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Letter to the Editor

Two yrs ago - Titanic
This year - 1st Perfect Storm

- Seattle - Millenium - Customs

- ~~Nonpro~~
- ~~Terror~~
- ~~Cybersecurity~~

- Nonpro

- Terror

- Cybersecurity / ~~Old~~ New Viruses

- ~~Old~~ Viruses

- ~~Drugs~~

ARGENTINA
A survey after page 56

The Economist

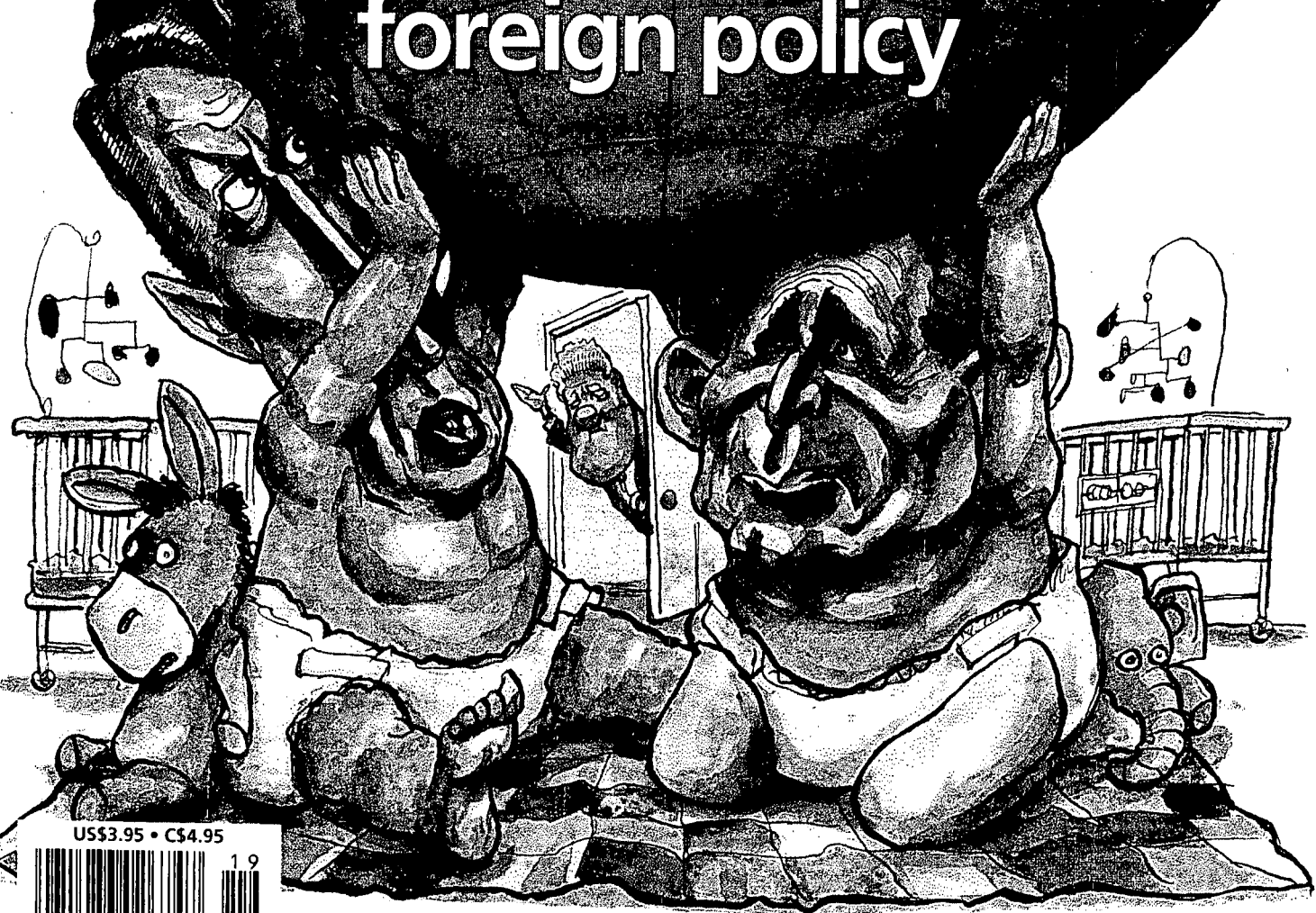
MAY 6TH - 12TH 2000

ONE-PARTY
CALIFORNIA
LEXINGTON, page 36

A SUPER-JUMBO
TRADE WAR?
page 63

Yippee!

