

FOIA MARKER

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1/23/00 10:00 p.m.
Orzulak

**NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR SAMUEL R. BERGER
REMARKS TO
CONSTITUENTS OF SENATOR JOE BIDEN
WILMINGTON, DELAWARE
JANUARY 24, 2000**

Thank you, Senator. It's an honor for me to be here today, and I want to thank you for inviting me. Please forgive me if I was a few minutes late. I was trying to leave for the speech, but members of my staff only wanted to talk about which actor would be playing them in tomorrow night's episode of "The West Wing." I have a beef with that show. In the cast, they have actors who portray the President, the Vice President, the Chief of Staff, the Deputy Chief of Staff, the Press Secretary, and even the speechwriter. But even though many of the episodes involve foreign policy decisions, there is no National Security Advisor.

It's probably just as well, considering how Hollywood has portrayed national security advisors recently. A stuffed shirt in "the Peacemaker." An egomaniac killed off in "Air Force One." A calculating sell-out in "Clear and Present Danger." And just last week on television, as a zealot with really bad hair in "Murder at 1600." I can't imagine who was the model for these characters, but let me stress that each of these movies was in process before I assumed the job.

But one role I have been proud to play for nearly two decades is an admirer and friend of Joe Biden. I am particularly fond of one episode. When Joe was a 30 year-old Senator serving his first term on the Foreign Relations Committee, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger came to testify. He had arranged with Chairman Frank Church that, at a key point, the room would be cleared and the Committee would go into Executive Session. The time came, Church discharged the press and all staff and the hearing resumed. Kissinger surveyed the Senatorial podium before him and his eyes fixed on this young kid sitting up with the Senators. Kissinger's face grew red as he said to Chairman Church indignantly that he understood all staff were to be cleared from

the room. "They have been," said Church. "Then who is that young man sitting up with the Senators?" huffed Kissinger.

Unfazed, and quick on his feet as always, your Senator Biden spoke up. "Let me introduce myself. My name is Joe Biden. I am the Junior Senator from Delaware. And it's a great honor to meet you, Secretary Acheson."

Every generation of Americans has had one Senator who, more than any other, helped define America's role in the world. Arthur Vandenberg was that Senator in 1950s; William Fullbright in the 1960s; Frank Church in the 1970s; Sam Nunn in the 1980s; Joe Biden has been that leader in the 1990s: a clear and compelling voice for American interests and American ideals. The leading voice for sensible American internationalism in the Senate.

It's easy to be cynical about the world we live in today. But it's a lot harder to stand in the arena, to believe in a cause, and work day and night to convince others to believe in that cause, too. Joe Biden is one of the people who believes. The people of Delaware should be very proud of the indispensable role Joe Biden plays in assuring that the United States is a voice for peace and freedom in the world.

With much fanfare, we just said goodbye to a Century in which America sent its sons and daughters further and more often from its own shores to fight for freedom than any nation in history. In the 20th Century, millions of American men and women -- including more than 75,000 from Delaware -- worked to defeat fascism, contain communism, and sustain liberty when it was most imperiled.

Thanks in no small measure to their sacrifice, we enter a new Century with American power and values ascendant. Today, for the first time in human history, more than half the world's people elect their own leaders. For the first time in history, the world's leading nations are not engaged

in a deadly struggle for security or territory. And America today is in a unique position. Our military might and reach are unrivaled, and nations look to us to deliver decisive influence wherever it is needed. Our economy not only has produced unprecedented prosperity at home; it is the engine of global growth and technological innovation worldwide -- we are home to half the world's computers and the world's eight biggest high-tech companies. People around the world look to our open, creative society as a model of what it takes to succeed in a globalized world.

As Senator Biden said in a speech last year, "the good news is that we are the world's only remaining superpower. The bad news is that we are the world's only remaining superpower." In other words, we have a remarkable opportunity to advance the cause of peace, prosperity and freedom for our people and the world. But we also have a responsibility -- now, perhaps more than ever -- to lead.

