

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. email	To National Security Advisor from Paul K. Orzulak. Subject: Draft SRB Dartmouth remarks (1 page)	03/01/2000	P5
001b. statement	re: Draft remarks by Samuel R. Berger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, at Dartmouth University (9 pages)	03/01/2000	P5
002. memo	To President Clinton from Samuel Berger. Subject: Communications plan for your trip to South Asia (11 pages)	02/28/2000	P5 002 4116
003. memo	To President Clinton from Samuel Berger. Subject: Russia (2 pages)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
004. memo	To President Clinton from Samuel Berger. Subject: Communications plan for your trip to South Asia (9 pages)	02/25/2000	P5 Duplicate 002.

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Paul Orzulak)
OA/Box Number: 4022

FOLDER TITLE:

[Miscellaneous Materials and Dartmouth] [1]

Jamie Mettrailer
2008-0702-F
jm218

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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.draft 2/28/00 8:00 pm

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

SUBJECT: Communications Plan for Your Trip to South Asia

I. Purpose

That you approve the principal message objectives and key events of your trip to South Asia in March.

II. Objectives

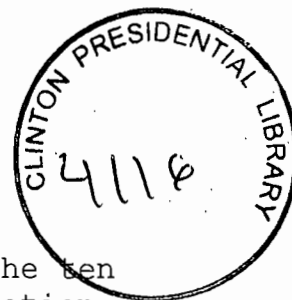
This trip has six principal message objectives:

- Demonstrate to Americans that we have a strong interest in South Asia -- because, in an increasingly globalized world, our security, prosperity, and health are affected by events in a changing and volatile region with 1/5 of the world's people.
- Demonstrate to Indians that the U.S. is ready for a deeper, institutionalized partnership, based on mutual respect and concrete progress on issues ranging from economic development to health to the environment-- and indicate that an even broader partnership is possible if we can make progress on nuclear proliferation.
- Make clear to Indians the U.S. view that renewed efforts by India to engage with Pakistan are vital to India's security, as is constraining the nuclear arms competition.
- Address sensitive issues like poverty, AIDS, and climate change as global challenges we must meet together.
- Even if we don't stop in Pakistan, signal to Pakistanis that the U.S. is ready to strengthen ties with Pakistan, too -- if its government does the right thing on democracy, nuclear weapons, terrorism, and the conflict with India.
- Highlight in Bangladesh our support for Muslim countries that oppose terrorism and weapons of mass destruction and have democratic government.

We have included, attached to this memo, a day-by-day plan for delivering these messages.

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

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III. Discussion of Message

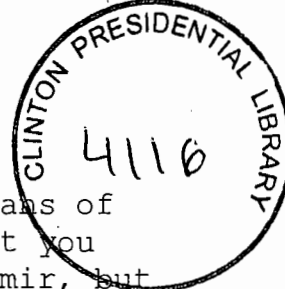
India, the world's largest democracy, is also one of the ten fastest growing economies, buoyed by a thriving information technology sector. But its challenges are immense: rapidly-growing population; more desperately poor people than in all of Africa; mistreatment of women; a spreading AIDS epidemic; environmental peril; a fierce, nuclear rivalry with Pakistan.

Your central communications task with respect to the U.S. public -- apart from the decision on whether to visit Pakistan -- is explaining why you are going to India without India's agreement to curb its nuclear program. We do not expect concrete progress on CTBT or other nuclear issues, before or during the trip. Worse, India and Pakistan have stepped up their nuclear weapons and ballistic missile programs since the 1998 tests.

Your response should be that there will never be a perfect moment to visit. We wish India had signed CTBT. But it has been 22 years since President Carter's visit; this trip is long overdue, as is the effort to institutionalize cooperation with a democratic country of over a billion people. The relationship has drifted, without a steady course, for 50 years. We need to give it more substance, to create a stabilizing ballast, and build greater trust to draw on in the event of a crisis.

Still, for India's public and ours, we want to indicate, without lecturing, that there are limits to our partnership until there is progress on the nuclear issue. We are not bringing some key deliverables India wants: blanket waiver of sanctions, high-tech transfers, resumption of defense relationship, space cooperation, support for permanent Indian membership on the UN Security Council. (Our deliverables -- on development, trade, health, energy and the environment -- will benefit us as well as India. And India is offering us a few items, possibly including a cooperative program for enhancing WMD export controls.)

Your communications task with respect to the Indian public will be to show respect for India and our commitment to partnership, while speaking directly about key issues. India is a place of great sensitivity, especially as to the conflict with Pakistan and India's role as a world power. Your every word and gesture will be analyzed for clues as to whether the U.S. genuinely respects India and its place in the world. On Queen Elizabeth's 1997 visit, she was pilloried by the Indian press over perceived protocol missteps, against the background of Indian concern that London was seeking a more active role on Kashmir.