They're fighting over foreign policy



US\$3.95 • C\$4.95



Argentina.....	\$6.50	Canada.....	C\$4.95	Guyana.....	G\$7.50	Peru.....	S/22.60
Barbados.....	Bds\$10.90	Chile.....	Ch\$3,000	Jamaica.....	J\$170	UK.....	£2.60
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4/8/00 4:00 p.m.

Orzulak

JAMES B. STEINBERG
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS
REMARKS AT STANFORD UNIVERSITY

April 10, 2000

At the National Security Council, Sandy Berger and I are often asked to give speeches. But it's not every day that we receive invitations from not just one - but two - former interns of the NSC. If Matt Spence and Cody Harris are any indication of the kind of leaders this conference is producing, I'd say the future of our relationship is in good hands.

In his State of the Union Address this year, President Clinton identified the challenge of encouraging our former Cold War adversaries, China and Russia, to emerge as stable, prosperous, democratic nations as one of the four fundamental challenges facing the U.S. in the 21st Century. There's been a lot of interest in China over the past few weeks, but tonight I want to focus on our strategy to help bring about this transformation in Russia.

Nearly a decade ago, the Russian people made a fundamental break with their own history by dismantling both the Soviet Union and the brutal and stultifying communist system that kept it together. They instead opted for the truly daunting course of building democracy and a market economy for a people who have never experienced either. Just

last month, we witnessed the latest step in that transformation -- an election that completed the first constitutional transfer of power in Russia's thousand-year history.

Over the past decade, there has been a great deal of debate in this country about the future of Russia, and what America's strategy should be. Is America better served by a politically and economically successful Russia once again playing an active role on the global stage, or an inward-looking, debilitated Russia? Should Russia be engaged or contained? There are some who assume Russia's experiment in democracy is destined to fail, who recommend that we base our relations with Russia on classical balance of power considerations, who take it as a given that Russia is destined to embrace authoritarianism at home and expansion abroad, who argue, in effect, that if Russia is not on its knees it will someday be at our throats.

From the beginning, President Clinton and his Administration rejected that approach. If we have learned anything the past decade, it is that the weakness of great nations poses as much a threat to our safety and security as their strengths. We have felt first-hand just how hard it can be to deal with a Russia that is unsure of its standing in the world - a Russia that is a source of instability to its neighbors, a less cooperative partner in meeting important arms control and nonproliferation challenges, and a contributor to global financial turmoil. For all the concern about what a successful Russia could mean, just think about the risks that could be posed by a weak and isolated Russia - permanently beset by internal conflicts, social dislocation, criminal activity, loose nukes, and large-scale emigration. We didn't fight the Cold War for 50 years to end communism only to

replace it with a permanent zone of instability across Europe and Asia. We did it to create a more stable, prosperous, and democratic world.

Our security and Russia's success are not a zero-sum game. They are flip sides of the same coin. If Russia is going to be weak and insecure within its borders, our own safety and security will be threatened. At the same time, if Russia succeeds, if it evolves into a stable nation that is capable of meeting the needs and aspirations of its people; a strong nation that defines its strength in ways that benefit the international community; we will benefit. Russians gained freedom, but it came at a cost. Our challenge today is to help Russians overcome the costs, so they never get rid of these hard-won freedoms.

We are convinced that the best way to accomplish that goal is to deepen Russia's integration into the global economy and rules-based political and security arrangements. This belief is based on several key premises: that Russia is neither destined to be our adversary nor guaranteed to be our friend; that how Russia develops internally will affect its actions externally; and that deeper integration in wider regional and global institutions will advance Russia's economic and security interests in ways that are consistent with our national interests. It is a belief that seeks to harness the forces of globalization as a positive inducement to change. That Russia and her leaders will see that the best hope for success in a world where information and investment can flow in -- and out -- of nations at a key stroke is to integrate into the global economy. That the best -- indeed the only -- way for Russia to secure its interests and advance regional and global security is to participate in the institutions and arrangements that establish and uphold rules and

standards on everything from trade to arms control to non-proliferation to human rights.