The President has worked over the past seven years to make sure we seize that opportunity, and meet that responsibility. And America has a lot to be proud of. Over the past seven years, we've aided the remarkable transitions to free-market democracy in Central Europe; stopped two cruel wars in the Balkans; worked with Russia to deactivate thousands of nuclear missiles; helped broker historic peace agreements from Northern Ireland to the Middle East, Sierra Leone to the Peru-Ecuador border; and signed more than 270 trade agreements that have opened markets and raised living standards here at home. We've also worked to focus our national security strategy on the new dangers of a new age: the organized forces of crime, narco-trafficking, cyber-terrorism, and governments too weak to handle the forces of globalization.

Along the way, we've had quite a few passionate discussions with people from both parties about what our proper role in the world really is. With the Cold War over, some people, understandably, are tempted to say we don't need to play an active role in the world, or to worry about distant conflicts, or play our part in international institutions like the UN. You could say

it's one part go-it-alone and another part don't-go-at-all. So the President has worked hard to bring people together around the basic principle that Americans benefit when nations come together to deter aggression, to resolve conflicts, to open markets, to raise living standards, to prevent the spread of dangerous weapons, and meet other dangers that no nation can meet alone. And with the help of people like Joe Biden, I believe we've managed to sustain a consensus for a principled and active American role in the world.

The beginning of a new Century should cause us to reflect on the larger purpose of that leadership. For we are experiencing something more than just a changing of the digits on the calendar; this period in history has been a genuine changing of the times – a time of collapsing empires, expanding freedoms, eroding barriers and emerging threats. The question now is: what do we do with the opportunity we have? What are the really big challenges facing us at the beginning of the 21st Century? What fundamental, long-term questions will affect the success of our foreign policy in this new era? Let's go through a few.

One critical question is whether our former adversaries Russia and China will emerge as stable, prosperous democratic partners of the United States.

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, our engagement with a democratic Russia has produced concrete results – the dismantlement of 5,000 former Soviet nuclear weapons, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the Baltics, and Russia's role in ending the conflict in Kosovo. Russia is still struggling with the legacy of totalitarianism, poverty, corruption, and conflict in the Caucasus. But the way President Yeltsin left office last month reflected just how much has changed. For the first time in their 1,000-year history, the Russian people now know that leaders can voluntarily transfer power, under constitutional rules, instead of holding on till death or being forced from office, and that elections will be held to select his replacement.

Of course, we will continue to oppose actions we believe are contrary to our interest or self-defeating for Russia, such as the cruel, costly war in Chechnya. We've made clear that Russia's indiscriminate use of force is wrong. It is inviting far more serious problems for Russia than it can possibly solve. But that doesn't mean we should stop supporting those forces in Russia that are trying to strengthen the rule of law and build faith in democratic institutions. Russia is paying a price for its conduct in Chechnya; Russian democracy must not.

As for China, we must press our interests on issues like the proliferation of dangerous weapons, and speak out clearly about the denial of human rights. But even as we defend our interests, we shouldn't isolate China from the global forces that are empowering its people to seek a better life.

That's why we recently signed an agreement to bring China into the World Trade Organization. As it stands now, our markets are open to China's goods and services. Our new agreement requires China to open its markets – the largest in the world -- in every sector from agriculture to telecommunications to automobiles. It will mean jobs and increased exports for American workers and American products. In the long run, the WTO will also obligate China to reform its economic system in a way that will get the government increasingly out of people's lives and increase the freedom of its people – while committing China to play by international rules. We want to see China on the inside, playing by the rules, rather than on the outside, denying them.

A second question is whether our security will be threatened by regional conflicts, especially those rooted in ethnic and religious tensions, that pose the risk of a wider war.

We are proud of the men and women of our armed forces who turned the tide against ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. We should be proud that, in the last year of the bloodiest century of all, America led its allies to stand up against the extermination and expulsion of an entire people, and we prevailed. Now, there is a great deal more we must do to realize our vision of a peaceful,

undivided, democratic Europe for the first time in history: helping the people of Kosovo rebuild while continuing to clamp down on violence; bolstering the democratic opposition to Slobodan Milosevic in Serbia; promoting investment in the Balkans so the people there have a better future to build for; encouraging progress greater cooperation between Greece and Turkey and an end to the long dispute over Cyprus; helping more new democracies get ready for membership in NATO. If we're persistent, we may one day reach a time when no American will ever again be asked to fight and die in Europe.