Your role in Kargil helped convince many skeptical Indians of our good intentions; you will want to build on the trust you earned. Pakistan wants international mediation on Kashmir, but Indians remain opposed and are sensitive to any suggestion that we will become involved. You can agree that the ultimate obligation for defusing crises and building peace rests with Indians and Pakistanis -- but affirm that we are ready to help improve Indo-Pakistani relations generally.

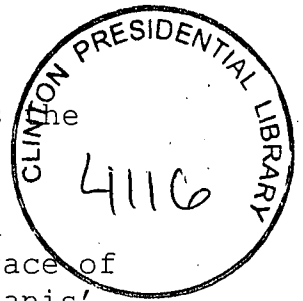
You can press the view, shared by moderate Indians, that isolating Pakistan is unrealistic and dangerous. You can stress that you have seen sworn enemies take hard steps together, e.g. Middle East, Northern Ireland. Every conflict is different, and in South Asia's case, decades of enmity cannot be erased quickly. There are genuine disagreements that cannot be resolved without hard choices. But two nations who can offer so much to the world should seize the chance for peace.

On the nuclear issue, you will want to stress that America and India have a common interest in halting proliferation. Indians bristle at suggestions that crises with Pakistan have gone to the nuclear precipice, that India, unlike the big powers, lacks the judgment to handle nuclear arms. India must make its own choice, but you can suggest concrete reasons why nuclear weapons and missiles weaken India's security: the volatile state of regional relations; the risk of preemptive attack in the absence of secure nuclear arsenals; the danger that Indo-Pakistani nuclearization will spur more proliferation in Asia and the Middle East. India can define its greatness not through nuclear arms but through global political and economic leadership.

India has been at the forefront of charging nuclear hypocrisy: that the big powers have done too little to cut their own arsenals. We should concede that the superpowers should do more on arms control, and argue that the U.S. and Russia now are moving on the right track. The U.S. is committed to the START process, CTBT, and comprehensive disarmament.

On other issues like trade, high tech, energy, health and the environment, you can underscore growing cooperation, with the support of our tremendously successful Indian-American population. We are India's largest trading partner and source of foreign investment. We should reassure Indians that our pursuit of tougher environment and labor standards is not aimed at undermining growth and will not do so. The best way to move India's government ahead on the AIDS issue is to avoid overstressing the suffering and poverty of the victims and

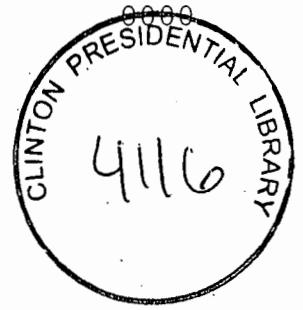
instead praise New Delhi's increasing efforts to address the crisis with frank talk and concerted action.



Of course, everything you say will also be watched by in Pakistan -- another argument against an unqualified embrace of India. That might embolden Indian hawks, confirm Pakistanis' worst fears, and drive Pakistan even further from where we would like on democracy, terrorism, proliferation and peace. But you will want to make plain to Pakistanis that relations between our countries can improve only if Pakistan shows progress on these issues.

You will spend the first day of the trip in Bangladesh, the largest Muslim nation (120 million) you have visited in office. You will be the first U.S. president to visit Bangladesh. It has made impressive strides in emerging from poverty and building an inclusive democracy where women now head the two major parties -- deflating the myth of a clash between Islam and open, democratic society. It is thus a good place to repeat themes about the U.S. and Islam directly to the world's largest Muslim community -- South Asians, including Pakistanis. But political tensions are high between Bangladesh's governing party and the opposition, and the risk of instability remains.

Key Events and Messages



Monday, March 20 - Bangladesh

- - Joint press appearance with PM Hussein
- Child labor/microenterprise event or events
- Official lunch or dinner

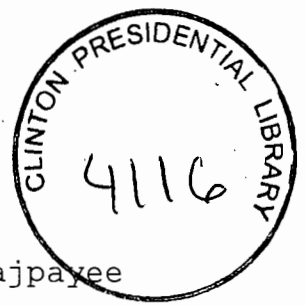
Message of the day: South Asia is changing -- and it is time for a new relationship with the United States. In South Asia's poorest country, Bangladesh, though extreme poverty persists, there is progress on economic growth and labor standards. Refuting the theory of a clash of civilizations, Muslim Bangladesh is deepening democracy, raising the status of girls and women, opposing terrorism and weapons of mass destruction.

Your statement in Dhaka with PM Hussein would allow you to praise Bangladesh's stance on security issues and emphasize our support, in principle and through U.S. assistance, for its economic and political development. The PM can note Bangladesh's ratification or commitment to ratify CTBT. And you can announce: the South Asia Regional Initiative (SARI) Energy Program, a \$50 million USAID program to promote clean energy and regional integration; and a plan to forgive bilateral debt while creating new forest conservation funding.