If Russia has a voice in setting those rules, we believe it is more likely to accept the legitimacy and value of the rules, and not only abide by them, but help enforce them.

After nearly a decade, it seems appropriate to step back and ask: how has our strategy fared? To make a sound assessment, we need to look at all three of monumental transitions Russia is undertaking: from Communism to democracy; from an empire and nuclear threat to a nation state and nuclear partner; and from a command economy to a market economy. On each transition, we can see the greening shoots of our strategy of integration, along with some of the dangers and uncertainties that this policy will face in the coming years. Let's take them in turn, beginning with Russia's progress toward political freedom.

In the communist system most Russians remember, citizens had no alternatives to the Communist Party, no free press, no free speech, no freedom of religion, no freedom of movement. Today, Russians can think, speak, worship, learn, teach, buy, sell and travel freely. And there is no place where this change is being seen and felt more than at the ballot box.

Today, the ballot box is increasingly the instrument whereby Russians choose their leaders. Since the break-up of the Soviet Union, there have been three nation-wide parliamentary elections in Russia, two presidential elections, and hundreds of regional and local contests. Nearly 70 percent of eligible voters participated in the last election.

Fifteen years ago, none of them had cast a ballot in an election that wasn't rigged.

Vladimir Putin won the Presidency with an outright victory with over 50 percent of the vote. Election monitors from the U.S. and Europe concluded that there were no major irregularities in the electoral process.

And we have done our best over the last seven years to help the Russian people in their efforts to deepen democracy's grass roots. The vast majority of our assistance for Russia -- other than for threat reduction activities -- is spent on programs that do not involve the Russian government. Our assistance programs have brought more than 40,000 young Russians to the U.S. for training, and nurtured more than 300 independent TV stations in Russia's provinces. When we started this assistance, Russia had only a handful of non-governmental organizations. Today, it has 65,000. We have long argued that our engagement with Russia should not be focused solely on the Kremlin, that we should encourage pluralism in Russia by dealing with Russia as a pluralistic society. It is precisely this kind of assistance that helps us to meet that goal, and it deserves the continued support of Congress.

Russia's second transition is from an empire to a nation-state that advances its interests by cooperating with its neighbors, not by dominating them. Here, the progress has been substantial.

Throughout the Cold War, But the Soviet Union dominated its so-called Warsaw Pact allies and posed a military and political threat to the community of free nations

Ten years later, Russian troops have withdrawn from Central Europe and the Baltic states. Russia has begun building equitable relationships with its neighbors and has recognized their independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity. Together we have worked to strengthen the only pan-European security organization, the OSCE. We worked hard to achieve the landmark NATO-Russia Founding Act in 1997, which codified a cooperative partnership with NATO, despite Russian objections to NATO enlargement. The commitment to the NATO-Russian relationship was recently reaffirmed with the visit of NATO's Secretary General to Moscow last month. And despite our disagreements about NATO's air campaign against Serbia, the U.S. and Russia coordinated our diplomacy to induce Milosevic to meet NATO's conditions for ending the bombing. Since then, Russian and American soldiers have served side-by-side to keep the peace in Kosovo and are still cooperating in Bosnia; our negotiators worked with 28 other countries to adapt the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, and to reach agreement on the withdrawal of Russian forces from Georgia and Moldova. On the broader global stage, Russia is now a member of the G-8, working together with the world's leading industrialized democracies to tackle broad-ranging problems from stability in South Asia to infectious diseases to climate change.

On the one issue that dominated our time, resources, and attention for nearly half a century - the nuclear arms race - we have made remarkable progress. The end of the Cold War and collapse of the Soviet Union created an opportunity to take major steps to reduce nuclear dangers.