We should also be proud of the role America has played to help bring the Middle East closer to peace than they have ever been before. Today, Israeli, Palestinian, and Syrian leaders all want peace, and recognize that this is a unique moment. The gaps between them right now are not so wide as they are deep, and the President is working today to find a way to make sure that everyone's needs are met. It's hard work. But let's keep this in perspective: this conflict has been a source of tension in the world for 50 years. And we have never had a better chance to end it. The President is going to work as hard as he needs to this year to get this done.

A third question is whether the inexorable march of technology is going to give terrorists and hostile nations the means to undermine our defenses, and force us to live in fear again.

Thankfully, the New Year's celebrations worldwide passed without a terrorist attack. But just because we dodged a bullet doesn't mean there was no bullet to dodge. The last weeks of 1999 saw the largest US counter-terrorism operation in history. Terrorist cells were disrupted in eight countries and attacks almost certainly were prevented thanks to the good work of our law enforcement and intelligence agencies. But the threat remains real. We'll need to keep meeting this challenge the same way: with both vigilance and a refusal to be intimidated.

Part of the challenge will be to make it more difficult for weapons of mass destruction and the missiles that can carry them to fall into the wrong hands. In Russia today, the average salary of a

highly-trained weapons scientists is less than \$100 a month. For a small investment, we can help them turn that expertise to peaceful projects that help the world. Or, we can do nothing and pray that each and every one of them resists the temptation to market their expertise to those who wish us harm. Common sense says to help them. That's why we are working with Senator Biden to increase funding for threat reduction by two-thirds over the next five years.

It also means we must continue to work to prevent potentially hostile nations like North Korea and Iraq from obtaining weapons of mass destruction and the missiles to deliver them. It means that we must work to protect our computers and critical infrastructure – like our air traffic control system and nuclear power plants – from attacks by cyber-terrorists and nations who wish us harm. And it means strengthening global standards against the spread of deadly weapons, so that other nations stand with us when we need them. With Senator Biden's leadership, I hope we will be able to find common ground on the treaty to ban all nuclear tests.

A fourth question is whether the stability of the 20th Century will be threatened by a growing gap between rich and poor. As the President has said many times, it is unacceptable that in a world with so many riches, more than 1.2 billion people live on less than one dollar a day. It is unacceptable that more than two billion people get sick every year – many of them children – because they don't have clean water to drink. It is unacceptable that more than three million African children already have died of AIDS. It is not only morally unacceptable, it is economically unsustainable. It robs the world of the contributions of much of its population.

What can we do about this? Part of the answer is to promote freedom and good government, so that leaders are responsive to the needs of their people. And freedom is expanding: with the hopeful transitions to democracy in Nigeria and Indonesia, more people won the right to choose their leaders in 1999 than in 1989, the year the Berlin Wall fell.

But even countries making all the right choices often have to struggle to benefit from the global economy. That's why the President has led a global effort to alleviate the crushing debt in so many nations. No country should have to choose between educating its children and paying interest on debt. It is also why we have begun a concerted effort to fight AIDS and other diseases that are holding so many impoverished nations back. In his State of the Union Address later this week, the President will propose new initiatives to address these challenges.

Finally, we also have to work to expand trade. It's hard to see how people living on a dollar a day will ever be able to live in dignity if we deny them the chance to sell the fruits of their labor and creativity beyond their own borders. There are practices such as forced labor and unregulated child labor that the world should not tolerate. But we must also understand that, for the poorest countries, trade means growth and growth means improved working conditions. We don't want a race to the bottom in the international economy, but neither do we want to keep the bottom down. What we want is a steady march to the top that leaves no one behind.

In the years ahead, we will face many other fundamental questions, and challenges we can hardly foresee, whether tragedies or hopeful breakthroughs. But as a result of the last several years, we look to that distant horizon from higher and more hopeful ground. Every day, we have a chance to make real for the world what Delaware set into motion more than two centuries ago when it became the first state to ratify the liberties and protections that we hold so dear.

