- I feel the introduction is too high-techy as opposed to giving the sense that we are at a cross-roads and those of us who believe in open markets must face hard truths to lead us in the right direction
- We need to raise the notion of “raising living standards” and raising growth” creating new strong middle classes as key measures to aim for

1) Spelling: telling hard truths that challenge everybody, including our domestic constituencies

Eizenstat: Commitment to Madrid - (i.e. WTO)
do take jobs at everyone
no doubt that we'll keep our mkt. open
is Davos occasion for HIPR?

U.S. has carried burden of vaccine ~~the~~
"Europe should close 'output gap'"

Lessons of Asia fin. crisis - Capacity
Call on corporations to - anti-corruption
adopt codes of - good governance
conduct

Spelling: Mistake to go into frame of A/C
Bob Lawrence there are losers?

Spelling: "We don't have the answers. Global minimum
way is not an answer. But saying we have no
answers and no responsibility is not the answer
either. We need to talk about these issues.
(a place to

Nbs: Climate change structure can be sketched out for him.
I'm not in favor of shutting economic growth.

Larson: need to be concrete. Labor and WTO not reass. or collision course. Discuss details of who is
Eizenstat: devel. & labor rights are inextricably linked. Why are we a loser.
want a WTO group that would force on devel. & labor.
Spelling: let's be honest. Wasn't it non-trade areas that Seattle favored.

DAVOS OUTLINE

- I. What are our ultimate goals, on which CEOs, protestors, rich and poor countries agree?
 An international economy that works – where sound investment and hard work pay off. One that lifts the poor, invests in people. One that prepares for the next generation, advances technology to make, to heal, to do. One that leaves the world better than we found it for our children.
 Moment of opportunity unlike any other. Promise of new century, technology for developed and developing nations. Need courage to draw together, seek out solutions.
- II. Trade works.
 Engine for growth, living standards in developed, developing nations.
 Benefits of imports.
 Spurs technological development.
 Need not be a race to the bottom.
 Promotes int'l stability and peace.
 Engagement in global economy is an investment in our shared future.
- III. Part of that investment must be helping others – our trade partners – prepare to succeed.
 U.S. experience shows openness necessary but not sufficient.
 In era of globalization, responsibility is global. U.S. helping developing nations:
 Debt relief
 Health (vaccines, HIV/AIDS, etc.)
 Education
 Green growth
 Market access
- IV. Integration is vital for century ahead.
 Speed that happens, pace of technological change, make many uneasy.
 Saw that in Seattle – need to face up to it.
 But also remember that globalization's effects go beyond trade, are largely positive and know no reverse gear.
 Need to reach beyond economists and CEOs to enunciate system of values that underlie trade policies, proceed in parallel w/values-based int'l community.
 Recognize concerns of developing countries
 Recognize need to promote rights, dignity of all who work
 Recognize need to protect, preserve environment
 Room for disagreement on how to achieve. But no room for indifference
 Challenge others: here are our views, what are your ideas?
 How can we make sure global growth touches everyone?
 How can we strengthen WTO, other int'l institutions, in the right ways?
 How can we best protect/promote human capital?
 How can we best preserve environment while growing economy?

2) Spelling: where to fit = stray statement about US economy

multiple values of transparency -- tell developing countries there are no secret agreements

Spelling: where would world be w/o WTO?

Ernst: need piece on what Euros & Japanese can do

* Ward Smith -- they must step up.

Lester: not trying to take away comparative advantage but it is in interest of legit. access to the trading system that thwarts enterprise by abuse or exploitation. ppl tell us so.

China: just ref. = speech

Montano: freedom of association -- (HH - Marka Sa)
talk about

Spelling: mentioning unions is too much, "we shouldn't be afraid to talk about these things."

Ernst: NKS did best b/c of openness

high living standards
invested in people & education

Lester: Developed country future lies in full partic.

Need to say everything we think we can't say...

New trade round => calling for new consensus

How can we strengthen WTO, other int'l institutions, in the right ways?

How can we best protect/promote human capital?

How can we best preserve environment while growing economy?



MEMBER

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

January 19, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR GENE SPERLING, NEC

FROM: ROBERT Z. LAWRENCE *RZL*
SUBJECT: Some Ideas for the Davos Speech

This should be a speech in which the President vigorously defends U.S. support for an open global economic system. The United States must allay widespread fears that we are retreating from our leadership role. We should be seen as committed to playing a leadership role in promoting a global system that provides benefits for all. We need to ensure that Seattle is not seen as a victory for opponents of global institutions. We need a speech that will resonate with three distinct audiences: the global business community, the developing countries, and domestic audiences in the developed countries.

The speech needs to send the message that globalization is here to stay, that it offers great opportunities, but that realizing these opportunities requires that the benefits be widely spread between and within countries. To do this we need to complement globalization with the appropriate policies and institutions both domestically and internationally.

1. The Benefits of Open Economies

(A) The speech should lead with a vivid reminder of the benefits of open economies. It should stress the gains to producers and consumers in both developed and developing countries. It should emphasize the gains that come from exporting (as each country specializes in what it does best). **It should also emphasize the gains come from importing** (as consumers are given access to cheaper products and greater variety, and producers are given access to better technologies and inputs and challenged to do better by foreign competitors). **It should point to the benefits that come from foreign investment and international capital flows, and from the international diffusion of knowledge.** An open global economy allows us not only to exchange goods and capital but also ideas and knowledge.

These are all benefits that are of particular importance to developing countries who need an open global system for the goods they buy and sell (the market divide), the capital they need to borrow (the capital divide), and the knowledge and technology they need to absorb (digital divide). The critics have it exactly wrong when they claim that participating in the global economy hurts countries.

B. The speech should argue that while it is true the world continues to have problems, protectionism and retreat are not the answer. Indeed they will compound the problems.

2. The Necessity of Complementary Domestic Policies

However, simply prescribing that countries become more open is not enough. It might be necessary, but it is not sufficient. Globalization cannot substitute for sound domestic economic and social policies.

The recent performance of the U.S. economy is an excellent example of the benefits of globalization *and* of the role of complementary domestic policies. **We have never been more open, and we have never been more prosperous.** Our experience shows that an open trade policy is important for strong economic performance. But it also shows the importance of policies that maintain fiscal discipline and promote non-inflationary growth; promote investments in people and technology, and policies to make sure that work does pay. The result has been an economy that has created over 20 million jobs, sustained an expansion on the verge of becoming the longest ever, and provided wage, employment and income gains that are widely spread.

Like the U.S., developing countries must combine open policies with domestic institutional development. In Asia, decades of extraordinary growth remain a compelling example of the benefits of outwardly oriented policies, but its recent crises are a reminder that international capital flows need to be accompanied by appropriate financial and regulatory policies, by policies that limit corruption, by systems that are transparent and governed by the rule of law. Again globalization is necessary but not sufficient.

3. Complementary International Policies and Institutions

Appropriate international policies and institutions are required to promote development and to realize the full potential of globalization. **An international system, which promotes economic development, is in the U.S. national interest.** It is in our interest because it promotes peace; it is in our interest because it promotes prosperity; it is in our interest because the countries who present conflicts are precisely those with the greatest problems; and of course it is in our interest because of our common feelings of solidarity.

One particularly important challenge we face is bringing in the nations who have not fully emerged. Giving them the technical assistance they need. Helping them bridge the divides. Help them in the arena of public health. (Mention initiatives.) Help them in the arena of financial regulation. Help them enter into the global system on terms that promote their development and strengthen the system. (Mention support for China entering WTO.) (Announce policy to provide increased market access to least developed countries?) We need their participation. Too big to ignore and too much potential. We know that's true on environment, know its true in trade.

A second challenge we face is improving the international economic system so that it provides benefits for all. The speech should lay out a strong defense of the WTO. It has accomplished much for us and for other nations by reducing trade barriers, establishing an international rule of law and promoting economic development. To be sure, the WTO is a work in progress, it should be made more transparent, and there is room for improvement, **but no one should doubt the U.S. commitment to the institution.**

We seek to make advances both in the ongoing agenda and in a new round. (We need to take steps to promote human rights, labor standards, and the environment in the appropriate international forums)

There are some who believe that trade agreements should only deal with trade barriers, while there are others who would have them almost mimic a global government. **The truth is that for trade to be free it must command popular support, and to do so, it must be perceived to be fair.** This requires rules that do more than simply reduce barriers, requires rules that firmly establish basic norms, and leave considerable scope for national autonomy and diversity. Our challenge is to find rules that promote human and labor rights without threatening development or providing pretexts for protectionism. Similarly, we need rules that allow nations to protect the environment, and health and safety without applying measures that do not reflect sound science.

Questions for Gene:

- 1) do we explicitly talk about big synthesis?
 - 2) what about new round?
 - 3) endorse Seattle positions or show more flexibility
 - [4) degree of toughness]
 - 5) finance infrastructure issues
-

Issues for Discussion

- I. **Davos Speech**
 - What should be the main goals?
- II. **State of the Union**
 - What should be the main international economic goals?
- III. **Clinton Vision on Globalization**
 - What should be emphasized as the critical elements?
- IV. **Potential Issues for Emphasis in the Davos Speech**
 - ✓ Globalization and Higher Living Standards. Why globalization and open markets promote higher living standards in all countries.
 - ✓ Defense of Imports. Defend imports -- not just exports -- as beneficial to US and other economies.
 - ✓ Importance of Reconciling LDC and Labor/Environmental Concerns. Call for greater dialogue between advocates for labor/environment and advocates for LDCs. Perhaps seek to articulate a comprehensive (trade and non-trade) policy framework for reconciling these differing interests over time, stressing the relevance of existing US efforts in a number of areas (ILO core labor standards, child labor, IFI reforms, anti-sweatshop initiatives, institutional capacity building, education, aid, debt relief, trade preference programs, vaccines, etc.).
 - Growth for LDCs. As with climate change, make clear that POTUS wants growth for LDCs, but without previous mistakes of industrialized countries.
 - ✓ Inevitable Movement Toward Openness. History is moving inexorably toward more openness on trade procedures and dispute resolution. The WTO must recognize this to be effective.
 - Defense of WTO as Critical Institution Notwithstanding Need for Reform. Defend important work of WTO and give examples of effectiveness. Need for reform should not be pretext for opposition to WTO.
 - How to Deal With Desire To Launch New Round. Where are we in this process and how should we proceed?
 - ✓ US Efforts And Vision For LDCs. Includes Africa/CBI, IPR/AIDS, vaccines, debt relief, and preferential access.
 - ✓ Higher Education. Importance of higher education for growth.
- V. **Possible Vehicle for Budget Policy Announcements** (e.g., child labor; trade agreement monitoring and compliance; labor and environmental monitoring tied to capacity building assistance).
- VI. **Possible Vehicle for Non-budget Policy Announcements**

Summers: we want to be partners, not directors
 need to emphasize that global. is overall positive,
not that we have to have labor standards or
 everything goes to hell

Barshensky: don't let it be interpreted as nationalization for Seattle
 Capitalizing on legacy of integration, vision of it as vital
 for 21st century

Spearing: aim for the grand reconciliation, he's been a little ahead of
 the cause; he should confront the conflict even if we
 don't have answers

Steinberg: must convey that he hears what developing countries say

~~_____~~...