Working together, we have helped deactivate almost 5,000 nuclear warheads in the former Soviet Union; eliminate nuclear weapons from Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan; strengthen the security of nuclear weapons and materials at over 100 sites; tighten export controls and restrict illicit trafficking in sensitive technologies and materials; engage over 30,000 former Soviet weapons scientists in civilian research; and purchase hundreds of tons of highly enriched uranium from dismantled Russian weapons. But the true measure of the program's success can be measured in what has not happened in the last seven years: the doomsday scenario many predicted when the Soviet Union collapsed - of weapons of mass destruction flowing to the arsenals of rogue states and terrorists and of scientists selling their services en masse to the highest bidder - has not come to pass.

Russia's cooperation with us to reduce Cold War era threats has not wavered - not during the debate over NATO enlargement, nor the conflict in Kosovo, nor in the wake of successive changes in its government. In the meantime, Russia has joined us in banning nuclear testing and in ratifying the Chemical Weapons Convention. And our two nations have agreed on a framework for further cuts to be made in the Start III treaty that would reduce our nuclear weapons by 80 percent from their Cold War peak.

On the economic side too, much has changed. In the Soviet days, virtually every citizen woke up in an apartment or a house owned by the government and went to work in a factory or a farm run by the government. State-run workplaces also operated the schools where they sent their children, the clinics where they received dental care, and the stores

where they bought their food. Russia was falling behind the West every year, but most had little knowledge of the world and living standards most people in the West enjoyed.

Today, all that is transformed. State-owned enterprises are increasingly being replaced by private businesses. Citizens can own property and start their own businesses. Russia has enjoyed a stronger than expected rebound since the crash and financial crisis of August 1998. That's in part because of rising oil prices and the import substitution effects of ruble devaluation. It's also because of a combination of sound monetary policy and improvement of fiscal policy that has kept down inflation.

We have pursued several parallel tracks to help Russia create the infrastructure of a market economy: dismantling state controls, creating private property, and building the laws and institutions that support an open and competitive market. Specifically, we launched a rule of law project immediately after the 1993 Vancouver Summit that helped Russia draft a new Criminal Code, bankruptcy laws, and much of the legal and regulatory framework that allows Russia's fledgling Securities and Exchange Commission to function. Our assistance programs have been important in separating the judicial system from the executive branch, training judges in commercial law, and supporting a number of Russian law schools.

We joined with the World Bank to promote sound practices by Russian banks and create a program to raise them to international standards. We have been helping the Central Bank develop modern commercial bank supervision that has taken 900 risky banks off

the market. Banking sector restructuring has a long way to go, but Business Week recently reported that banks in Russia have begun to do something most never did before - give longer-term loans to the real sectors of the economy, particularly small and midsize businesses, as opposed to limiting their activities to financial arbitrage. At the same time, we have given financial assistance that has benefited more than 15,000 small and medium businesses in Russia, and helped more than 250,000 Russian small businessmen with financing or training. We are also working with Russia to achieve its eventual accession to the WTO, which would be a capstone to Russia's integration with the new global economy.

On all three transitions, these are historic changes in the right direction. Over the long run, they promise to bring the Russian people what they so often say they yearn for: a normal life in a normal country. But of course, for many understandable reasons, many ordinary Russians do not yet see it that way. Some may even feel they have lost more than they have gained.

Under the old system, there was little dignity in work, but there was basic security in work -- the certainty of lifetime employment. People weren't free to travel or to choose where to live, but at home they had a guaranteed roof over their heads. Decent health care was only available to those with connections, but rudimentary health care was available to all .

In today's Russia, too many citizens have seen the meager social benefits of communism melt away, but they have not yet seen a modern system of social security or a real social safety net take their place. They have seen the rise of crime and persistence of corruption. They have seen new freedoms abused by a small number of well-connected insiders who have profited unfairly from Russia's rapid and sometimes chaotic transformation and amassed great power. And in the face of this rapidly accumulating wealth for a few, the Communist era's lingering legacy of poverty and deprivation seems even more painful. What is more, they have witnessed the decline of the symbols of Russia's old power and standing -- its industrial, scientific, and military might, its status as a superpower and the leader of the Warsaw Pact.