Sometimes, that history may seem distant, but the cord that connects us to ages past is not. Think about it: Senator Biden serves in the Senate with Senator Strom Thurmond. Senator Thurmond, who first entered the Senate in 1954, served with Walter George, who entered in 1922; who served with Henry Cabot Lodge, who entered in 1893; who served with John Sherman, who entered in 1861; who served with Hannibal Hamlin, who entered in 1848; who served with William King, who entered in 1819, who served with Rufus King, who re-entered in 1813; who served with Joseph Anderson, who entered in 1797; who served with John Brown,

who entered in 1792; who served with George Read, the first Senator from Delaware, who entered in 1789 – and signed both the United States Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. Through just ten people – starting and ending in Delaware -- we are directly connected to the two documents that have moved this nation and this world for two centuries.

Today, we are closer than we have ever been to turning the promise of the freedom call that began here in Delaware into a reality for more than half the world. Seven years after Time Magazine asked the question “is the U.S. in an irreversible decline as the world’s premier power” – America has arrived at a moment when our strength and prosperity are unparalleled. For all the billions of people who came before us, it has been left to this generation to lead the world into a new millennium, to use our freedom wisely, to walk away from war and hatred, and to walk toward peace. When historians look back on this Century, let them say that is exactly what we did.

Thank you.

To: Paul Orzulak

1/23/00 10:00 p.m.

Orzulak

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WILMINGTON, DELAWARE
JANUARY 24, 2000

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It's easy to be cynical about the world we live in today. But it's a lot harder to stand in the arena, to believe in a cause, *g* and work day and night to convince others to believe in that cause, too. Joe Biden is one of the people who believes. The people of Delaware should be very proud of the ~~indispensible~~ role Joe Biden plays in assuring that the United States is a voice for peace and freedom in the world. *It is truly indispensable.*

With much fanfare, we just said goodbye to a Century in which America sent its sons and daughters further and more often from its own shores to fight for freedom than any nation in history. In the 20th Century, millions of American men and women -- including more than 75,000 from Delaware -- worked to defeat fascism, contain communism, and sustain liberty when it was most imperiled.

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As Senator Biden said in a speech last year, "the good news is that we are the world's only remaining superpower. The bad news is that we are the world's only remaining superpower." In other words, we have a remarkable opportunity to advance the cause of peace, prosperity and freedom for our people and the world. But we also have a responsibility – now, perhaps more than ever -- to lead.

The President has worked over the past seven years to make sure we seize that opportunity, and meet that responsibility. And America has a lot to be proud of. Over the past seven years, we've aided the remarkable transitions to free-market democracy in Central Europe; stopped two cruel wars in the Balkans; worked with Russia to deactivate thousands of nuclear missiles; helped broker historic peace agreements from Northern Ireland to the Middle East, Sierra Leone to the Peru-Ecuador border; and signed more than 270 trade agreements that have opened markets and raised living standards here at home. We've also worked to focus our national security strategy on the new dangers of a new age: the organized forces of crime, narco-trafficking, cyber-terrorism, and governments too weak to handle the forces of globalization.

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But the way President Yeltsin left office last month reflected ~~just~~ *a Russian leader* how much has changed. For the first time in their 1,000-year history, ~~the Russian people now know that leaders can~~ voluntarily transfer ^{ed} power, under constitutional rules, instead of holding on till death or being forced from office, and ~~that~~ elections will be held to select his replacement.

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A second question ~~is whether~~ ^{for our future} our security will be threatened by regional conflicts, especially those rooted in ethnic and religious tensions, that pose the risk of a wider war.