David?: "globalization is under challenge"; responsibility of CEOs
 take fresh look at issues

Spearing: this can't just be the arena of economists and CEOs; just
 as crime policy isn't decided

Mosin?: look how US. has been substantial mkt. for developing
 countries and grown rapidly; benefited US labor mkt.
 Combine open economy and labor mkt. improvement (not unique...)

Jensen: what this is all about is fairness and distribution of benefits,
 any agenda that doesn't have interests of poorest at heart aren't
 worthy of respect

Job?: U.S. experience shows that trade needs not sufficient
 rub of hands, punishing ... (Can we link up w/ partners, not directors?)
 Summers: how we bring developing countries in? what would help them?
 Steinberg: -agriculture

Remondano: task is enunciating a system of values

Barshensky: "these issues are important and we need to find a few
 textiles: imported apparel is now 60% of US production; dev country imports are 12 1/2%

about. And I strongly call on developing nations to give us benefit of their experience, ideas – system isn't working if it doesn't work for those who need it most.

Conclusion

Staring us in the face that global peace and prosperity linked to peace, well-being within societies; that is linked to the availability of economic opportunity, as our developing partners remind us, AND to human freedom – prospects for better tomorrows.

12 year old
Barshifsky's daughter wrote a letter to Nike
saying "I always wear Nikes, but I won't any more,
until you pay your workers what your shoes
cost."

②
 Barshefsky: from shopping ad political operatives
 Uruguay stand commitments - our interest is
 not punishment but helping them attain compliance
 dumping - we could talk about it

Steinberg: recognize that what's changed is that developed countries
 can't write rules anymore

Barshefsky: there is global responsibility in the era of globalization
 - attack Europe & Japan

HPH
 People say a synthesis among these 3 points of view is
 not possible. True that each group has veto power
 over the kind of 21st century that we want. And that
 is why we have to find a synthesis.

Perlman: be tough on everybody - ^{US} left vs. 3rd world
 we're talking about values third world does care about --
 business: need to make sure success is ~~affordable~~ sustainable

David?: reinforce China-WTO

Joshua S. Gottheimer
01/06/2000 11:22:04 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Heather F. Hurlburt/WHO/EOP@EOP, Terry Edmonds/WHO/EOP@EOP, Jeffrey A. Shesol/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: davos notes fr sperling to shesol

DAVOS - DOWNLOAD FROM SPERLING TO SHESOL

1. President speaking lately about imports; what we get out of them; we have to be frank about that. we should have 5 points. Imports do: a, b, c, d
2. Time passed to say trade good one hand, bad other hand (Chicago formula). In wake Seattle, we have to take people on. I have the answer. The answer is: x, y, z.
3. We have to take on Seattle directly, frankly, and really challenge people to be strong - those out there who are trying to put up barriers, trying to stay way free trade, history working against them. In future, they will be swept away by tide of history. For all those, in Seattle, who said that trade will undermined labor conditions, environment - they are wrong. Trade is our best means to improve working conditions, enhance environment, aggressively lay out case for trade. Embrace concerns, but present our case.
4. Seattle has to be in mind; we should be direct about that.

D. Need to enunciate and enact a system of values underlying our policy toward Korea -- and agree that they should make a parallel with coming together of the mil community around the rule of law, the mkt. economy, and human dignity & freedom.

We do face a broad differences, as seen in Seattle. Some people say that those of us who know that we all boats should fall ahead. Others say we should stop in our tracks. But global ensures we don't have either option. All have veto power.

We hear the developing nations saying that setting labor & environmental standards too high looks like pure protectionism to them. And the protectionist threat is real. But surely no nation wants to see its natural resources destroyed, or its young people skunked...

We hear advocacy groups & see results of env./labor. But they too have got to ask themselves: will something come...

And business, too, needs to make sure its success today is sustainable tomorrow.

Concerns about U.S. role... We need to be partners in creating trading system tomorrow. For concerned there is room for discussion & progress

Short Outline:

A. Trade works.

Higher living standards. Imports. Spurs technological change. Spreads ideas. Promotes stability & peace -- engagement: the global economy is an investment: our shared future.

B. Globalization's ~~inherent~~ effects go beyond trade.

inexorable movement toward openness. WTO's vision of integration as vital for century ahead. Trade ^{alone} didn't cause bad labor, environmental practices, other global inequalities; no reason to believe abandoning integration would end them. Not race to bottom. Role of government; role of listening to each other; globalization has worked to make everything related to everything else. If we learned one thing from last year's events, e.g. Switzerland, Seattle... it is that we cannot make our economic policy in a vacuum of economists and CEOs.

B. Need to help all succeed: global marketplace. The era of globalization, responsibility is global. In U.S., trade is necessary but not sufficient key to prosperity. Special emphasis on developing countries, which hold key to greatest hopes & fears of globalization: debt, race/health, education, gen. fr. millennium.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Memorandum for Jeffrey Shesol from Ian Bowles, NSC CEQ. (2 pages)	11/27/1999	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Heather Hurlburt
OA/Box Number: 19909

FOLDER TITLE:

January 2000-WH: Davos [World Economic Forum 1/29/00][1]

2008-0700-F

db3350

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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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

November 27, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR JEFFREY SHESOL

FROM: IAN BOWLES, NSC/CEQ

RE: POTUS REMARKS TO TRADE MINISTERS IN SEATTLE

For the purposes of your development of the speech, I suggest dividing the "human face" agenda into three parts: (1) transparency reforms, (2) environment, and (3) labor. I have addressed the first two in this memo and provided some of the background materials on all three issues.

Transparency Reforms

One overarching objective for the "human face" agenda at the WTO is transparency reforms. We have made progress on document derestriction and public and timely release of dispute panel submissions. Our two remaining objectives face deep opposition from the rest of the WTO. They are opening dispute panel and appellate body hearings to public observers and creating procedures for public submissions of *amicus* briefs. We should hit these points clearly. In doing so, we can make reference to the wide open nature of public participation in the United Nations organizations and the significant progress made in the IFIs - where institutions like the World Bank have derestricted many documents and gone so far as to create an Independent Inspection Panel to review compliance with World Bank policies.

Environment Issues

Environmental Benefits of Trade: This is the least developed concept in our agenda, but perhaps of greatest importance. Conceptually, our approach is to use the disciplines (rules) of the trading system to accomplish environmental objectives that are also good for the economy - "win/wins." The most tangible examples are two: (1) lowering tariffs and other barriers to freer trade in environmental goods and services - the President has been saying, for example, that economic growth does not have to proceed in lock step with growth in pollution and emissions of greenhouse gases. Greater trade in clean energy technology can, in and of itself, lead to environmental benefits, and (2) reduction of certain environmentally-damaging subsidies that lead to unsustainable overuse of natural resources. We have pressed for negotiations on subsidies for fisheries, but this concept could be applied to other sectors. For example, we have reduced our subsidies for certain forestry activities in our National Forest lands. We could try to use WTO disciplines to force other

countries to do the same. The overall "win/win" concept is a powerful one that we should highlight.

Environmental Reviews: The US has taken the lead in developing a domestic system for environmental "review" and analysis of trade agreements. The President's Executive Order goes further than the policy of any other WTO member to bring environmental considerations into the process of developing trade policy positions. We should call on other governments to build similar systems in their own countries.

Mechanisms for Environment Issues at the WTO: The US lead the call for the creation of a WTO Committee on Trade and Environment (CTE) - an analog for the labor committee we are now seeking. We are now seeking a greater role for the CTE in considering the environmental implications of each negotiating group's work.

Environmental Standards for Trade and Development Finance Institutions: In both the IFIs and the G8, the US has been a leader in calling for higher environmental standards. At the IFIs, we have pressed the World Bank to maintain global environment objectives as part of its corporate strategy. You will recall the mention of clean energy lending targets in the World Bank annual meeting speech. At the G8, we have pressed for higher & common environmental "guidelines" for G8 "export credit agencies." The US has strong environmental guidelines for OPIC, ExIm, USAID and our other USG international finance agencies. These higher standards create a disadvantage for US businesses when competing against businesses whose government backers require lower standards. If it can fit with our overall message, we should continue to call for greater action on standards/guidelines to "green" international finance.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	Karin Kullman to Eric P. Liu at 12:00:14. Subject: Youth Violence. [with Handwritten notes] (1 page)	03/31/2000	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Heather Hurlburt
OA/Box Number: 19910

FOLDER TITLE:

Radio Address Youth Violence 4/14/00

2008-0700-F

db3351

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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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]
- 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]

ncayv.org

TAPING in ATL. 4:15
20 guests

COPY

Karin Kullman

03/31/2000 12:00:14 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Eric P. Liu/OPD/EOP@EOP

cc: Stephanie A. Cutter/WHO/EOP@EOP, Sonia G. Chesson/OPD/EOP@EOP, Leanne A. Shimabukuro/OPD/EOP@EOP

Subject: Youth Violence

Here are the announcements I know we would have available around the Columbine Anniversary:

- \$65 million in DOJ COPS grants to fund approximately 400 school resource officers
 - \$40 million in Safe Schools-Healthy Students grants for 23 new sites
 - Early Warning Guide II - *preventive plan - 6 VP*
 - ~~Possible report on federal activities addressing violence in schools~~
 - I'm also checking into whether the National Campaign would have any deliverables that could be announced around this time. *OK by OK - get neg video*
 - *Positive avail. for elementary school counselors*
 - *First Lady's Conference (Laurita wants as ad)*
- Phase Safe-Schools*

Shirley

*Joe →
Hoare*

Most important, we want our kids to grow up ^{certain} knowing that
if they or someone they know needs help, they'll get it.
When they need a car, they'll have one. ~~and~~
When they most need a hand, someone will help them up.
Michael

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. fax	Fax cover sheet. Facsimile For: Heather from Eric Gould Associate Director for Domestic Policy. (1 page)	n.d.	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Heather Hurlburt
OA/Box Number: 19909

FOLDER TITLE:

Tabacco [Radio Address 3-24-00]

2008-0700-F

db3352

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)]

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DOMESTIC POLICY COUNCIL

FACSIMILE FOR: Heather

DATE: _____

TELEPHONE: _____

FAX: 6 5709FACSIMILE FROM: ERIC GOULD
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR
FOR DOMESTIC POLICY

TELEPHONE: (202) 456-7871

FAX: (202) 456-7431

NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING COVER): 20

COMMENTS: _____

lets try to build in that the states
should be spending \$ on tobacco
prevention programs — we know they
work and that's what the settlement
\$ should be used for.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	Daniel F. Feldman to @SPEECH - NSC Speechwriters at 4:13 AM. Subject: Draft Child Soldiers SBTP. (3 pages)	06/30/2000	P5
002. memo	Memorandum for Samuel R. Berger from Brooke Anderson. Subject: POTUS Signature of Protocols on 910 the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflicts and 920 the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography. (2 pages)	06/23/2000	P5
003. memo	Memo from to Acting Director. Subject: Transmittal to the Senat of Optional Protocols to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on (1) the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict and (2) the Sale of Children Child Prostitution and Child Pornography. (3 pages)	06/29/2000	P5
004. fax	Child Soldier Negotiations. (3 pages)	06/30/2000	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Heather Hurlburt
OA/Box Number: 19911

FOLDER TITLE:

UN Protocols 7/5/00 [UN Child Protection Protocols - Remarks]

2008-0700-F

db3353

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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Feldman, Daniel F. (MULTI)

From: Feldman, Daniel F. (MULTI)
Sent: Friday, June 30, 2000 4:13 AM
To: @SPEECH - NSC Speechwriters; @NSCComm; @MULTILAT - Multilateral and Humanitarian Affairs; @LEGISLAT - Legislative Affairs; Witkowsky, Anne A. (DEFENSE)
Subject: Draft Child Soldiers SBTP [UNCLASSIFIED]



Child Soldiers
SBTP.doc

Speech/NSCComm -- Given Bob's note earlier tonight about the increasing likelihood of POTUS signature next Wed. of the two Protocols, I wanted to get a draft SBTP to you asap for re-working on Friday. I intend to circulate a draft Fact Sheet and Q&A's as early as possible on Friday, after I receive some requested material from State, DOD and Justice.