You can then go to a nearby village for an event highlighting two key "human face" issues: child labor and microenterprise. More than 80 percent of Bangladesh's people live in rural areas. A visit to a village school would underscore the issue about which Senator Harkin wrote to you: the importance of helping children stay in school as the best way to address the problem of child labor, and Bangladesh's progress, with U.S. aid, in that area. In brief remarks, you can announce new Labor Department funding aimed at improving working conditions in hazardous industries and preventing trafficking of children for exploitative work. Accompanied by Muhammad Yunus of the Grameen Bank, you can meet local entrepreneurs who have benefited from microenterprise loans, highlighting Bangladesh's pioneering role in microenterprise -- proof that a poor nation can help its people and set an example that others, including the United States, can follow. (If time permitted, you could do two separate events, with the child labor event in an urban school that actually has benefited from U.S. funding.)

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff





Tuesday, March 21 - New Delhi, India

- Arrival statement or joint press appearance with PM Vajpayee
- Gandhi Memorial wreath laying
- Address to joint session of Parliament
- Civic reception hosted by city of New Delhi
- State dinner

Message of the day: First U.S. presidential visit to India in 22 years. India and America are the world's two largest democracies. We should be better friends and stronger partners for security and prosperity. Our partnership can be even stronger if India does the right thing on nuclear proliferation.

Your press appearance with PM Vajpayee would allow you to sketch key themes of the visit: partnership; joint commitment to promoting democracy; benefits of accelerating trade and India's domestic economic liberalization; cooperation to meet global challenges like disease and environmental peril; importance of constraining the nuclear arms competition and building peace.

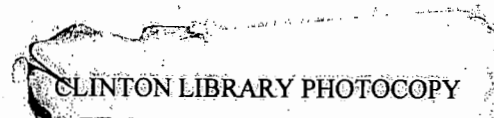
You would pursue these themes in your address to Parliament.

In the press appearance or the speech, you can announce: invitation to PM Vajpayee to visit the United States later this year; regular bilateral consultations at head of state and cabinet level; National Endowment for Democracy regional democracy initiative; a new commercial agreement; resumption of USAID project to improve the efficiency and transparency of India's markets; an Indo-U.S. joint "vision statement."

You would lay a wreath at the Mahatma Gandhi memorial, expressing America's deep respect for this hero of non-violence and human rights -- and, in a larger sense, for India's historic struggle for freedom and its ongoing leadership in support of democratic values.

Wednesday, March 22 - New Delhi and Agra, India

- Ambassador's reception for Indians and Indian-Americans
- Visit to Taj Mahal
- Environment event





Message of the day: The United States and India have a proud history of cooperation on environment issues. Should intensify it; global problems like climate change require global cooperation. Can grow economies while protecting environment.

At a morning reception in New Delhi you can highlight the tremendous success of Indian Americans -- and their continuing contributions to India. You can also highlight longstanding cooperation by meeting with Fulbright alumni and perhaps Mrs. Fulbright, celebrating the 50th year of the program in India.

Then you will travel to Agra and visit one of the world's most striking landmarks: the Taj Mahal, the tomb built by Emperor Shah Jahan for his wife. You will have a chance to tour the mosque that is part of the Taj complex, paying respect to the role of Islam in India and South Asia.

Staying in Agra, you can participate in an environmental event, showcasing the designation of the area around the Taj as a "zero air pollution zone" that bars carbon-emitting vehicles. India is the sixth largest and second fastest growing greenhouse gas emitter. You can sign a joint statement on the environment and announce a package of deliverables focused on climate change but also addressing other environmental concerns.

Thursday, March 23 - Jaipur, India

- Cultural visits
- Village democracy/women's empowerment event

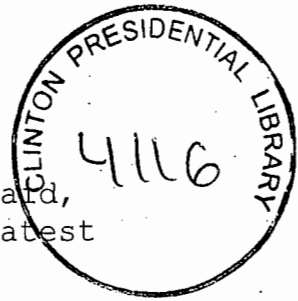
Message of the day: India is taking steps to raise the status of women -- with education, health, and efforts to make its democracy more response and inclusive. US assistance is helping.

Jaipur, the capital of the state of Rajasthan, is a good place to explore India's rich history and culture. You can see the Amber Fort and the Palace of Winds, visit a tiger preserve (where the U.S. has provided support) and a Hindu temple.

We propose a single message event for the day, at a nearby village. You can highlight a cornerstone of Indian democracy by observing a panchayat, or village council, which today have been restructured to include women and dalits (formerly "untouchables"). You can briefly address the meeting, asking questions, discussing the importance of local democracy, the



struggles to make government more inclusive in both our countries, and the efforts India is making, with some U.S. aid, to address what President Narayanan has called India's "greatest national shame": mistreatment of women.



Friday, March 24 -Hyderabad, India

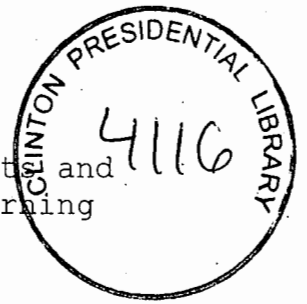
- Visit to on-line citizens' center
- Visit to high-tech campus and speech to its workers
- Visit to clinic (could also be in Mumbai)

Message of the day: India is one of the world's fastest growing economies, with a dynamic high-tech sector that is a model and a cornerstone of a future of global prosperity. America and India have collaborated on science and technology for decades, and we should continue. That cooperation includes research focused on lifting up those in peril, e.g. developing vaccines. Global HIV/AIDS crisis demands forthright and determined government action and international cooperation.