~~We are proud of~~ ^{Through the courage of} the men and women of our armed forces, ~~who~~ ^{we} turned the tide against ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. We should be proud that, in the last year of the bloodiest century of all, America led its allies to stand up against the extermination and expulsion of an entire people, and we prevailed. Now, there is a great deal more we must do to realize our vision of a peaceful,

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We did that when we signed and ratified the Chemical Weapons Convention with Joe Biden's help. So far, we have failed to convince

A fourth question is whether the stability of the 20th Century will be threatened by a growing gap ^{2/3 of} between rich and poor. ~~As the President has said many times, it is unacceptable that in a world~~ ^{The Senate to ratify the comprehensive ban on nuclear testing.} with so many riches, ^{That} more than 1.2 billion people live on less than one dollar a day. It is unacceptable that more than two billion people get sick every year – many of them children because they don't have clean water to drink. It is unacceptable that more than three million African children already have died of AIDS. It is not only morally unacceptable, it is economically unsustainable. It robs the world of the contributions of much of its population.

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Thank you.

To: Paul Orzulak

Fr: Sandy

Please deliver
to Paul1/21/00 12:45 p.m.
Orzulak

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WILMINGTON, DELAWARE
JANUARY 24, 2000

Thank you, Senator. It's an honor for me to be here today, and I want to thank you for inviting me. Please forgive me if I was a few minutes late. I was trying to leave for the speech, but members of my staff only wanted to talk about which actor would be playing them in tomorrow night's episode of "The West Wing." I have a beef with that show. In the cast, they have actors who portray the President, the Vice President, the Chief of Staff, the Deputy Chief of Staff, the Press Secretary, and even the speechwriter. But even though many of the episodes involve foreign policy decisions, ~~no one has portrayed me.~~ *There is no National Security Advisor.*

It's probably just as well, considering how Hollywood has portrayed national security advisors *recently.* ~~in the past.~~ A stuffed shirt in "the Peacemaker." An egomaniac killed off in "Air Force One." A calculating sell-out in "Clear and Present Danger." And just last week on television, as a zealot with really bad hair in "Murder at 1600." I can't imagine who was the model for these characters, but let me stress that each of these movies was in process before I assumed the job.

But one role I have been proud to play for nearly two decades is ~~friend~~ *an adviser and friend* of Joe Biden. When Joe was a ~~young~~ *30 year old* Senator serving his first term on the Foreign Relations Committee, I worked for

~~Secretary of State Cyrus Vance. Our paths crossed a few times. [TRUE? STORIES?] You'll be happy to know that Joe Biden hasn't changed much the past 25 years. He's still the same low key, soft spoken guy he's always been.~~ *I don't particularly fond of one episode*
~~Secretary of State Henry Kissinger came to testify. He had arranged with chairman Frank Church that, at a key point, the room would be cleared and the committee would go into Executive Session. The time came, (see X attached) it's been said that every generation of Americans has had at least one Senator who helped define~~

~~and explain America's role in the world. In a way, what Arthur Vandenberg was to the 1950s; what William Fullbright was to the 1960s; what Ed Brooke and Scoop Jackson were to the~~ *Frank Church*

more than any other.

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Church discharged the pets and ~~staff~~ and the hearing resumed. Kissinger surveyed the senatorial podium before him and his eyes fixed on this young kid sitting up with the senators. Kissinger's face grew red as he said to Chairman Church indignantly that he understood all staff were to be cleared from the room. "They have been," said Church. "Not then who is that young man sitting up with the senators?" huffed Kissinger.

Unfazed, and quick as on his feet as always, you senator Biden spoke up. ~~Let me introduce myself, my name is Joe Biden. I am the junior senator from Delaware. And it's a great honor to meet you, Secretary~~ "Let me introduce myself, my name is Joe Biden. I am the junior senator from Delaware. And it's a great honor to meet you, Secretary Acheson."

and 1902 (?).

1970s and what Nancy Kassebaum and Sam Nunn were to the 1980s; Joe Biden has been to the
in the '90's:
1990s a clear and consistent voice for American interests and American ideals.

compelling

voice for

American internationalism

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Senate.

It's easy to be cynical about the world we live in today. It's easy to be cynical about decisions made by others, and then go your own way. But it's a lot harder to stand in the arena, to believe in a cause, and work day and night to convince others to believe in that cause, too. Joe Biden is one of the people who believes.