This draft SBTP is culled from a variety of sources, including material State put together for us (a longer, 2-page piece which I'll fax directly to Speech), the Jan. 21 SBTP, and some Fact Sheets I helped draft earlier. I have a plethora of various types of background material; let me know what you might need to assist you.

Though this definitely needs the Speech magic touch (and undoubtedly needs to be cut), some things I wanted to point out:

- The Senate Foreign Relations Committee staff (Marshall Billingsley) has suggested that in order to best preempt an adverse reaction from the SFRC to signature, and to preserve the best possible chance of advice and consent this year, that the SBTP include language highlighting that signature and ratification of these Protocols will not provide any sort of backdoor into other international agreements (they're most concerned about the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the ICC). The language I incorporated on this point ("...does not create an obligation in relation to the underlying Convention...") was taken from Amb. Southwick's formulation, which I've faxed through to you. It doesn't specifically reference the ICC, though.
- I'm trying to find more specific examples for inclusion of real-world situations where these Protocols could be utilized (in particular, the Sale of Children Protocol).
- The statement should highlight the leadership role of the U.S., both in helping to negotiate these Protocols as well as being among the first to sign (and, in fact, a number of Euros will be unable to sign the Child Prostitution Protocol because they have laws on the books allowing prostitution at 16).
- It should also probably try to highlight both the domestic and global applications of these Protocols, as well as the way they work in coordination with last year's Child Labor Convention as a trilogy of children's rights agreements.

Thanks, and let me know how I can best help out.

DF

Statement by the President

Today, I have signed on behalf of the United States two historic international agreements which will greatly advance efforts to protect the world's most vulnerable citizens and its most valuable resource - our children. The first is an Optional Protocol on Children in Armed Conflict; the second is an Optional Protocol on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography.

I congratulate the member states of the United Nations for reaching agreement on these Protocols earlier this year. The United States is proud of the role it played in seeking consensus on these Protocols, and we are honored to be among the first nations to sign them. Combined with the ratification last year of the ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labor, ratification of these two Protocols will put the United States in the forefront internationally on children's issues.

[As I said in my statement of January 21,] the Protocol on Children in Armed Conflict deals in a realistic and reasonable way with the issue of minimum ages for conscription, voluntary recruitment, and participation in hostilities by national armed forces. The Protocol would establish an 18-year minimum age for compulsory recruitment; require parties to raise their minimum age for voluntary recruitment to an age above the current 15-year international standard; and require parties to take all feasible measures to ensure that armed forces personnel who are not yet 18 do not take a direct part in hostilities.

Another important aspect of this Protocol is its provision for promoting the rehabilitation and reintegration of child soldiers into society. While a fundamentally important advance for human rights, which will positively impact children from Sudan to Sierra Leone, this Protocol simultaneously continues to fully protect the military recruitment and readiness requirements of the United States.

The Protocol on Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography constitutes an important step forward in our efforts to combat global trafficking crimes. It requires that offenses involving these activities be criminalized and it provides important mechanisms to help guarantee that offenders will not go unpunished. Additionally, the Protocol strengthens and clarifies the bases for jurisdiction and extradition, thereby promoting prosecution of offenders regardless of where they are

found. Its extensive provisions on cooperation and prevention will help to provide protection and assistance to child victims.

We look forward to continuing to work with the Senate to achieve speedy United States ratification of these two Protocols, neither of which create any obligation in relation to the underlying Convention on the Rights of the Child or to any other international agreement to which the United States is not a party. We also look forward to working with all of our international partners to achieve our common objective -- the elimination of abuses committed against the world's children.

June 23, 2000

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

FROM: BROOKE ANDERSON

SUBJECT: POTUS Signature of Protocols on (1) the
Involvement of Children in Armed Conflicts and
(2) the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and
Child Pornography

In last week's senior staff meeting, you asked whether we thought it was a good idea for President Clinton to sign the optional protocols to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on Involvement of Children in Armed Conflicts and on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography.

We [Multi, Legislative, Africa, Press, Defense, Speech] believe the answer is yes, and we recommend that you forward a scheduling request proposing an event in New York for July 5. The President is likely to be in New York that evening for the Intrepid dinner, and the protocols are available that day for signature. Here's why we think it is worth doing:

- Connects to an overall domestic and international priority - protecting children and improving their welfare.
- Is a priority for the President. On a Feb. 7th memo on the child soldier protocol, he wrote "Good. I want to." next to the discussion on signature options.
- Shows strong action on issues that have garnered a lot of media attention, including for example, in the cases of Sierra Leone and Sudan. President Clinton would be among the first to sign.
- Ensures that achievement of ratification -- and there is a possibility that the Senate will give its advice and consent to the protocols this year -- will be directly linked to the President. Would be important achievement and highlighting it might advance ratification prospects by raising profile.

- Shows that the United States is willing to join international human rights regimes when they also protect our military requirements, e.g., in light of our decision not to sign the Ottawa Convention banning landmines and the International Criminal Court Convention.

The only argument we could come up with against doing this is that it could draw some fire from critics who may try to make our signature of the Child Soldier's Protocol a readiness issue, but we've been intensively consulting with the Hill and believe they are comfortable with signature. Then, of course, there is the question of getting time for this event.

If POTUS is unable to sign on July 5 or you decide not to forward scheduling request, we would recommend that one of the following officials sign during the week of July 3, so we can transmit the protocols to the Senate as soon as possible: Secretary Albright, Ambassador Holbrooke, or Frank Loy.

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward the Schedule Proposal at Tab A and concur on recommendation for alternates to sign if the President can not.

Concurrence by: Schwartz, Feldman, Krass, Witkowsky,
Feldman, Tavlarides, Malinowski, Crowley, Smith.

Attachment

Tab A Scheduling proposal

Memo To
Secretary
4 Pages

UNCLASSIFIED

TO: The Acting Secretary

FROM: DRL - Harold Hongju Koh
IO - David Welch

SUBJECT: Transmittal to the Senate of Optional Protocols to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on (1) the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict and (2) the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography

ISSUE FOR DECISION

Whether to sign the attached report to the President (Tab 1) which includes a proposed message from the President (Tab 2), transmitting to the Senate for advice and consent to ratification Optional Protocols to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on (1) the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict and (2) the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography (Tabs 3 and 4).

ESSENTIAL FACTORS

On May 25, 2000, two important optional protocols to the Convention on the Rights of the Child (involvement of children in armed conflict and sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography) were adopted by the General Assembly. In your speech to the Commission on Human Rights on March 23, 2000, you hailed the two protocols as "historic" and urged the Commission to send them forward for prompt adoption by the General Assembly. President Clinton on January 21, 2000, stated that the protocol on children in armed conflict "is an important advance for human rights" while "[a]t the same, it fully protects the military recruitment and readiness requirements of the United States." He further stated his commitment "to a speedy process of review and signature and to working with the Senate on this historic achievement to protect the world's children." On xxxxxx, xxxxxx signed the protocols on behalf of the United States.

As the President pointed out in his January 21 statement, the protocol on children in armed conflict deals in a realistic way with the issues of minimum ages for conscription, voluntary recruitment, and participation in hostilities. Among other things, the Protocol raises the age for military conscription to 18 years from the 15 years currently stipulated under existing international law; requires that governments raise the minimum age for voluntary recruitment to an age above the current 15-year

international standard; and requires states to take all feasible measures to ensure that armed forces personnel who are not yet 18 do not take a direct part in hostilities. States that become parties to the Protocol would also prohibit the use of soldiers under 18 by non-state forces.

The protocol on sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography provides for criminal law sanctions, relevant domestic law enforcement procedures, and cooperation mechanisms to aid in bringing the perpetrators of these offenses to justice. The protocol requires that offenses involving the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography be criminalized. While the term "Child" is not defined for purposes of the protocol, article 1 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child ("Convention") provides that a child means every person under the age of 18 years unless, under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier. Additionally, the protocol's extradition and jurisdiction provisions promote prosecution of offenders regardless of where they are found.

Both protocols permit signature and ratification by the United States even though it is not a party to the Convention itself. No implementing legislation or reservations would be required with respect to the protocol on children in armed conflict because current U.S. law meets the standards in the protocol. [the following sentence will need to be revised to be more specific about any reservations/implementing legislation/understandings once IO, DOJ and L work out a joint position] The possibility of minor implementing legislation concerning the protocol on the sale of children is discussed in the attached report (Tab 1).

Both the Senate (June 8) and the House (June 16) have adopted Concurrent Resolutions calling for ratification of the Protocol on Children in Armed Conflict as quickly as possible.

Conclusions

All Departments and agencies concerned (State, DOJ, OSD and JCS for the Children in Armed Conflict Protocol, and NSC) agree that we should submit these two Protocols to the Senate for advice and consent to ratification and incorporate into the Department's report [again, the following needs to be changed to reflect whatever IO, DOJ and L agree should be necessary as part of the transmittal package i.e., if we're going to recommend certain understandings, we should say so, etc.] the text of appropriate reservations or understandings we wish the Senate to include in its resolution of ratification.

Doing so now underscores the Administration's commitment to the early entry into force of the Protocols and will reaffirm the fact that the United States is traditionally at the forefront of efforts to improve the protection of children.

This memorandum and the attached transmittal documents have been cleared by NSC, DOJ and DOD (including JCS).