The southern cities of Bangalore and Hyderabad are India's burgeoning Silicon Valley. Hyderabad is a place where the momentum of change and widening opportunity is visible all around. It's clear in the thriving high-tech firms, which operate with a 21st century corporate culture: clean and green campuses and daycare facilities, along with NASDAQ IPOs. It's also clear in the dynamic leadership of Hyderabad's Chief Minister, Chandrababu Naidu, who works tirelessly: to bring Indian and foreign high-tech companies to his city; to empower citizens with on-line registration centers for driver's licenses and other services; to encourage green growth through a center where businesses can share their clean technology successes.

You could visit one of the Chief Minister's on-line centers, seeing how India makes technology work for ordinary citizens.

At one of Hyderabad's high-tech campuses, you can tour an exhibit of US companies' efforts to work with India to deploy state-of-the-art technologies and to speed India's emergence as a global economic and high-tech player. You can deliver a speech to workers, praising them for their pioneering role in the global economy, and reminding them of our shared obligation to see that no one is left behind. You can announce: a new, high-level Indo-US science and technology forum; USAID's Internet for Economic Development Initiative; USAID technical support for a new Hyderabad public-private center to promote



clean energy; and a joint dialogue between our governments and private sectors on the structure of a global regime governing trade in information age products and services.

In Hyderabad, or your next stop, Mumbai, you can focus on another crucial role for science and technology: fighting disease. At a clinic you can help immunize a child against polio, highlighting the world's progress, and India's, in nearly eradicating this disease. That can be the pivot for brief remarks addressing sensitive health issues, such as the need for greater openness as the best way to combat AIDS. You can highlight our global health initiatives, including new funding for HIV/AIDS prevention; praise PM Vajpayee's leadership on this issue; possibly announce a joint statement on AIDS cooperation; applaud the formation of an Indian business coalition for fighting AIDS; and hail Indian firms working on vaccines.

Saturday, March 25 - Mumbai, India

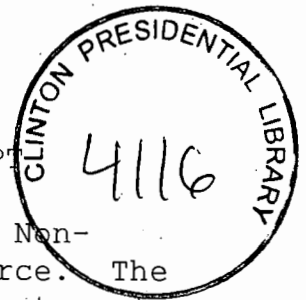
- Business/cultural leaders reception (could also be 3/24)
- Young leaders' speech

Message of the day: America and India can increase trade and investment, and greater economic liberalization in India will help, as will steps we can take together on global economic issues. The President has learned much from his visit and his discussions with Indians. More determined than ever to elevate the relationship for swift progress to benefit Americans, Indians and the whole world in the new century.

Despite rapid growth in the south, Mumbai remains India's business and cultural center, its most Western-oriented city, and indeed still its leader in information technology start-ups. A reception, with brief remarks, would allow you to meet with business and cultural leaders, amplifying the Delhi and Hyderabad messages of economic cooperation and challenges.

You can conclude your visit with remarks to young Indian leaders, again speaking frankly on the difficult issues and laying out a future of cooperation and progress.

5 March 2000 Presidential Statement on the NPT



Thirty years ago -- March 5, 1970 -- the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) entered into force. The countries that negotiated the NPT had clear and important goals. They wanted a safer, more secure world in which states not possessing nuclear weapons would foreswear their acquisition, and in which states with nuclear weapons would work toward eliminating them. They wanted an effective verification system to confirm these commitments. And they wanted to ensure that countries could use the atom peacefully to improve the lives of their people without spurring nuclear weapons proliferation.

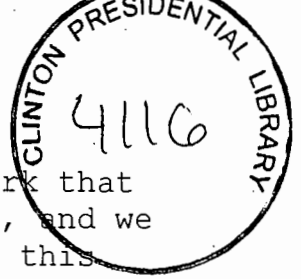
On that day in 1970, forty-three countries committed themselves to that shared the vision of the NPT. Today, there are 187 parties. Over the past thirty years the NPT has served as an increasingly important barrier to the spread of nuclear weapons. The United States remains committed to achieving universal adherence to the NPT and will continue working to bring all remaining countries into the Treaty.

The strength and effectiveness of the NPT today are a legacy of countless individuals who crafted and promoted this irreplaceable Treaty. I am proud that during my Administration the parties to the NPT made a major contribution to lasting peace and security by agreeing in 1995 to make the Treaty permanent.

Adherence to the NPT, together with inspections called for in the Treaty by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), provide assurance to countries that their neighbors' nuclear programs are peaceful. The United States strongly supports the IAEA and calls on other NPT parties to work with us in strengthening compliance with Treaty provisions.