The people of Delaware should be very proud of the

His leadership in the Senate and beyond has helped make this a better world. With the President he led the fight to improve America's security by expanding NATO. He built a bipartisan coalition to approve ratification of the Chemical Weapons Convention. He was an early and principled voice against the atrocities in Bosnia and Kosovo. And he continues to be one of the world's leading voices on arms control. On nearly every issue that keeps us safe as Americans — from the security of our borders to the safety of our streets — Joe Biden is making a difference.

indispensable role for Biden plays in

He is also one the people in the Senate who has worked hard to maintain the bipartisan consensus that has been the heart of American foreign policy for more than 50 years. Joe Biden has always understood: at home, people may be characterized as Republicans and Democrats. But when we look beyond these shores, we are all Americans first — and we should never forget that.

inspiring that the United States is a force for peace and freedom in the world.

and more often

with much fanfare, we

we just said goodbye to Century in which America sent its sons and daughters further from its own shores to fight for freedom than any nation in history. In the 20th Century, millions of American men and women — including more than 75,000 from Delaware — worked to defeat fascism, contain communism, and sustain liberty when it was most imperiled.

in so small measure

Thanks to their sacrifice, we enter a new Century with American power and values ascendant.

Today, for the first time in history, more than half the world's people elect their own leaders. For

~~has been~~
the first time in history, the world's leading nations are not engaged in a deadly struggle for security or territory. And America ^{today} is in a unique position. Our military might and reach are unrivaled, and nations look to us to deliver decisive influence wherever it is needed. Our economy ^{innovation worldwide} is the engine of global growth and technological ~~change~~ -- we are home to half the world's computers and the world's eight biggest high-tech companies. People around the world look to our open, creative society as a model of what it takes to succeed in a globalized world.

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As Senator Biden said in a speech last year, "the good news is that we are the world's only remaining superpower. The bad news is that we are the world's only remaining superpower." In other words, we have a remarkable opportunity to advance the cause of peace, prosperity and freedom for our people and the world. But we also have a responsibility -- now, perhaps more than ever -- to lead.

The President has worked over the past seven years to make sure we seize that opportunity, and meet that responsibility. And America has a lot to be proud of. Over the past seven years, we've aided the remarkable transitions to free-market democracy in Central Europe; stopped two cruel wars in the Balkans; worked with Russia to deactivate thousands of nuclear missiles; helped broker historic peace agreements from Northern Ireland to the Middle East, ^{specific} Africa to South America, and signed more than 270 trade agreements that have opened markets and raised living standards here at home. We've also worked to focus our national security strategy on the new dangers of a new age: the organized forces of crime, narco-trafficking, cyber-terrorism, and governments too weak to handle the forces of globalization.

Along the way, we've had quite a few passionate discussions with people from both parties about what our proper role in the world really is. With the Cold War over, some people, understandably, are tempted to say we don't need to play an active role in the world, or to worry about distant conflicts, or play our part in international institutions like the UN. You could say it's one part go-it-alone and another part don't-go-at-all. So the President has worked hard to

bring people together around the basic principle that Americans benefit when nations come together to deter aggression, to resolve conflicts, to open markets, to raise living standards, to prevent the spread of dangerous weapons, and meet other dangers that no nation can meet alone. And with the help of people like Joe Biden, I believe we've managed to sustain a consensus for a principled and active American role in the world.

The beginning of a new Century should cause us to reflect on the larger purpose of that leadership. For we are experiencing something more than just a changing of the digits on the calendar; this period in history has been a genuine changing of the times – a time of collapsing empires, expanding freedoms, eroding barriers and emerging threats. The question now is: what do we do with the opportunity we have? What are the really big challenges facing us at the beginning of the 21st Century? What fundamental, long-term questions will affect the success of our foreign policy in this new era? Let's go through a few.

One critical question is whether our former adversaries Russia and China will emerge as stable, prosperous democratic partners of the United States.

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, our engagement with a democratic Russia has produced concrete results – the dismantlement of 5,000 former Soviet nuclear weapons, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the Baltics, and Russia's role in ending the conflict in Kosovo. ~~We all know that~~ Russia is still struggling with the legacy of totalitarianism, poverty, corruption, and conflict in the Caucasus. But the way President Yeltsin left office last month reflected just how much has changed. For the first time in their 1,000-year history, the Russian people now know that leaders can voluntarily transfer power, under constitutional rules, instead of holding on till death or being forced from office..