Thus, as we enter the 21st century, Russia's three transitions are in mid-stream. As last month's election show, there are still those who would like to turn back to the comfort of a familiar shore. But the majority want to persevere -- and we must work with them to address the remaining challenges.

On the transition from Communism to democracy, the process still leaves much to be desired. Democracy is not just about free elections; it's also about the rule of law, a strong civil society, broad-based political parties, and a free press. Today in Russia, respect for the law and a level playing field is spotty at best. Far too much power resides in media outlets controlled by a select few, including the powers-that-be in the Kremlin itself. The emergence of a genuinely independent media remains a key challenge in

deepening democracy's roots in Russia over time. That's why we are working to obtain more funding for programs that will further strengthen many of those NGO's and independent media outlets.

Democracy also requires a commitment to pluralism and ethnic and religious tolerance. That's why the way Russia has -- and will -- handle the conflict in Chechnya is so important for Russia's future. Russia has a legitimate interest in responding to terrorism and threats to its territorial integrity from forces both within and outside Russia. But Chechnya is a more complex challenge. The roots of the Chechnya conflict go back to the era of czarist conquest and the darkest days of Stalinist Russia, when the Chechen people were deported to Central Asia, only to return during the Khrushchev thaw. It is a political problem, which becomes harder and harder to solve with each bullet fired in anger. It has produced a heavy toll: 285,000 people displaced, thousands of innocent civilians killed or wounded, and thousands of homes and businesses destroyed since last September, clumsy attempts to manipulate the media and to keep foreign observers out.

We've made clear to Russia that reports of human rights abuses by Russian forces in Chechnya offer a moment of truth it should seize to show that it takes its own laws and international obligations seriously. Russia, as a member of the OSCE and the Council of Europe is obliged to respect the norms and institutions of which it is part. That's why we have called on Russia to cooperate fully with international organizations such as the OSCE, to investigate all credible allegations in an open and unbiased way; to hold perpetrators accountable for their actions; and to let the OSCE reestablish a permanent

presence in the region. President Putin's decision to grant the International Committee of the Red Cross unfettered access to all detainees and detention facilities was a welcome first step. We have tried to help ease the humanitarian crisis by providing \$10 million to the Red Cross and the United Nations agencies to help persons displaced by the conflict.

We will continue to urge Russia to open a political dialogue with pragmatic and responsible Chechen leaders, instead of deepening the antagonism of their people. That also means being careful not to make people from the Caucasus second-class citizens, or in any way trammeling hard-won human rights or civil liberties. It also means working cooperatively with neighboring states to deal effectively with the underlying economic and security problems of the Caucasus, but not pressuring those neighbors in ways that will shake their fragile sense of their own stability and independence.

On the second transition, Russia has largely abandoned coercion in favor of persuasion as a means to influence its neighbors. But it can still be heavy handed in its dealings with the Baltics, Ukraine and the nations of the Caucasus and Central Asia. It is an active participant in helping rein in proliferation in South Asia and North Korea, but the temptation in institutes and companies to sell sensitive weapons and materials to the highest bidder is still clearly present. Indeed, the problem of Russian entities' cooperation with Iran's missile and covert nuclear weapons program remains at the top of the U.S.-Russian relationship. But it is worth bearing in mind that the average salary of a Russian nuclear weapons scientist is just \$100 a month. That is why President Clinton launched the Expanded Threat Reduction Initiative, a program which has significantly

increased funding for our work in this important area and to deal with the very real security challenges that remain.

Together, we must also move forward to build on our progress on strategic arms control. Mr. Putin has told us that he expects to win ratification of Start II in the very near future. That could pave the way for beginning formal negotiations on Start III and deeper reductions of offensive weaponry. At the same time, we are working with the Russians to try to reach agreement on limited modifications to the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty of 1972 that will allow us both to address newly emerging ballistic missile threats while preserving the ABM's central role in assuring strategic stability.

Finally, the transition to a market economy has raised its share of questions, both about the choices Russia has made, and about our own decisions in supporting it.