Such compliance allows countries with nuclear technology to share the many peaceful benefits of the atom, confident that this cooperation will not result in weapons activities. Improved human health, increased crop yields, and adequate supplies of potable water are only a few of the many ways in which nuclear techniques contribute to a better world.

Remarkable progress has occurred since the end of the Cold War in nuclear disarmament. The United States has concluded agreements that have mandated sweeping reductions in nuclear forces. Under START II, we and Russia have committed to reduce strategic nuclear weapons by [need this number] percent from



Cold War levels. We have agreed to a START III framework that would cut these arsenals by 80 percent from those peaks, and we will intensify our efforts to work with Russia to bring this agreement about. Already, the United States has eliminated some 59 percent of our overall nuclear weapons, and many U.S. facilities once dedicated to the production of nuclear weapons have been dismantled. The number of U.S. tactical nuclear weapons dedicated to NATO has been reduced by eighty percent. NATO nuclear forces no longer maintain an alert status or target any country, and their readiness levels have been reduced from minutes to weeks.

The United States and Russia are implementing cooperative efforts to ensure no further production of weapons-usable material, the safe storage of existing quantities of such material, and internationally supervised elimination of surplus stocks of nuclear materials.

We have no plans to conduct nuclear testing, and are working to establish a universal ban through the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. The Conference on Disarmament should take the next essential step for global disarmament by negotiating a fissile material cutoff treaty now, without conditions.

The United States is unequivocally committed to the elimination of all nuclear weapons. Achieving this goal will be neither easy nor rapid. Accordingly, the United States rededicates itself to work tirelessly and expeditiously to create conditions that will make possible even deeper reductions in nuclear weapons, and ultimately their elimination.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. statement	re: Draft President William Jefferson Clinton press statement with Prime Minister Antonio Guterres and European Commission President Romano Prodi (3 pages)	05/24/2000	P5
002. memo	To President Clinton from Samuel Berger and Stephanie Streett. Subject: Communication plan for your trip to Portugal, Germany, Russia, and Ukraine (7 pages)	n.d.	P5 4117
003. briefing paper	Issue Paper: Portugal and the European Union (3 pages)	05/08/2000	P1/b(1)
004. list	re: Possible deliverables / achievements for U.S. - E.U. summit (Annotations) (2 pages)	05/09/2000	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Paul Orzulak)
OA/Box Number: 4023

FOLDER TITLE:

[Portugal] [4]

Jamie Mettrailer
2008-0702-F
jm226

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DRAFT



ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER
STEPHANIE STREETT

SUBJECT: Communications Plan for Your Trip to Portugal, Germany, Russia
and Ukraine

I. PURPOSE

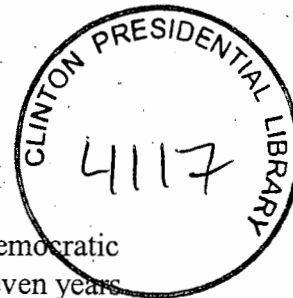
Review and approve the themes and key public events for your trip to Portugal, Germany, Russia and Ukraine.

II. COMMUNICATIONS OBJECTIVES

Your trip to Europe has four principal messages:

- You are being awarded one of Europe's top honors - the Charlemagne prize - because of your successful leadership and contribution to European integration. Aachen is the linchpin of the trip that gives the opportunity to highlight significant accomplishments -- in adapting and enlarging NATO; bolstering new democracies in central and eastern Europe and the Baltics; stabilizing the Balkans; and strengthening the ties between the U.S. and the EU -- as well as the challenges that remain.
- Integrating Southeast Europe and Russia/NIS into the Trans-Atlantic Mainstream are the two missing pieces to complete the puzzle of a peaceful, undivided, democratic Europe. This trip is in part about filling in those missing pieces.
- We've just seen the first transition from one democratically-elected leader to another in Russia's history. The jury is still out on what kind of leadership we will see from the new government. That's all the more reason to engage both the Russian leadership and the Russian public, to encourage deeper economic reform, to champion democratic freedoms, to reduce the nuclear danger, to advance our arms control agenda and to manage one of our most important relationships. Our agenda is much broader than arms control.
- Through the U.S.-EU summit and other public events you will do in Portugal and Germany, you will highlight how the U.S.-European global partnership includes acting together to address problems beyond Europe to build peace, freedom, stability and prosperity. Sharing the burdens of leadership helps us maximize its benefits.

BACKGROUND



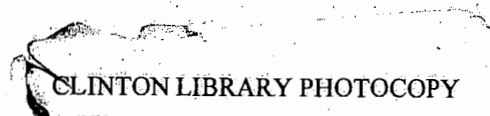
The overarching theme of the trip is completing a peaceful, undivided and democratic Europe, a vision you laid out in your speech in Brussels in January 1994. Seven years later, Europe is more united than ever before. Our relations with our allies are broader and deeper than at any time since World War II. Our cooperation has produced unprecedented prosperity for both sides of the Atlantic, halted ethnic cleansing in the Balkans and aided Russia's transformation.