Oppose actions we believe are contrary to
Of course, we will continue to ~~talk about~~ *our interest or self-defeating for Russia, such as the cruel* the problems that still exist, including the situation in Chechnya. We've made clear that Russia's indiscriminate use of force in Chechnya *costly war in chechnya*

is wrong. It is inviting far more serious problems for Russia than it can possibly solve. But that doesn't mean we should stop supporting those forces in Russia that are trying to strengthen the rule of law and build faith in democratic institutions. Russia is paying a price for its conduct in Chechnya; Russian democracy must not.

As for China, ~~we've got to~~ ^{we must} press our interests on issues like the proliferation of dangerous weapons, and speak out clearly about the denial of human rights. But even as we defend our interests, we shouldn't isolate China from the global forces that are empowering its people to seek a better life.

That's why we recently signed an agreement to bring China into the World Trade Organization. As it stands now, our markets are open to China's goods and services. Our new agreement requires China to open its markets ~~in every sector~~ ^{-- The largest in the world --} from agriculture to telecommunications to automobiles. It will mean jobs and increased exports for American workers and American products. In the long run, the WTO will also obligate China to reform its economic system in a way that will get the government increasingly out of people's lives and increase the freedom of its people -- while committing China to play by international rules. We want to see China on the inside, playing by the rules, rather than on the outside, denying them.

A second question is whether our security will be threatened by regional conflicts, especially those rooted in ethnic and religious tensions, that pose the risk of a wider war.

We ~~should~~ ^{are} proud of the men and women of our armed forces who turned the tide against ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. ~~That campaign was the latest chapter of an effort we have undertaken the past seven years to help complete the job of building a Europe that will be, for the first time in history, undivided, democratic, and at peace. There is a great deal more to do to advance this vision for the region: helping the people of Kosovo rebuild while continuing to clamp down on violence; bolstering the democratic opposition to Slobodan Milosevic in Serbia;~~ ^{We should be proud that, in the last year of over the bloodiest century of all, America led its allies to stand up against the extermination and expulsion of an entire people, and we prevailed.}
 ~~Now, there is a great deal more we must do to realize our vision of a peaceful, undivided, democratic Europe for the first time in history:~~

promoting investment in the Balkans so the people there have a better future to build for; encouraging progress greater cooperation between Greece and Turkey and an end to the long dispute over Cyprus; helping more new democracies get ready for membership in NATO. ~~Some of this will require money and the steady support of people like Senator Biden.~~ But if we're persistent, we may one day reach a time when no American will ever again be asked to fight and die in Europe.

We should also be proud of the role America has played to help bring the Middle East closer to peace than they have ever been before. Today, Israeli, Palestinian, and Syrian leaders all want peace, and recognize that this is a unique moment. The gaps between them right now are not so wide, ~~as they are deep,~~ but they are deeply entrenched, and the President is working today to find a way to make sure that everyone's needs are met. It's hard work. But let's keep this in perspective: this conflict has been a source of tension in the world for 50 years. And we have never had a better chance to end it. The President is going to work as hard as he needs to this year to get this done.

A third question is whether the inexorable march of technology is going to give terrorists and hostile nations the means to undermine our defenses, and force us to live in fear again.

Thankfully, the New Year's celebrations worldwide passed without a terrorist attack. But just because we dodged a bullet doesn't mean there was no bullet to dodge. The last weeks of 1999 saw the largest US counter-terrorism operation in history. Terrorist cells were disrupted in eight countries and attacks were almost certainly prevented thanks to the good work of our law enforcement and intelligence agencies. ~~And~~ ^{But} the threat remains real. We'll need to keep meeting this challenge the same way: with both vigilance and a refusal to be intimidated.