Smart people, even some with Nobel prizes, disagree as to the cause of events in August 1998 and their aftermath: was there too much reform, too little reform, or the wrong mix of reforms? Some experts say that the G-8 and the IMF gave the wrong advice or had the wrong focus; others say that the advice was fundamentally correct, but the implementation was inadequate. Some say that the pace of Russia's integration into the global system was too quick, accumulating unmanageable debt; other say it should have moved faster. Some say that there should have been more generous external financing; others say that there should have been less because external support simply allowed Russia to avoid hard choices.

Indeed, it is true that since the financial collapse of 1998, with little or no IMF support, the Russian economy has done better than expected. The crisis and its aftermath made clear that the most important factor in Russia's economic performance is its own government's commitment to sound economic policies, and that self-reliance imposes its own disciplines.

The big question is whether Russia would have been better or worse off without outside support in the years after its transition began? And of course, we cannot say for sure. But we can say this: with our support, institutions like the World Bank and IMF did help Russia to conquer hyperinflation, to liberalize prices, and to make the ruble convertible, and in so doing, probably gave it the breathing room it needed to begin the long, hard transformation of its economy. And despite the mistakes, setbacks, and missed opportunities of the last decade, Russia is fundamentally moving in the right direction: no serious faction advocates a return to central planning or abolition of markets. Economic growth is emerging. This progress is having an impact on people's lives.

Now the challenge is to move forward with concrete steps to achieve self-sustaining growth and opportunity. President Putin has an opening to work with new Duma to strengthen laws that protect private property, ensure transparency and accountability, and establish a rational, equitable and progressive tax code. We hope they also create the conditions that will attract long-term, committed capital to Russia - people who will

invest not just in Russian T-bills, but in Russian factories, Russian laboratories, and Russian entrepreneurs.

In real and measurable ways, the work of Russians committed to democracy and free markets, aided by our strategy of integration, has created positive change. Still, some argue that since Russia is still struggling to overcome so many challenges, that our strategy has failed and should be abandoned. That would be a mistake.

Seven years ago, in the heady, early days of Russia's democratic transition, President Clinton made clear that in our view, Russia's transformation would take "a generation or more." Looking back, the international community's efforts to assist Russia's transition might have benefited from even more of that kind of realism. One of the clear lessons we have learned the past seven years is that of all the European nations emerging from communism, Russia has had perhaps the hardest road to travel.

Communism left Russia with far more than a legacy of political repression - it left deep scars on its economy, its environment, and the psyche of its people. Countries like Poland and Hungary, which have recovered far more quickly, experienced this system for 45 years. Russia experienced it for more than 70 years, which means that in 1991, virtually no one in Russia had a living memory of a different way of life. In central Europe, most people knew communism as a foreign, alien imposition, and thus the desire to discard it came naturally - in fact, it was seen as an expression of patriotism and national pride. In

Russia, communism was home grown; its failure was harder to face, because it was undeniably a Russian failure.

The historian James Billington once wrote that many times in their history, "Russians have sought to acquire the end products of other civilizations without the intervening process of slow growth and inner understanding." It's a lesson both the Russians and we should take to heart. In today's global economy, the longer Russia stays outside global norms and fails to adapt basic market and social reforms, the more it remains vulnerable. But at the same time, we cannot expect this change to happen overnight if it is going to be lasting and genuine.

To a Russian family struggling with economic hardship today, patience is not an obvious virtue. But to those of us asking where Russia is heading, it remains a practical necessity.

With the election of President Putin, Russia has a fresh chance to address the key challenges that remain. There is much that is unknown about the new President and what direction he will lead Russia. But it is not very productive to try to predict Russian policies by evaluating Russian personalities -- and it is the policies that matter to us. Our challenge will remain to work with the leadership the Russian people democratically elect to demonstrate that choosing the path of integration will profoundly serve Russia's own interests.

This is especially daunting for U.S. policy because success will depend on the outcome of a complex process that is largely beyond our control. We can't make Russia's choices for it. But we can make our own choices. We can work to encourage Russia to move in the right direction, or we can turn our backs and almost certainly push it in the wrong direction. We are all the more convinced, based on the last seven years, that policy guided by a fundamental commitment to deepen Russia's integration into the global economy and rules-based and security arrangements offers the best prospect for securing Russia's future and our own national interests.