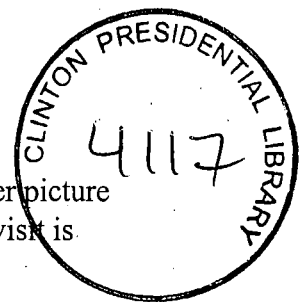
The Charlemagne prize in Aachen is being awarded for your leadership in European integration - in adapting and enlarging NATO (proving the critics wrong about the effects of NATO expansion on the relationship with Russia); bolstering new democracies in central and eastern Europe and the Baltics; stabilizing the Balkans; supporting the EU's efforts to build a monetary union and common foreign policy; and strengthening the ties between the U.S. and the EU. But there is still work to be done. What must come out of this trip is the sense of active commitment to progress on the two missing pieces of the puzzle: integrating Southeastern Europe and Russia/NIS into the transatlantic mainstream.

At the same time, you can use your stops in Portugal and Germany to define the relationship under a new light and pose some new challenges. You can demonstrate how our partnership with Europe has progressed beyond the borders of our alliance to build peace, freedom, stability and prosperity in other parts of the world. Portugal has sought to use its EU Presidency to focus Europe's attention on challenges in Africa and the developing world. You can illustrate the global focus of our partnership by calling for more cooperation in, and funding for, combating infectious disease. You can highlight this again in Germany when you meet with a new generation of young leaders working in Southeast Europe and Russia.

Clearly, media interest in the trip will focus on Russia and your first meeting with President Putin. We want to convey that this is a working visit with a broad agenda of establishing a relationship with the newly elected government, stress the importance of continued engagement with Russia and the newly independent states, and continue our people-to-people contact. We want to seize the opportunity afforded by Russia's recent elections to make progress on economic reform, arms control, and threat reduction, while encouraging Putin to preserve Russia's democratic gains and expressing our concerns about human rights, press freedom and Chechnya. We want to lower expectations that this summit is about reaching an arms control agreement.

In the wake of a Russian public affairs offensive over NMD and early Putin moves on START II and CTBT ratification, we now face a situation where an arms control breakthrough is the bar that's being set as the measure of the trip's success. Those who are pushing for delay on an NMD decision argue that you are going to Russia to get an arms control agreement; that any deal you reach will either go too far or not far enough; and if, in fact, we don't emerge with an agreement, define the trip as a failure and say





that's a good thing. It's important to focus on the overall relationship and bigger picture goals because even though we have very important work to do in this area, this visit is about more than arms control.

Over the course of your visit, you can emphasize support for democracy and civil society and stress America's support for tolerance and openness. You will meet with leaders and members of key religious communities, and do a radio interview with an independent media station that reaches millions of Russians. Your final public event in Russia will be a speech to the Duma, reinforcing by your presence that the relationship between the U.S. and Russia is broader than Putin.

Your visit to Ukraine can underscore to the other nations that emerged from the Soviet Union that our policies in the region are not just Russia-focused. The final image of the trip will be your address to a large, cheering crowd on St. Michael's square in Kiev.

At every stop you will encounter more than just government leaders and political figures. In Portugal, you will speak with scientists and students; in Germany, with young civil society leaders; in Russia, with religious leaders, to the Russian people through your radio interview, Duma speech, and with a Sunday stroll in Victory Park; and in Ukraine with next generation leaders at an Embassy-hosted reception, with the broader public through your speech in St. Michaels Square and a visit to a collective farm that's being privatized.

IV. KEY EVENTS AND MESSAGES

Monday, May 29 - Arlington Cemetery

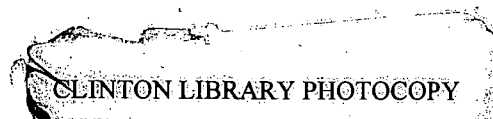
- Memorial Day speech

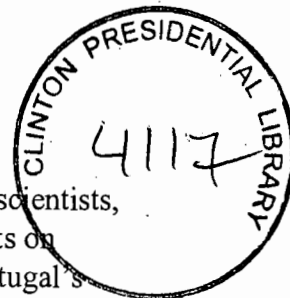
Your speech can help frame the trip, expressing honor and gratitude for the sacrifices of war heroes who helped contribute to the shape of today's world -- a peaceful, undivided democratic Europe and the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union and elsewhere.

Tuesday, May 30 - Lisbon

- **Arrival Ceremony/Statement**
- **Meeting with students, teachers, scientists at Pavilion of Knowledge**
- State Dinner

You will begin your visit to Portugal with an **arrival ceremony** with President Sampaio at the picturesque Geronimos Monastery in the town of Belem, on the outskirts of Lisbon. Your **arrival statement** will outline the elements and themes of the trip, underscore why Portugal, a loyal ally with a tradition of exploration and crossing frontiers is a fitting first destination. - In Portugal's "Golden Age," this coastal area served as the main launching point for the Portuguese Armada. The monastery, built in memory of Vasco de Gama's discovery of a sea route to India, used to house monks who provided "spiritual guidance" to sailors. You and Sampaio will review an honor guard, and you will lay a wreath at the tomb of the Portuguese poet Luis Camoes.