Recommendation

That you sign the attached report to the President at Tab 1.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments:

- Tab (1) The Report to the President (Letter of Submittal), including attachments as follows:
 - Tab (A) The Article-by-Article Analysis of the Children in Armed Conflict Protocol
 - Tab (B) The Article-by-Article Analysis of the Sale of Children Protocol
- Tab (2) Draft Message from the President to the Senate (Letter of Transmittal)
- Tab (3) The Children in Armed Conflict Protocol
- Tab (4) The Sale of Children Protocol

Child Soldier Negotiations

- I wanted to let you know about developments in the child soldier negotiations, which have been going on the past two weeks in Geneva. DOD will likely be answering questions on the results of these negotiations at its next press briefing, and we understand that the White House plans to make an announcement on the subject.
- The delegations in Geneva have reached an agreement—after several years of negotiations—on the text of a protocol that would raise the international minimum age for recruitment into armed forces and direct participation in hostilities. (The existing international standard is age 15.)
 - The accord would bar compulsory recruitment (read: enlistment) below age 18. That's in line with our current practice.
 - For voluntary recruitment, the accord would require Parties to declare what minimum age above 15 years they intend to adopt. Countries that recruit under age 18 will describe what steps they would take, or have taken, to accord special protection to under 18 year old enlistees. Our practice is, as you know, to accept qualified volunteers at age 17 provided they show parental consent and reliable proof of age. That won't change.
 - As for participation in hostilities, the draft accord would require Parties to "take all feasible measures" to ensure that soldiers in national armed forces under 18 do not take "a direct part in hostilities." Secretary Cohen, Chairman Shelton and the Service Chiefs carefully considered whether we could accept this obligation. And they concluded that we could safely do so – that it would not impair the ability of our armed forces to execute their national security responsibilities.
- The accord also prohibits the recruitment or use of soldiers under 18 by non-state forces. This gets to the heart of the child soldiers problem – the role of rebels or militia groups in abducting kids to fight in civil wars.
- Based on our initial review of the protocol, we believe that DOD's equities have been fully protected.

Enlistment/Recruitment

- With respect to recruitment/enlistment, there would be no impact on our current practice of permitting individuals to volunteer for the armed forces at 17 with parental consent.
- Related programs such as ROTC, JROTC and military schools would also be unaffected.
- Safeguarding our recruitment priorities and practices was an extremely high priority for the US negotiating delegation in Geneva. All US negotiating positions were crafted with DoD concerns in mind.

OPTIONAL FORM 99 (7-90)

FAX TRANSMITTAL

of pages

3

To <u>Don Feldman</u>	From <u>M. Chalk</u>
Dept./Agency	Phone #
Fax #	Fax #

21 Jan 00

Direct Participation in Hostilities

- With respect to direct participation in hostilities, Parties to the Protocol will agree to take "all feasible measures" to ensure that under 18 year olds do not take a DIRECT part in hostilities.
- The Joint Chiefs and the Services have reviewed this provision, and their assessment is that the protocol would not impair the ability of our armed forces to execute their national security responsibilities. (FYI: the Joint Chiefs held two tank sessions on the anticipated results of the negotiations, and forwarded their recommendation to the Secretary of Defense, who considered the matter closely.)
- It is important to note that deployments for US seventeen year olds would NOT be prohibited.
 - The proposed treaty text gives the Services sufficient leeway to assign 17 year olds (once they are fully trained) to their units and to then deploy these personnel on a wide variety of operational assignments, so long as we take "all feasible measures" to ensure these personnel do not take a direct part in hostilities.
- Furthermore, the numbers of Service members affected by the provision would be small. Over the past three years only 1,000 – 2,500 individuals annually were still seventeen after completing training and being assigned to a unit, which is about one-quarter of one percent (0.25%) of the total enlisted force. The number of still-seventeen individuals is also equivalent to approximately four percent of the number of individuals we routinely withhold for unrelated administrative or health reasons.

All Feasible Measures Standard

- It was important to the DoD to attain the "all feasible measures" standard. It is a practical, good faith effort standard that is accepted within the context of the law of armed conflict.
- Our commanders will be required to "take all feasible" steps to prevent an under 18 year old from directly participating in hostilities.
- The standard recognizes, however, that unexpected circumstances may arise that preclude the commander from taking such actions. For example:
 - A 17 year old may be involved in a peacekeeping mission that turns bad;
 - A 17 year old may be deployed aboard a ship that is diverted to a non-combatant evacuation operation (NEO).

Implementation (If asked how the Department would approach implementation)

- If the US decides to become a Party to this protocol, the Secretary would seek the Services' views about issues arising in the implementation of a new policy, as with other changes in US policy governing military personnel and manpower issues. The Services would develop their proposed plans. The Secretary would review and where necessary direct modifications

to these plans. The implementation of these plans would be reviewed periodically to ensure adherence to the new policy consistent with the letter and spirit of the Protocol.

- We will be consulting with you in greater detail in the near future, but our staff is available to answer questions you might have as the results of the negotiations are announced.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	Memorandum for the President from Samuel Berger. Subject: International Affairs Funding Issues. (2 pages)	09/11/2000	P5
001b. note	Handwritten note on verso of a Lexis/Nexis email. [Concerning Military Reform] (2 pages)	n.d.	P5
001c. email	From Malinowski, Tomasz P to @APNSA at 4:44 PM. Subject: defense speech. (1 page)	09/29/2000	P5
001d. draft	Speech Draft. Remarks by Samuel R. Berger Assistan to the President for National Security Affairs at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. (13 pages)	09/29/2000	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Heather Hurlburt, John Pollack
OA/Box Number: 24510

FOLDER TITLE:

[Berger National Security [Military Reform] 9/27/00 [1]

2008-0700-F
db3354

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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Besides: through missions

ask 10 provocative questions

"Clearly we're not to be ready"

Need to spend depends on what we need to have.
Need to have depends on what we need to do.

Fundamental message of Governor Clinton was to say ^{Key questions about big army?}
What kind of an army? We know missions vary greatly
Need to be able to fight range - from...
i a complicated world, ask mil. to do a lot of things
That mil. is struggling with over next decade

Strategic - Steve
mobility / what are we sacrificing for mobility / compromise a physical
New threats - critical infrastructure
balance

3 sentences

into led / skip a generation
Air war w/o casualties - objective of war to achieve
Obj. w/ least poss. cas., collateral damage
don't believe in ground war, but R.
Should be source of soil-searching
pile, not

future of ground fighting

Personnel - what are the qualities of a soldier
generation further removed from military experience
young people have other opportunities
how do we attract best people => education
=> Albuquerque



"LEXIS /NEXIS Print Delivery" <lexis-nexis@prod.lexis-nexis.com> (R)

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09/28/2000 10:04:44 AM

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1109SR

Print Request: Selected Document(s): 8

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8 of 8 DOCUMENTS

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September 27, 2000, Wednesday

SECTION: CAPITOL HILL HEARING

LENGTH: 34032 words

HEADLINE: SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE HEARING

SUBJECT: U.S. MILITARY READINESS

WITNESSES: GEN. HENRY SHELTON, CHAIRMAN, JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF GEN. ERIC SHINSEKI, ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF ADM. VERNON CLARK, CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS GEN. JAMES JONES, JR., MARINE CORPS COMMANDANT GEN. MICHAEL RYAN, AIR FORCE CHIEF OF

Siberell, Justin H. (NSA)

From:
Sent:
To:
Cc:
Subject:

Malinowski, Tomasz P. (SPCHW)
Friday, September 29, 2000 4:44 PM
@APNSA
@SPEECH - NSC Speechwriters; @DEFENSE - Defense Policy
defense speech [UNCLASSIFIED]

→ Tom
lets discuss
@

For SRB:

Latest draft of Defense speech, with much additional work by Heather and me. Let me know when you're ready to discuss.

- Tom



srb security
speech_doc

- ① should I raise consequences of disparity of resources; I'm old-fashioned enough to think that it is better for America, and better for the integrity of our military, if diplomats make foreign policy
- ② would like a provocative (and of) point in 2d part on strategic arms (Steven now threats?)

Draft 09/29/00 4:00pm
Heather Hurlburt

REMARKS BY SAMUEL R. BERGER ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS AT THE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

The last time I spoke here it was to set out a foreign policy agenda for the President's second term. Time flies ^① when you're having fun. I ~~told you then~~ ^{said that day} that I was here not to praise the post-Cold War period, but to bury it, ^{that it was time to} as we build a new national security policy for a new era. Today I want to talk about ^{that in the context of one critical dimension of} how we're doing that with national defense.

national security -- national defense.
There ~~was~~ ^{the} a broad, almost universal consensus during the Cold War about the central threat we ^{that existed} faced. Although ~~that challenge~~ ^{other dangers} has vanished, ^{other threats} have not and new dangers have arisen. So ^{an} unmatched American military is and must remain the steel core of our national security strategy.

It is not, and should never be, our course of first resort; sending ^{our forces in harm's way} ~~our people into danger~~ can only ^{should} be a course of last resort. But ^{As the Americans, no matter how comfortable we are,} we as a nation ^{must} should never forget that there are interests and ^{one thing} ~~interests and ideals~~ ^{that define us.} Our readiness to fight for the right purposes still guarantees our freedom, responds to crises abroad that threaten ~~our~~ national interests, and gives credibility to our diplomacy. For all these reasons, our military is no less essential now than it was during the Cold War.

Today, the question before us is, what kind of military for what purposes? The Cold War military with its heavy tank divisions in Europe, its ^{ever increasing} nuclear forces, its emphasis on massing firepower onto preset battlefields, served its purpose well. But as that purpose vanished, our ^{have, starting that year} ~~armed forces~~ ^{had} had to undergo revolutionary change. And beginning in 1985, they ~~did~~ ^{Army} Army

divisions fell from 18 to 10; the Navy went from having 15 aircraft carriers to 12; the Air Force from 24 Air Wings to 13; and the number of troops stationed abroad was cut in half to 250,000. Our overall military budget fell by \$140 billion in today's dollars.

Indeed, when then-Governor Clinton hit the campaign trail in 1992, the defense debate we found was over how big the peace dividend should be, not what purpose our military should serve.

* [There was the 33 percent ^{lower} crowd; others said nothing less than a 50 percent cut would do] But Bill Clinton rejected that arbitrary, if tempting, strategy. He said ^{then} that what he called ^{the} "piggy bank approach" shouldn't drive the debate. Instead, he said "the proper question is: ^{When / Where}

^{This} What are the security threats to the United States, what are our commitments to our own fundamental interests and to our allies, and how can we best meet them?"

Eight years later, the defense budget debate is about how much to boost spending, not how much to cut. ^{But all} ~~And too often, the numbers are allowed to~~ drive the discussion of missions, instead of letting the missions and capabilities drive the numbers.

I believe that ~~candidate Clinton had it right -- and that President Clinton has had it right ever since.~~ ^{words} The right question -- and the one we face again today -- is how to match our capabilities and ~~fund~~ to the full range of missions ahead.