Part of the challenge will be to make it more difficult for weapons of mass destruction and the missiles that can carry them to fall into the wrong hands. In Russia today, the average salary of a highly-trained weapons scientists is less than \$100 a month. For a small investment, we can help

them turn that expertise to peaceful projects that help the world. Or, we can do nothing and pray that each and every one of them resists the temptation to market their expertise to those who wish us harm. Common sense says to help them. That's why we are working with Senator Biden to increase funding for threat reduction by two-thirds over the next five years.

It also means we must continue to work to prevent potentially hostile nations like North Korea and Iraq from obtaining weapons of mass destruction and the missiles to deliver them. It means that we must work to protect our computers and critical infrastructure – like our air traffic control system and nuclear power plants – from attacks by cyber-terrorists and nations who wish us harm. And it means strengthening global standards against the spread of deadly weapons, so that other nations stand with us when we need them. With Senator Biden's leadership, I hope we will be able to find common ground on the ~~Nuclear Test Ban Treaty~~ *to ban all nuclear tests.*

A fourth question is whether the stability of the 20th Century will be threatened by a growing gap between rich and poor. As the President has said many times, it is unacceptable that in a world with so many riches, more than ~~one billion~~ *1.2 billion* people live on less than one dollar a day. It is unacceptable that more than two billion people get sick every year – many of them children – because they don't have clean water to drink. It is unacceptable that more than three million African children have already died of AIDS. It is not only morally unacceptable, it is economically unsustainable. It robs the world of the contributions of much of its population.

What can we do about this? Part of the answer is to promote freedom and good government, so that leaders are responsive to the needs of their people. And freedom is expanding: with the hopeful transitions to democracy in Nigeria and Indonesia, more people won the right to choose their leaders in 1999 than in 1989, the year the Berlin Wall fell.

But even countries making all the right choices often have to struggle to benefit from the global economy. That's why the President has led a global effort to alleviate the crushing debt in so

many nations. No country should have to choose between educating its children and paying interest on debt. It is also why we have begun a concerted effort to fight AIDS and other diseases that are holding so many impoverished nations back. In his State of the Union Address later this week, the President will propose new initiatives to address these challenges.

Finally, we also have to work to expand trade. It's hard to see how people living on a dollar a day will ever be able to live in dignity if we deny them the chance to sell the fruits of their labor and creativity beyond their own borders. There are practices such as forced labor and ^{unregulated} child labor that the world should not tolerate. But we must also understand that, for the poorest countries, trade means growth and growth means improved working conditions. We don't want a race to the bottom in the international economy, but neither do we want to keep the bottom down. What we want is a steady march to the top that leaves no one behind.

In the years ahead, we will face many other fundamental questions, and challenges we can hardly foresee, whether tragedies or hopeful breakthroughs. But as a result of the last several years, we look to that distant horizon from higher and more hopeful ground. Every day, we have a chance to make real for the world what Delaware set into motion more than two centuries ago when it became the first state to ratify the liberties and protections that we hold so dear.

Sometimes, that history may seem ^{distant,} ~~long~~, but the cord that connects us to ages past is ^{not.} ~~short~~. Think about it: Senator Biden serves in the Senate with Senator Strom Thurmond. Senator Thurmond, who first entered the Senate in 1954, served with Walter George, who entered in 1922; who served with Henry Cabot Lodge, who entered in 1893; who served with John Sherman, who entered in 1861; who served with Hannibal Hamlin, who entered in 1848; who served with William King, who entered in 1819, who served with Rufus King, who re-entered in 1813; who served with Joseph Anderson, who entered in 1797; who served with John Brown, who entered in 1792; who served with George Read, the first Senator from Delaware, who entered in 1789 – and signed both the United States Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. Through

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just ten people -- starting and ending in Delaware -- we are directly connected to the two documents that have moved this nation and this world for two centuries.

Today, we are closer than we have ever been to turning the promise of the freedom call that began here in Delaware into a reality for more than half the world. Seven years after the question was asked "is the U.S. in an irreversible decline as the world's premier power" -- America has arrived at a moment when our strength and prosperity are unparalleled. For all the billions of people who came before us, it has been left to this generation to lead the world into a new millennium, to use our freedom wisely, to walk away from war and hatred, and to walk toward peace. When historians look back on this Century, let them say that is exactly what we did.

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Thank you.