In the afternoon you will **tour Lisbon's Pavilion of Knowledge** and meet with scientists, teachers, and students. Built for EXPO 98, the museum currently houses exhibits on cutting-edge research, including infectious diseases, as well as an exhibit on Portugal's GLOBE program (the internet-based environmental education program that was launched by the Vice President). The tour and discussion will be led by the Museum's Portuguese-American Science Advisory Board chairman, Dr. Alexander Quintalinha -- a specialist on infectious disease who was born in Mozambique and taught at UC Berkeley. You can announce a joint project on combating Malaria in Sao Tome, preview the U.S.-EU initiative on infectious disease and address the national security dimension of HIV/AIDS and infectious disease.

In the evening you will attend the **State Dinner** and make a brief toast.

Wednesday, May 31 - Lisbon

- US-EU Summit Meeting
- U.S. - EU Press Conference

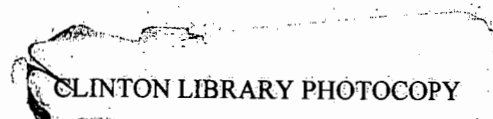
Following the U.S.-E.U. summit meeting at the Queluz Palace (an old royal residence outside of Lisbon that has been likened to a mini-Versailles), you will hold a joint press conference with Prime Minister Guterres and Commission President Prodi. This is an opportunity to focus on core security and trade issues, including Southeast Europe, European defense, Russia, the WTO round. You can also highlight new cooperative initiatives with the EU, including redoubled efforts to fight HIV/AIDS and relieve famine in Africa.

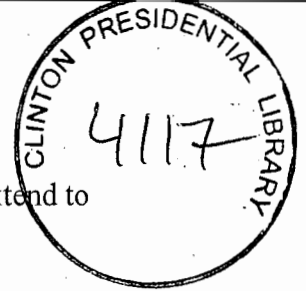
Possible Deliverables: Agreements on data privacy, biotech consultative form, joint statements on Southeast Europe, Russia, Ukraine-Chornobyl, Africa infectious disease, WTO round, science and technology projects, high speed networks, patent registration, GDIN.

Thursday, June 1 - Berlin

- **Meet with young people working on joint projects in Southeast Europe and Russia**
- Reichstag tour

Following your courtesy call with President Rau, you will participate in a **discussion with young civil society leaders** at the Reichstag. These are young leaders working through initiatives created by German and American NGOs that are building democracy and the structures of civil society in the Balkans, in Eastern Europe, and Russia. They will describe their projects to you and your host, the President of the Bundestag Thierse, and possibly Chancellor Schroeder as well. This event will be televised throughout Germany as the first of our American Voices series (part of Expo 2000), and it will demonstrate the depth of transatlantic ties, and how those ties are evolving: no longer limited just to





government activity or exchanges between our two countries themselves, but extend to the new reach of our values and the civil institutions that embody them.

Immediately after, you will **tour the Reichstag** to see the impressive embodiment of Germany's democracy in a new century: reflecting on the hard-won lessons of the past, housing the institutions grown during the proud 50 years since formation of the Federal Republic. Architecturally, the building has an openness and solemnity that reflects German democracy and its commitment to an open future. Finally, you are scheduled to **meet with Chancellor Schroeder** over dinner in a local Berlin restaurant.

Friday, June 2 - Aachen and Berlin

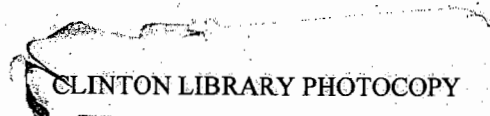
- **The Charlemagne Prize, Aachen**
- Third Way Dinner

On Friday morning you will fly to **Aachen** where, after touring the Cathedral, you will be presented with the **Charlemagne Prize** and **give a speech**. Charlemagne was crowned emperor in Aachen, the westernmost city in Germany, on Christmas Day in the year 800. Charlemagne chose Aachen as his winter palace because of the areas' hot springs. From the eighth century to the ninth, Aachen was a center of power extending from a Roman-Frankish core areas across the Germanic tribal regions. At his Aachen court, Charlemagne assembled scholars from England, Ireland, Spain, Lombardy and Italy, creating an intellectual and artistic center. The concept of "Europe" as a distinct geographic, political and cultural entity is tied to Charlemagne.