The ~~fundamental~~ ^{core} mission of our armed forces has not changed since the Cold War ended. It is and will remain defending against and deterring attacks on the territory of United States, our allies and our citizens. We must also be able to meet major regional threats to our alliances and interests -- from the Korean Peninsula to the Persian Gulf -- without leaving ourselves open to attack or military blackmail elsewhere. That is the rationale behind ^{the} Two Major Theater War strategy, and it remains valid today.

The issue is not whether we have the capability to fight two major regional wars at the same time ~~we do~~ but how long it would take to win and what the cost would be. It would take some time to swing our forces into the second theater, to call up reserves, and to bring our allies into the fight. We would need to rely on air power to keep the second foe in check as we brought other forces to bear. But our potential adversaries must know that they would ultimately lose such a conflict. I believe they do know and are therefore likely to be deterred. *

Those are the pre-eminent missions for American forces. They form the foundation for our decisions on how to structure and equip our forces; and they account for almost 90 percent of our overseas deployments. But they are not the sum total of the ~~core~~ mission of the U.S. military in the 21st century. There will be other situations where both our national interests and fundamental values are at stake – where military action, especially if we act with others, can make an important difference. They fall in two broad categories.

First, there are ~~smaller scale~~ conflicts in which an early intervention may prevent us from having to fight a larger war later. We must be careful not to let these missions become a slippery slope to overcommitment. We cannot be everywhere, or right every wrong. But this does not mean that for the sake of consistency, we should act nowhere, or ignore every potential threat to our interests and ideals. *particularly with others, instead a bit - because... strengthen the national what distinguishes Cong. from Britain?*

For two decades now, National Security Advisers and Secretaries of State and Defense have ~~formulated lists of~~ *articulated various* criteria for the when, where and why of military intervention: that compelling interests must be at stake, that the mission must be clear, *and achievable,* that we must have the support of our allies and understanding of the American people. All are *important.* But ultimately, the decision to use force *is not* ~~cannot be~~ the result of an algebraic equation or a pre-assigned matrix. Real life isn't like that. Leaders have to make reasoned judgements, weighing the costs of action against the *and risks* costs of failing to act. *and risks*

President Clinton has

Over the past eight years, every time ~~we've~~ sent our armed forces into a hostile environment,

we've done it because compelling American national interests were at stake. We responded

We acted to deter such heinous acts in the future.

forcefully to an Iraqi threat against the life of President Bush. Our use of force against Iraq has

We have used force X other times against

held back Saddam Hussein's efforts to rebuild his weapons of mass destruction. Our deployment

of troops to Haiti ended repression that was launching tens of thousands of refugees in rickety

crafts toward our shores. In Bosnia and Kosovo, we held off the specter of a wider war engulfing

NATO allies and spawning a refugee crisis that could have haunted Europe for a generation.

In many of these cases, there was also an important humanitarian dimension. I know that makes

some of our critics uncomfortable. But when they accuse us of stepping atrocities and saving

lives, I believe most of the men and women who served in these missions would be proud to join

me in saying: guilty as charged. And if they truly think America had no national interest in

containing conflict in Europe, or preventing aggression in the Persian Gulf or protecting stability

in our own neighborhood, they are deeply mistaken. In fact, the only time America has sent

forces into conflict for purely humanitarian reasons was in Somalia - beginning in 1992.

Second, it also serves our national interests to have highly-qualified and trained troops available

to help keep the peace when conflict ends. The reason is simple: Ever since we followed World

War II with the Marshall Plan and the creation of NATO, America has not been a country that

wins quick wars and walks away. Victory in war achieves nothing lasting if we do not work

with others to win the peace.

Of course, the global peacekeeping burden has to be borne collectively. To that end, we need to

make the United Nations a more effective instrument of collective action, so peacekeepers can

deploy rapidly, project credible force, and perform missions well-defined by a well-functioning

headquarters. And given our larger international responsibilities, our friends and allies must

and a direct attach terrorist attack on Americans and our African colleagues in NATO and can.

and respond to his mission efforts to crush the Kurds, in violation of UNSC resolutions

head our heads in a serious threatening

apt art of making's through, not to intervention

continue to contribute the vast majority of troops for peacekeeping -- as Europeans have in the Balkans, Australians have in East Timor, and Nigerians have in Sierra Leone.

But burden sharing is a two way street. Our allies rely on our unique capabilities in logistics and airlift. Others, including in Africa, will be able to carry their share of the burden far more effectively with U.S. training and equipment. And there are times when it does serve our interests for ^{appropriate} numbers of American troops to participate directly. We cannot maintain our position of global leadership if we ask others to take all the risks and costs.

[blue hat
green hat]

So then the question arises: ^{have} ~~are~~ the deployments of the last several years overextending our military or ^{take} ~~taking~~ the edge of our troops' performance in combat? We should approach that question with some perspective. Of our 2.2 million active duty and reserve personnel, ^{about 10% --} 250,000 are deployed overseas, ~~and~~ ^{only} about 30,000 are involved in ongoing military operations. Of

these, almost 20,000 are helping to contain Saddam Hussein. ^{a mission widely} ~~one argues we should withdraw~~ ^{we have reduced the U.S. presence from} About 10,000 are in the Balkans anchoring a European force five times as large; pulling

xx in
1995
to
yy in

them out would devastate the NATO alliance. We have just 1,000 troops in the Sinai helping to preserve peace in the Middle East. That leaves fewer than a dozen apiece in UN operations from Georgia to East Timor, -- ^{the fact is that less} ~~less~~ than one percent of UN peacekeepers are American. Going from

one percent to zero percent would have no impact on readiness. It would simply ^{appear that} ~~make~~ America seem short-sighted and selfish in the eyes of the world. ^{is a retreating} ~~And failure to pay our~~

and
we
should
continue
that
sensible
drawdown.
But

^{bill for his peacekeeping, (as Congress is about to do)} ~~What I've heard~~ from our troops around the world, top to bottom, is that they didn't join the

military for its combat drills -- and that they are proud of what they do. I saw it in Haiti, where soldiers ^{simply to be trained} ~~rebuilt~~ schools and community centers on their own time. And I saw it during the conflict in Kosovo, when pilots saw from the air the devastation Milosevic was wreaking, and returned to base to tell the President, "Our team wants to stay with this mission until it's

finished." And speaking of the men and women who won the war in Kosovo, it's clear that the

or to put it another way, for every one American engaged in UN operations to maintain the peace, there are 99 from other countries. I would say that's a pretty good burden sharing

little
we
receive
hundreds
in
troops
from
1 to 3.
appears to
be

edge of their combat skills was razor sharp. Our armed forces have performed magnificently whenever we've asked them to go into harm's way.

Our military leaders have made clear that our forward-deployed forces -- those we would rely on to get to the fight first in a major conflict -- are trained and ready for any contingency. They have also pointed out that the missions ^{they've been asked} ~~we've asked them~~ to perform demand a high tempo of operations. That places strains on service members and their families. It sometimes diverts resources from units behind the front lines and here at home. We must place a high priority on thoroughly training troops for the task at hand; for re-training when troops move from one mission to another; and for investing in the equipment that will keep readiness high in future.

← caveat
of future
trajectory?
not just
readiness

Of course, we could meet these challenges far more cheaply if we cut back sharply on foreign deployments and used the military only for its traditional mission of preparing for a major war.

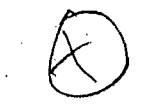
But it makes little sense to say: on the one hand, we shouldn't have used our military in the Balkans or Haiti or Iraq or supported our allies in peacekeeping missions around the world -- and on the other hand, we should add tens of billions of dollars to our defense budget. We don't need to spend more to do less. Calls for increased spending on readiness make sense only if you believe, as the President does, that America must support its global engagement with the full range of military missions I have described.

is this
misception
and
trigger
happy
characterize

Instead of asking less of our men and women in uniform, we must ensure they are organized and equipped to do what we ask. That calls for a new military, or what the insiders like to call a revolution in military affairs (RMA)." And that revolution is exactly what Bill Perry and Bill Cohen, and Generals Shalikashvili and Shelton, Owens and Ralston and Meyers [is this the right, and complete, list?] have been working on over recent years -- putting the Pentagon's most creative minds to work building tomorrow's military and maintaining our ability to fight the threats of today.

but we're
done
\$112 billion
pay raise
health
care
more needed

60 billion



know
a kind
of mission
nothing will
substitute
for what
the president
leaders making
most
decisions.
what should
drive
debate
about
spending

is
not so much
cutting back
missions) as need
addressing new capabilities

addressing new capabilities

what kind of investment

~~Let me raise just five~~

~~I want to mention five challenges they have identified and with our support are moving ahead to~~

resolve) First, balancing our forces between old missions and new; second, mastering new technologies, especially information technology, without letting them master us. Third, developing force mobility for global missions; fourth, making sure we keep our alliances and partnerships up to the task. And fifth, attracting and retaining the high-quality personnel that a high-tech military demands.

Need
better
transition:
relationships
of world
kind
we live
in
transits
we find;
kind of
army we
need!

1. Balance

The single biggest question we face in ^{defense} planning for national security is this: will the conflicts of the next 20 years look like those of the last 10? We don't know, and we cannot afford to bet wrong. Put another way, we must strike a balance; and have forces prepared to fight across the spectrum from large regional wars to low-intensity conflict or peacekeeping operations.

Military planners tell us that we will not have the luxury of purely specialized units. So the Marine Corps has developed a flexible training concept it calls the three-block war. Imagine an expeditionary force bringing heavy weapons to bear in an urban firefight. One block away, their unitmates act as mediators to defuse an armed conflict. A block beyond, the fighting has stopped and U.S. forces are providing assistance to civilians. All of this is happening simultaneously. And not only does the U.S. force need a full spectrum of equipment and capabilities, its personnel need the information and skills to figure out which block they're on -- and the agility to handle several at once.

What?
Why?

capabilities

2. Technology

Already, our best weaponry is a generation ahead of our nearest potential rival. And nowhere is this more evident than information technology -- tying our personnel more closely together and better connecting them to the outside world.

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'n)
orig.

?

For example, think about what information, and the precision targeting it allows, has done for air power. In World War II, we devoted 9,000 bombs, and 1,500 sorties to ~~one~~ ^{a single} 60' by 100' target. Today, one B-2 with 16 bombs can target 16 such sites. And in Kosovo, we were able to use precision-guided munitions more than 98 percent of the time – compared with just 9 percent in the Gulf War. ~~In a similar vein,~~ ^{single?} the Army and Navy are experimenting with information systems that create a ~~global~~ ⁼ information network among tanks and field units, or ships and submarines, as if they were computer users within a single office. ^{* take on an war?}

But as the Joint Chiefs have pointed out again and again, not all our weaponry is our best weaponry – and some of it is perilously close to obsolete. The air force's tanker fleet is on average 38 years old; the marines' amphibious assault vehicle was first fielded 29 years ago. Procuring new weapons today is absolutely key to ensuring readiness tomorrow. ^{Why is this true? because we neglected?}

^{so we} We have no choice but to do two things at once – continue to go high-tech as fast as we can, experimenting vigorously and investing in technologies that show promise, while maintaining and upgrading the weapons systems that enable us to fight and win a war today.

3. Mobility

During the Cold War, we knew where our opponent would be, and stationed forces and equipment accordingly. That is ⁷ simply no longer possible. So today we face a major challenge in mobility -- increasing deployment speed without sacrificing the firepower of bigger, heavier weaponry. We can't just be the biggest force ~~around~~ -- we've got to be able to be ~~around~~ wherever we need to be. And we must be ready to respond to the increased mobility of our adversaries. ^{larger point about global era here}

So the Air Force is building its future around expeditionary forces designed to move fast and operate where infrastructure is lacking. The Army is getting lighter and more mobile, investigating, for example, ways to take the functions of a tank and split them among several smaller units. The Navy is adjusting to support expeditionary forces from the sea, rather than simply fighting on the sea. But this too is going to take time – and the right kind of investment.

very
art of
clear
meaning?

4. Maintaining Strong Partnerships

We've got to keep in mind that ~~we probably won't be~~ ^{rarely will we be} facing any of these challenges alone – nor will we necessarily want to. That means maintaining strong links with the militaries of allies and friends – and maintaining our ability to mount combined operations with them.

The challenge here grows from our very success in becoming a high-tech, highly mobile force. Even as we're retooling, many of our allies are ~~seeing declines~~ ^{cutting} in defense budgets. The Kosovo air campaign revealed a growing technology and capability gap between the United States and its allies. It's ironic: even as some in the U.S. say we're not moving forward fast enough, there's a real danger we're going to get so far ahead of our allies in technology and mobility that they won't be able to share the burden.

In the past, inter-operability meant compatible ammunition and exchanges of field manuals; in future, it will be a matter of ability to share information and take rapid advantage of it.

Since last year, we've been working with our NATO allies to meet specific targets for capabilities such as force mobility, on-the-ground support and communication. NATO is committed to seeing that every member meets its targets -- and we are making progress toward narrowing the gap.

what does
this
mean?
why does
it
matter?

Meeting this challenge is going to require a good bit of diplomacy, and some unusual new partnerships among militaries and defense industries; it's also, frankly, going to require that those nations most eager to see the United States as a partner, not a hegemon, step up and do their full share.

5. Personnel

We must not get so caught up in technology that we forget the foundations of our military success – the people who serve in our armed forces.

~~In the not-so-distant future~~ ^{Increasingly,} the men and women of the armed forces ~~will be~~ ^{are} surrounded with high-tech equipment and barraged with information. We ~~will~~ rely on them to make more independent judgements than ever before – and they ~~will~~ have less time in which to do it.

Investments in technology will fail without people at every level ~~who are~~ eager to learn new skills and willing to stay around long enough to make America's investment in them pay off. The brains and dedication of America's enlisted personnel are the envy of armed forces the world over. In a competitive economy, we've got to make sure things stay that way.

We must invest in helping today's soldiers, sailors, airmen and marines prepare for tomorrow's high-tech military. And the services are finding creative ways to do that. Just recently I visited ^{The US Air Force [CA], as a class} a submarine whose cruises are six months long. Almost every submariner I met, of every rank, was taking college courses on line. In fact, each year about 400,000 servicemen and women enroll in courses leading to college and graduate degrees.

We have also begun an effort to make the military a better place to make a career and raise a family. We have raised military pay by more than 8 percent over the last two years, and we expect to raise it significantly again next year. This year's raise was the largest in nearly 20

years. We've increased parts of the military pay scale as much as five percent to reward service members who gain experience – and stay in to use it. And we are providing better military housing, and improving access to medical care for all military personnel. [possible mention of tri-care bill before Congress.]

Of course, all of this costs money. But it is only against a solid framework of missions and capabilities that we can begin to look at the "piggy bank" issues. Here too, we have ~~made~~ a ~~strong beginning on re-shaping defense spending for new priorities~~ ^{moving} from managing the post-Cold War builddown to ^{beginning to develop} the 21st century force. Since 1997, ~~we've turned the~~ ^{we've seen} ~~cuts in defense spending around and achieved~~ a 6 percent rise in real spending. We are meeting the Department of Defense's target for \$60 billion annual spending on new weapons procurement. When the Pentagon leadership saw readiness problems on the horizon, we responded with a \$112 billion readiness package. And in three of four services, the portion of the force judged most ready is now higher than it was in 1993.

after
a 10%
decline
since
1985.

There are always choices.

Let's keep the numbers in perspective. The United States now spends 50 cents of every dollar of discretionary spending on defense. ~~We account for one-third of all global defense spending. By the most conservative estimates~~ ^{The United States} ~~our defense spending is now three times that of Russia, China and North Korea together.~~ ^{15 years ago, their spending easily equaled ours.} We spend more on military basic research and development than all the rest of the world combined.

to build the new military we need

The Joint Chiefs have said repeatedly that more needs to be done, and any future administration will have to think hard about how. ~~The~~ ^{they} have also said that one important step would be to ensure that we are not spending money on things we no longer need. ^{For example,} By allowing the military to take our Peacekeeper nuclear missiles down, as we planned to do in any case under START II, we could gain more than \$700 million over five years for modernization. By lifting its hold on base closings the military has requested, Congress could free up another \$3 billion ~~over~~ —

across
the
range

stet?

have to
make
them
write

Likewise, when we think about resources, we must ^{national security} remember that there are ^{other than defense} dimensions of ~~national security~~ which complement and reinforce our defense.

30 demand

As we build up strength and high-tech capabilities, our adversaries will try to frustrate us and hit us where we are most vulnerable — in our information networks and here at home. As we meet that threat, we've got to think about military forces, but also about firefighters and computer programmers; about the National Guard, about terrorism prevention at home and around the world.

And we must seek to prevent today problems which will lead to instability and conflict tomorrow.

While our defense budgets fell and then turned upward in this decade, our budget for diplomacy has declined with no rise in sight. Today ^{we spend} our per capita spending on foreign aid ^{our per capita} ranks the lowest of any industrialized democracy. Our budget for foreign affairs is 50 percent lower, in real terms, than a decade ago. And it represents less than once percent of our gross domestic product.

define that rank for

2 billion down in 150

^{we are the dominant power in the world in virtually every respect but one,}
This year, Congress is again ^{is badly underfunding} missing an opportunity to turn those numbers around. Just a year after we took steps to get out of debt at the UN, Congress is ^{has cut} proposing to underfund UN needs by ^{cutting} as much as 50 percent. Funds for embassy security and counterterrorism have been cut by 30 percent in the Senate. And Congress has proposed cutting funding to protect our cyber security in half. Ultimately, it's a simple point: diplomacy without resources is about as effective as a ^{helping the half of the world's people who barely live on \$2/day} military without weapons.

This is a real test for those who ^{truly} care about our national security. As we add to our overwhelming military superiority, will we spend what we must to build up our defenses where

The diplomacy that makes military force less necessary

In that category

least attractive examples

??

we are truly vulnerable? If we do not want to over-extend our military, will we spend a tiny fraction of our military budget to support the United Nations and train African peacekeepers so that others can help to shoulder the burden? If we don't want to risk the lives of our troops and spend billions of dollars responding to distant conflicts, will we spend a relative pittance to support democracy and to fight abject poverty so that conflict is prevented?

billions
aren't
pittance
to host

This is an extraordinary moment for America. Our military power, like our economic strength, is unparalleled. Our values are ascendant. We can afford to have the best-trained, best-equipped, best-led military in the world – of that there should be no doubt. We can also afford to have a strong diplomacy – and we cannot afford not to have a diplomacy strong enough to solve problems before our military is needed.

The next President and Congress will find America well-prepared for the challenges we face today – and with a strong foundation for those we will face in the future. They will also find a world eager for U.S. leadership – but insistent that it be the right kind of leadership, based on the power of our ideals, the force of our example, and the depth of our commitment to stand up for what we believe. And meeting that challenge requires the constant efforts of military and civilian leaders alike.

Thank you very much.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. note	[Typed and hand written note on un-ruled and ruled paper] To Mr. Berger from Heather Hurlburt. (5 pages)	09/22/2000	P5
001b. note	[Handwritten note concerning Military Reform] [The handwritten note is on the reverse of an undated speech draft] (4 pages)	n.d.	P5
001c. draft	Speech draft. Remarks by Samuel R. Berger Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. (13 pages)	09/27/2000	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Heather Hurlburt, John Pollack
OA/Box Number: 24510

FOLDER TITLE:

Berger National Security [Military Reform] 9/27/00 [2]

2008-0700-F

db3355

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]

TO: Mr. Berger
 FROM: Heather Hurlburt, Speechwriting
 DATE: 22 September 2000
 RE: Your CSIS Speech

Tom and I have gone over this draft with Hans Binnendijk and his staff. Apologies for not getting it to you earlier. I am available through Signal all weekend.

- ~~Explain~~
1. last time said buried post CW. ¹ Build ~~new~~
national security policy for new era
 → today talk about how we're
 living that w/ national defense
 2. although CW over, threats to US national
 interest not. Strong military will
 continue to be centerpiece of national
 security ~~strategy~~ policy / strategy.
 → not the course of just resort;
 put American soldiers into danger only as
last resort
 → but their capacity, readiness,
 motivation, our willingness ~~to~~ and our
 readiness to fight for the right ~~to~~
 purposes, guaranteed our freedom,
 responds to crises abroad that affect
 our national interests and goes
 credibility ~~and~~ to our diplomacy ~~that~~ which
 seeks to avoid conflict. In short,
 strong military ~~is~~ no less important
 than during CW to advancing ~~world~~
~~not~~ peaceful world.

steel
core

still

3. Today, questions: what kind of
 military for what purposes?

→ clearly, military of CW
 with [1-2 examples of CW mix deployment] served
 its purpose and had to be undergo revolutionary

change. That is why, starting in 1985, USG reduced size for from $x \rightarrow y$, durations from $a-b$, budget for from $c-d$.

not
for what
purpose

→ Indeed, in ~~1992~~, the defense debate we found in 1992 was about how much more to cut, about 50% or - 33% or.

→ Not yet President Clinton rejected that approach. [Quote from G'town speech on need to look at missions/capabilities / #'s] still right today.

arbitrary
is
scripting

4. ~~There is~~ threat environment different.

Not one overriding but in interdependent world, I still must maintain & capacity to defend U.S. and allies.

mission

→ [what do we say about 2 1/2 MRZ?]

II Other (situations) where American national interests at stake from regional conflicts where we, particularly w/ others, can make a difference.

fundamental

and
values
both

→ This does not mean that to me that

US forces

→ must be careful This is not a slippery slope. US cannot / should not be everywhere. But that doesn't mean should be nowhere

When
where
why

Judgement

→ some have suggested US forces overcommitted. On each case, this President has committed US forces into

non-permissive environment, ~~to protect that~~
~~the~~ American national interests were at
 stake

→ ~~the~~ Go thru each: IRAQ I (GB)
in national interest HAITI

IRAQ II
 IRAQ III

BOSNIA

KOSOVO

to where not?