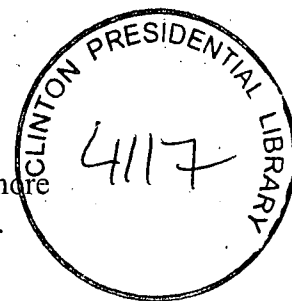
The Charlemagne Prize was established in 1949 to recognize individuals who have played key roles in European integration. You are the first American president to receive the prize. George Marshall and Henry Kissinger have received it, as have Jean Monnet, Konrad Adenauer, Winston Churchill, Francois Mitterrand, Jacques Delors and Felipe Gonzalez. Prime Minister Blair received it last year. You will be introduced by Chancellor Schroeder (who will be introduced by Mayor Linden of Aachen.) The event will be attended by a number of world leaders and laureates of the Prize, including King Juan Carlos of Spain and President Havel of the Czech Republic.

Your speech will pull together the various themes of the trip. It will define your European vision: you will look back at what has been accomplished since you laid out your goals in Brussels in 1994; you will look west to our old allies; you will look east to our new ones and, most importantly, you will look forward to what we must still accomplish together and thereby lay out a series of new goals. The speech will be carried live on German TV. The ceremony will be followed by a reception, where you can make brief remarks, reiterating the core message of your speech: transatlantic friendship is a key element of European unity - that the two are not in conflict, but inseparable and will remain that way. You will then greet townspeople and others in a ropeline.

Upon returning to Berlin, you will attend the **Conference on Progressive Governance** Dinner, hosted by Chancellor Schroeder at Charlottenburg Palace, a historic building in



West Berlin. You will make **brief remarks** at the beginning of the dinner, with more substantive remarks in the open press portion at the top of the next day's session.



Saturday, June 3 - Berlin and Moscow

- **Conference on Progressive Governance, Berlin**
- **Meeting/Dinner with President Putin, Moscow**

You will **make remarks** at the opening of the **Third Way Conference** Saturday morning. A communique will be issued at the end of the conference.

On Saturday evening, you will have a **meeting/working dinner with President Putin**. The pictures of your first encounter will be important, and we recommend business attire. We want to convey "getting down to business" and avoid the inaccurate charge that we're embracing Putin without question.

Sunday, June 4 - Moscow

- **Meetings with religious leaders at an orthodox church, a synagogue and a mosque**
- Meetings with President Putin
- **Press Conference with President Putin**
- **Interview with independent media**

On Sunday morning you will visit Christ the Savior Church, Poklonnaya Gora Synagogue (also called the Jewish Heritage and Holocaust Museum) and the Memorial Mosque. You will talk with leaders and members of key religious communities, underscoring our commitment to religious freedom and human rights. Both the synagogue and mosque are located in Victory Park, so we propose a stroll in the park, talking/mingling with Sunday park-goers.

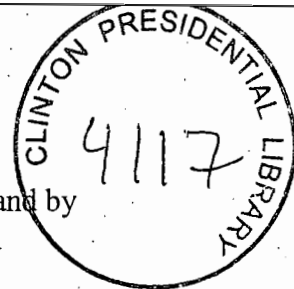
In the afternoon, after a series of meetings, you and President Putin will hold a **joint press conference** at the Kremlin.

That evening, you would do an **interview on an independent media radio show**, called Ekho Moskvyy.

Monday, June 5 - Moscow

- **Remarks to the Duma, Moscow**
- Arrival Ceremony, Kiev
- Bilateral meeting with President Kuchma
- Visit to Rada and meeting with political leaders

On Monday morning, you will **address the Russian Duma**. For all the changes Russia has undergone, an important part of your message can be the same as the message of your first speech to the Russian people more than six years ago: The question is not whether Russia will regain its strength -- it will and it should. The question is how it will define



its strength. This is the first time an American president has addressed the Duma and by doing so you will underscore the importance of democratic institutions and elected representatives and convey that the U.S. relationship with Russia is broader than personalities.

Your key message in Ukraine is support for implementation of reforms and for integration with Europe. This theme will give a moral and political boost to the reform efforts underway. And your presence there will underscore that our policy toward the region is not focused only on Russia. In Kiev, there will be an **arrival ceremony**. You will go to a **meeting with President Kuchma**, make a **courtesy call on the Rada leadership** and participate in an Embassy-hosted **reception with next-generation leaders**.

Tuesday, June 7 - Kiev

- **Remarks to the people of Ukraine**
- **Land Titling Event**

On Tuesday morning, we propose that you and President Kuchma make **brief remarks to reporters** announcing the closure of Chornobyl, the lifting of commercial launch quotas and a \$20 million multi-year microcredit program to provide loans to Ukrainian small businesses.

You will then go to St. Michael's square to **address a large crowd**. Against a colorful and festive backdrop, you will give brief remarks underscoring that Ukraine's road to Europe is open; that Ukraine today enjoys the best chance in its history to fulfill its aspirations; and that we will do our part to help as long as Ukraine stays on the proven path of economic reform.

After the speech, on your way to the airport, you will **stop at a countryside farm and participate in a land titling event**, turning what was once collective Soviet farm property over to private ownership. AID has been working with local governments and collective farms on the legal framework for the transfers. This event will have tremendous resonance with Ukrainians as a symbol of their country's transformation and the opportunities it brings.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the key messages and events for your trip to Portugal, Germany, Russia and Ukraine.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