→ In some of these cases, also
 humanitarian dimension. But I believe only
 purely humanitarian intervention by us
 was Somalia in 1992.

→ ~~By same token, I don't think~~

(iii) Beyond protection of US/allies,
 regional conflict that affects us where we
 can make difference particularly w/
 others, third area is purely peacekeeping.

- Kosovo, Bosnia, Sma. ~~they~~
- Again US cannot be

everywhere. But today, only xx US
 troops engaged in (iii) peacekeeping
 out of (yy). ~~If we don't do our~~
 the much needs to be done about
 peacekeeping capability of UN. Brahimi
 report. But ~~is~~ source of great
 leverage / burden sharing. Must do
 our part in appropriate circumstances
 (e.g. ERIC)

DKAR

multiplier
3x

are we overextended? (Some recognition of ~~spence~~ problem). But look at #'s.
(Go through total # of active US military.
30,000 in peacekeeping / x deployments).

more challenging
5. So, ~~variegated~~ threat environment.
What calls for new military. That's what Bill Perry and Russ Cohen, Spall and Shelton, Owens and Ralston and Meyers have been doing. Building tomorrow's military even while maintaining today.

→ Challenges

- (1) balance
- (2) technology
- (3) mobility
- (4) interoperability
- (5) Tomorrow's soldier (more about ~~the~~ college education on subs, etc) innovatively working w. soldier

→ [Any way to objectively measure how well we're doing? Any validation, including speeches of chiefs?]

only
6. Against That framework of mission and capability can we look at resources.
when military leaders said needed ~~more~~
⇒ \$112b ↑ to deal w/ readiness
⇒ reach \$60 billion procurement
⇒ [other way to put #'s against capability needs?]
In readiness

nor do I believe that this diverts from core training
↓
spoken to soldiers officers w. mil in H/B/K -
↓
morale high

are they the right ones?
do they track military priorities?

-5-

⇒ [and by the way, other #'s which show how much we spend - 50% of all discretionary budget]

7. Must also understand that there are other dimensions of our security which complement and reinforce defense.

⇒ diplomacy [some good #'s / examples of ~~the~~ underfunding problem]

⇒ dipl w/o resources no better than military w/o weapons.

8. [what's left out?]

ENGAGEMENT
LEADS

- ① unique moment
- ② US leadership needed; US position unparalleled
- ③ can afford to have best military
can afford to have best dipl to ↓ need to do military

1. bring nat'l security policy for a new
nat'l defense. threat not over; end of op policy
last resort... but readiness to fight guarantees on freedom...

⇒ (there are some things worth fighting for)

Plans - Cold War military - build down from 88 - debate about how
much to cut

⇒ (has partner)

- Candidate Clinton #

Intens → look again for '92 quote

Hands ⇒ 2's MREs if we can say something that "the 2's construct
remains sensible because... or if..."

- Missions 1) Core missions (use ours)
2) US nat'l interests - fundamental values both
regional conflicts... (use ours)

- where/when/why: Careful not to make a slip. Everywhere/nowhere
pushes of judgement... compelling interest, clear mission, support of others
all relevant
don't use matrix But there is an algebraic equation. Leaders
have to make judgments about costs of
action v. inaction

- Critics = Iraq - tried to kill Bush

1 sentence about

each Iraq - WMD

Bosnia/Rosard

of these, where not?

- Also here... Somalia.

- PKOs: 5000 - 10000 + 20000 Much needs to be done about UN PKO.

Some of coverage - bush/shaw...

That's a sacred trust. And the responsibility for maintaining it lies not so much with our men and women in uniform, but with those of us in the Executive Branch and Congress who must choose when and where – and how equipped and prepared – they will be asked to put their lives on the line.

It's our responsibility to equip and train them for the missions ahead, and to give them our unreserved support when they are in the field. It's our responsibility to plan for the future without neglecting the present. And most of all, it is our responsibility to maintain America's record of global leadership – and make sure it is the right kind.

When America leads the right way, we use diplomacy to resolve conflicts before they demand the presence of our troops. We recognize that the best way to avoid overextending our armed forces is to avoid underfunding our diplomacy. When America leads the right way, we can enlist the help of friends and allies in keeping the peace, and stand by them when they need our help. That way, we will have not only the military power to get the job done, but the global respect and authority to stand up for the interests and values that are worth fighting for.

Maintaining that respect and authority will help us keep the military filled with dedicated people, committed to their work and supported by the American people. And the measure of that respect and authority will be our most important guidepost to make sure that we do not lose our way amid the river of technological gains and geopolitical shifts that we will surely see in the years ahead.

Are we overextended?

Hans $\Rightarrow$ Ops tempo; multiplier 3 for every 1

Not do I believe this works for Core Planning.

SRB to Haiti, Bosnia, Kosovo — feel they're doing something meaningful
— They joined the military to act, not just to train.

more Challenging environment

most creative military minds...

Do Soldiers as #5 — soldiers taking college courses on-line on subs
on 6-month tour on submarine

Hans $\Rightarrow$ 3 examples of innovative investment in people

resources — against framework

Hans $\Rightarrow$ 'numbers against capabilities

And by the way... speaking numbers

the other dimensions of our National Security...

Eric $\Rightarrow$ C.T. Nigeria's transition is vital to stability of Africa,
yet we can only offer a fraction of help we should to

as
separate
don

X, Y, Z

1 or 2 more

more numbers

we spend $< 1\%$ GDP — ?
(compared to $< 1\%$)

Since last year, we've been working with our NATO allies to meet specific targets for capabilities such as force mobility, on-the-ground support and communication. NATO is committed to seeing that every member meets its targets -- and we are making progress toward narrowing the gap.

Meeting this challenge is going to require a good bit of delicate diplomacy, and some unusual new partnerships among militaries and defense industries; it's also, frankly, going to require that those nations most eager to see the United States as a partner, not a hegemon, step up and do their full share.

These four challenges deserve consideration by everyone who thinks about the future of our military. But we must not get so caught up in them that we overlook what will continue to be the foundations of our national security--the people who serve in our armed forces, and those who have the power to choose or reject the path of international leadership.

In the not-so-distant future, the men and women of the armed forces will be surrounded with high-tech equipment and barraged with information. We will rely on them to make more independent judgements than ever before -- and they will have less time in which to do it.

Investments in technology will fail without people at every level who are eager to learn new skills and willing to stay around long enough to make America's investment in them pay off. The brains and dedication of America's enlisted personnel are the envy of armed forces the world over. In a competitive economy, we've got to make sure things stay that way.

We have already begun an effort to make the military a better place to make a career and raise a family. We have raised military pay by more than 8 percent over the last two years, and we expect to raise it significantly again next year. This year's raise was the largest in nearly 20 years. We've increased parts of the military pay scale as much as five percent to reward service members who gain experience -- and stay in to use it. And we are providing better military housing, and improving access to medical care for all military personnel. **[possible mention of tri-care bill before Congress.]**

But financial incentives are not going to be enough. Serving America is, and always has been, about more than the money and the on-the-job training. It's about service, sacrifice, and commitment to the ideals that illuminate our nation -- and sharing that vision where it is most desperately needed.

Now, I don't want to sound like a recruiting poster. But every time I've had the privilege to visit our Armed Forces in action, I've been profoundly impressed with their dedication -- and their pride. I've seen it in the Saudi desert, where they contend with scorching heat, sand storms and giant bugs to hold back Saddam Hussein. I saw it in Haiti, where soldiers rebuilt schools and community centers -- on their own time. And I saw it during the conflict in Kosovo, when I heard a pilot based out of Spangdahlem Air Force Base in Germany tell the President, "Sir, our team wants to stay with this mission until it's finished."

Draft 09/22/00 8:50pm
Heather Hurlburt

REMARKS BY SAMUEL R. BERGER
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS
AT THE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
September 27, 2000

The last time I spoke here it was to set out a foreign policy agenda for the President's second term. *when you're having a good time.*
How time flies. Three years ago, I told you I was here not to praise the post-Cold War period, but to bury it, *as we build a foreign policy for a new era.* Today I want to [continue that rite] on the military side of our national security policy. *[doesn't quite work]*

There was broad, almost universal consensus, during the Cold War on
~~During the Cold War~~, the central threat we faced ~~was clear~~. Our response ~~to it~~, although costly and sometimes controversial, was straightforward *and* it was widely understood that security *I think this assures many serious defense debates during CW, including w/ our allies*
had both military and political dimensions – and that we ~~couldn't afford to be anything less than~~ *could afford nothing less*
Then to be world leaders in both.

can't start w/ non-defense plays into mythology that we're under attack emphasized
Today, the threats are different; but security still means more than the use or threat of force. I'm proud that the Clinton Administration has taken the lead in broadening our national security concept. [It's simple enough – in a world where not just advanced weaponry but words and images, diseases and drugs travel faster and farther than ever, the violence and unrest that threaten us tomorrow can grow from terrorism, crime and drug trafficking, disease, poverty, instability that go unstopped today.] *not every problem is not security problem. Need much tighter framework.*

So part of any national security strategy must be commitment to a strong diplomacy – and commitment to funding fully the initiatives *that can prevent* ~~through which our engagement now heads off~~ armed

conflict in the future. [Frankly, I'm surprised again and again how quickly we've forgotten that it took more than guns to end the Cold War. That it was our diplomacy, not our arsenal, that helped eliminate hundreds of nuclear weapons in the former Soviet Union. No one wants to see military-only solutions to the challenges we face in Colombia, the Balkans, or Central Africa.]

Yuck!!
this
sounds
like
Paul Wellstone

But a diplomacy without resources is no better than a military without weapons. Our budget for foreign affairs is 50 percent lower, in real terms, than it was a decade ago. ~~That is a foolish choice for a peace dividend.~~ And so far this year, Congressional budget proposals have cut money for critical infrastructure protection in half, and slashed funds for embassy security and counterterrorism. And some in Congress still block funding for UN peacekeeping operations [that help us avoid putting American troops in harm's way.]

examples
of why
that's
foolish

We must also understand that defense entails much more than traditional forces. As we build up strength and high-tech capabilities, our enemies are not going to try to match us. They will try to frustrate us and hit us where we are most vulnerable -- in our information networks and here at home. When we think about meeting this threat through homeland defense, we've got to think about military forces, but also about firefighters and computer programmers; about the National Guard at home, but also terrorism prevention around the world.

who are
our

enemies?

What are
the

threats?

This already
gets into
character.

We can't live securely at home without funding a strong, broad American engagement with the world. But we still live in a dangerous world -- one where a topnotch fighting force is indispensable to our security, prosperity and freedom. We've spent much of the past seven years seizing the opportunities opened by the Cold War's end, and addressing the long-buried conflicts

an unmatched, ready, flexible

thought we buried that construct

haven't
talked
about
military;
start w/
firefighters

it brought to the surface. At home, we have launched a new military while maintaining all the strength of the old one.

Sometimes, this process has ^{been} ~~looked more~~ like a turning aircraft carrier ~~than the swift maneuvers of the carrier's fighter planes~~. But I believe we've succeeded – because we kept our eye on the threat, and because we learned the lessons of other times in American history when military triumphs ~~in the recent past~~ left us too complacent about the future. [When the military leadership came to us and said, we need to protect readiness; we need to strengthen recruitment; we have to improve quality of life, we listened. To meet those needs, we reversed a decline in military spending that began in 1985]

We restructured our forces to meet the changing threat – and from Haiti to the Balkans to the Gulf, they've done an outstanding job every time we've asked them to go into harm's way. In three of four services, the portion of the force judged ready is higher than it was in 1993. All the services are meeting their recruiting goals.

Other nations are rightfully impressed by the quality of our armed forces – and utterly uncomprehending of how we might think we are not spending enough on them. Just look at the numbers. We now spend 50 cents of every dollar of discretionary spending on defense. We account for one-third of all global defense spending. By the most conservative estimates, our defense spending is now three times that of Russia, China and North Korea together. 15 years ago, their spending easily equaled ours. We spend more on military basic research and development than all the rest of the world combined.

disjointed -
seems like
you start
on
concept; then
shift to
it.
Maybe
we were
going
from
threat/
mission
to it.
Just the
opposite.

in the wake of the Cold War, the defense debate swirled around what percentage to cut
Eight years ago, some commentators wanted to plan our military around the size of the peace dividend. ~~Even before he was President, then Gov Clinton~~ ^{He said} that numbers shouldn't drive the debate; instead, the threat we face, and the capabilities we needed to meet that threat, should drive the numbers. ^{the defense budget.}
[Now, some commentators think we should chart our military's future as an arbitrary percentage ^{That is still the} of our economy.] ^{were} But a decade after the end of the Cold War, the numbers question is still the ^{50% in} wrong question. ^{and} And the right answer is still the one President Clinton and the Joint Chiefs have ^{33% of} worked to implement ^{likely} match the capabilities we need to the missions ahead.

The fundamental mission of our armed forces has not changed. It is and will remain defending and deterring against attacks on the territory of United States and on our citizens. We must also be able to meet regional threats to our alliances and interests – from the Korean Peninsula to ^{the Gulf} Saddam Hussein – without leaving ourselves open to attack or military blackmail elsewhere. ^{rejected that} ^{analytical} ^{on should} ^{I say} ^{non-} ^{analytical} ^{framework}

Those are the pre-eminent missions for American forces. They form the foundation for our decisions on how to structure and equip our forces; and they account for almost 90 percent of our overseas deployments. But they are not the sum total of circumstances where U.S. force ^{may be} required. We must be prepared to engage when important interests and values are at stake and we can make a difference – and when a small-scale or collective intervention now may prevent us from having to fight a larger-scale conflict later. And finally, it serves America's most profound national interests that we have highly-qualified and trained troops available to carry out and support peacekeeping and humanitarian operations around the world.

→ open, but doesn't answer: where? which?

This shows over the use of force question

continually

A great deal has been said about these last two missions ⁰ ~~much of it providing more heat than~~

~~We must always review and reexamine our deployments abroad,~~
~~light. For example, critics have found it easy enough, despite strong evidence to the contrary, to~~
~~individually or as a whole and collectively, but I do not believe they~~
~~claim that we're over-committed. They've had a harder time telling us exactly which~~ ~~are~~ ~~overextended.~~

deployments are unnecessary. Would they bring home the 1,000 Americans serving in Sinai, ~~of Force 67X.~~

the few dozen personnel in [country TBD]? I'm assuming they would not choose to draw down ~~then,~~

our forces in the Persian Gulf. That leaves the Balkans, where our 10,000 troops are meeting our ~~make~~

commitment to our NATO allies and anchoring a European force five times as large. I cannot ~~an~~ ~~argument.~~

see a responsible Administration of either party making any of those choices.

~~I believe and the President believes~~ our armed forces should not be used in situations where ~~we~~

America's national

~~American~~ ^{not} interests are at stake. And they have not been. Over the past eight years, we've sent

our armed forces into hostile circumstances to meet Saddam Hussein's threat to use weapons of

mass destruction; we used force in the Balkans to respond to the specter of a wider war engulfing

NATO allies and spawning a refugee crisis that could have haunted Europe for a generation.

Closer to home, we sent our troops to end repression that was launching tens of thousands of

Haitians in rickety crafts toward our shores. ~~For all the talk about humanitarian intervention, the~~

~~only time we've sent forces into conflict for purely humanitarian reasons~~ ^{intervention by the US} ~~was in Somalia -~~

~~beginning in 1992.~~

Some have carried the argument about U.S. missions to its extreme, and suggested that our

??

forces should be peacemakers but never peacekeepers. But what would that say about our

willingness, as a nation, to make sure that our soldiers' victories endure after the battle is over?

What would that do to our capacity to lead? Remember our early experience in Bosnia, where

Many of these deployments
 also had a humanitarian
 dimension. But I believe
 the only purely

our allies resisted our leadership because they had troops on the ground and we did not. And

*resisted
military
force*

let's not forget that the disproportionate power America enjoys today is far more likely to be accepted by others if we use it for more than self-protection. If we did not support our friends and allies when they take risks for peace, we would find ourselves alone when we need them.

Practically speaking, if we were never seen to do our share, it would put an end to the coalition

*what
does that
mean?*

of nations that already carry most of the peacekeeping burden. We have unique capabilities in logistics and airlift which our friends and allies rely on. The right thing to do is to take the lead in training and assisting other nations that have profound interests in preventing and resolving regional conflicts. We're doing that through the Africa Crisis Response Initiative and with countries like Nigeria, which has spent \$10 billion and sacrificed hundreds of its soldiers' lives for peace in West Africa. It is in no one's interest for us to become the world's policeman. But we are a global leader, with capabilities and interests no other country can match; we cannot stand aside from our responsibilities, nor should we want to.

*again,
open a
topic -
peacekeeping
but offer
no real
insight*

I don't believe those mission categories will look very different a decade from now. But the world in which we carry out those missions clearly will. So instead of debating categories of readiness, we ought to be considering how the world will be different and how we're going to develop our capabilities for it.

I want to suggest four challenges: balancing our forces between old missions and new; mastering new technologies, especially information technology, without letting them master us;

developing mobility for global missions; and making sure we keep our alliances and partnerships up to the task.

Are these happening? When should we credit military?

1. Balance

The single biggest question we face in planning for national security is this: will the conflicts of the next 20 years look like those of the last 10? We don't know, and we cannot afford to bet wrong. Put another way, we must strike a balance; and have forces prepared to fight across the spectrum from large regional wars to low-intensity conflict or peacekeeping operations.

Some ~~commentators~~ ^{deployment} have struck an absolute contrast between the two types of warfare, and

suggested that involvement in peacekeeping operations is taking the edge off our troops'

Not what I've heard from soldiers, top to bottom, who...
performance in combat. The topnotch performances by our forces in both types of missions

suggests otherwise. But it is true that troops need to be thoroughly trained and correctly

equipped for the mission we ask them to perform – and that takes time and resources. It is also

true that units need time for re-training when switching from one mission to another.

We will not, however, have the luxury of purely specialized units. The Marine Corps has

developed a training concept it calls the three-block war. Imagine an expeditionary force

bringing heavy weapons to bear in an urban firefight. One block away, their unitmates act as *Can we define that?*

mediators to defuse an armed conflict. A block beyond, the fighting has stopped and U.S. forces

are providing assistance to civilians. All of this is happening simultaneously. And not only does

the U.S. force need a full spectrum of equipment and capabilities, its soldiers need the

information and skills to figure out which block they're on – and the agility to handle several at once. *#*

2. Technology

That new world of warfare will demand new investments in technology. Already, our weaponry is a generation ahead of our nearest potential rival. But we're experimenting vigorously, and investing in technologies that show promise. We're seeing a shift in concern from readiness to procurement. The Department of Defense *has set a* target of \$60 billion for new weapons and equipment. We met it this year – and we will maintain it. *when?*

Unsurprisingly, most of the future lies in information technology -- tying our personnel more closely together and better connecting them to the outside world.

For example, think about what information, and the precision targeting it allows, has done for the bomb. In World War II, we devoted 9,000 bombs, and 1,500 sorties to one 60' by 100' target.

Today, one B-2 with 16 bombs can target 16 such sites. And in Kosovo, we were able to use precision-guided munitions more than 98 percent of the time – compared with just 9 percent in the Gulf War.

In a similar vein, the Army and Navy are experimenting with information systems that create a giant information network among tanks and field units, or ships and submarines, as if they were computer users within a single office.

Flow of information will change much of what we think we know about military policy – and the nexus between force and diplomacy. And making sure that we build in time for reflection and communication may be the hardest challenge of all.

But no amount of technology will change basic facts like Russia's nuclear deterrent or China's two-and-a-half million man army. And we already know that information superiority will not be enough to deter Saddam Hussein, Slobodan Milosevic, or others of their kind.

We have no choice but to do two things at once ^{continue} go high-tech as fast as we can, while maintaining and upgrading the weapons systems that enable us to fight and win a war today. I think of this as a blue-chip strategy – we're working to maintain our tremendous market dominance. The U.S. military is not a dot-com start-up that needs to bet everything on untested technology in order to jump upward in market share. But we must experiment on a smaller scale and move forward as fast as we can. I believe we are.

3. Mobility

During the Cold War, we knew where our opponent would be, and stationed forces and equipment accordingly. That is simply no longer possible. So today we face a major challenge in mobility -- increasing deployment speed without sacrificing the firepower of bigger, heavier weaponry. We can't just be the biggest force around – we've got to be able to be around wherever we need to be. And we must be ready to respond to the increased mobility of our adversaries.

So the Air Force is building its future around expeditionary forces designed to move ~~out~~^{fast} fast and operate where infrastructure is lacking. And the Army is investigating ways to take the functions of a tank and split them among several smaller, more mobile units. But this too is going to take time – and the right kind of investment.

4. Inter-Operability

I need to mention one more challenge that grows from our very success in becoming a high-tech, highly mobile force – and that is our ability to mount combined operations with our allies and partners. We've got to keep in mind that we probably won't be facing any of these challenges alone.

Even as we're retooling, many of our allies are seeing declines in defense budgets. The Kosovo air campaign revealed a growing technology and capability gap between the United States and its allies. It's ironic: even as some here say we're not moving forward fast enough, there's a real danger we're going to get so far ahead of our allies in technology and mobility that they won't be able to share the burden.

In the past, inter-operability meant compatible ammunition and exchanges of field manuals; in future, it will be a matter of ability to share information and take rapid advantage of it.

Since last year, we've been working with our NATO allies to meet specific targets for capabilities such as force mobility, on-the-ground support and communication. NATO is

committed to seeing that every member meets its targets -- and we are making progress toward narrowing the gap.

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