Reuters

Thursday, May 11, 2000

U.S. threatens to fire on Russia-crewed ship

By Sue Fleming

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - The U.S. Coast Guard said Thursday it took the unprecedented step this week of threatening to open fire on a Russian-crewed fishing vessel suspected of using illegal drift nets off Alaska when it refused to surrender.

Coast Guard spokesman Cmdr. Jim McPherson told Reuters a U.S. cutter had chased the vessel, the Arctic Wind, for five days after a Coast Guard aircraft spotted the ship violating a ban on drift netting in international waters.

Called "curtains of death", the nets -- often five or more miles long -- are devastating to marine life and kill birds, mammals and other sea creatures caught in their wake. They are also believed to be a major cause of over-fishing.

"The Coast Guard will not allow people to conduct this type of illegal fishing and will take whatever action is necessary," said McPherson.

When the Arctic Wind consistently ignored warning messages sent from the cutter by radio in several languages, lights, bells and flags, the captain of the cutter was given permission Monday to use "warning or disabling shots" on the ship for violating international agreements on drift nets.

"This was the first time the Coast Guard had ever gotten permission to fire warning shots and disabling fire on a fishing vessel in international waters," McPherson said.

"We had been chasing this guy for days. We only have one cutter up there in Alaska and we can't afford to chase one ship all the way from Alaska back to Russia," he added.

McPherson said Coast Guard officials had boarded the boat and were completing legal and diplomatic formalities to seize the 177-foot (54 meters) vessel, staffed by Russians and with an expired registration in Honduras. The Arctic Wind was catching salmon for sale in Japan.

"We expect these formalities to be completed very, very shortly," McPherson said.

The cutter never actually opened fire but its captain ordered the crew to make a show of force by pulling up close to the fishing vessel and uncovering the Coast Guard boat's machine guns and rotating its big gun toward the fishing boat.

Within moments, the Coast Guard said the Russian vessel radioed to ask what the cutter was doing. "You wouldn't shoot us on the high seas," radioed the vessel. The captain of the cutter responded he had no choice unless the Arctic Wind surrendered.

Moments later the vessel surrendered. The massive, five-mile long polyurethane net was hauled in and officials counted about 300 whole salmon, three sharks, 20 puffins and two albatross. The net, which had floats on the top of the water to keep it afloat, stretched 300 feet down from the surface of the water.

On boarding the vessel, the Coast Guard said it found more than a ton of salmon already processed and packed in its refrigerated hold.

The captain of the Russian-crewed ship was ordered to locate two more drift nets the Coast Guard aircraft had spotted and was told that the United States had approached the Honduran government concerning the seizure of his vessel.

McPherson said the nets were tracked via electronic transponders attached to nets when they are tossed out to sea. The captain of the Russian-crewed vessel had provided transponder frequencies for the missing nets. A whale had been spotted in one of the nets still drifting at sea.

The nets are usually left to drift in the ocean while vessels move to other areas and return later to collect their haul. "The danger is you can easily lose them. The transponders can break and then you have problems and they are left in the sea," said McPherson.

The Washington Post
Thursday, May 11, 2000

Fishing Boat Held After Chase

By Roberto Suro
Washington Post Staff Writer

The U.S. Coast Guard boarded a Russian-manned fishing ship this week and is preparing to seize it in a stepped-up campaign against the illegal use of drift nets on the high seas, a step that environmentalists have long sought.

Coast Guard officials said yesterday the 177-foot fishing boat was apprehended only after a five-day chase through Alaskan waters and an unprecedented threat to fire on the civilian vessel.

The climax of the encounter came early Monday morning, when Capt. David Ryan ordered the crew of the Coast Guard cutter Sherman to battle stations. For the first time ever, officials said, Coast Guard headquarters had authorized the cutter to fire on a fishing ship for violating international agreements against the use of drift nets, the so-called "curtains of death" blamed for exhausted fisheries.

For the better part of a week, the Sherman had chased the vessel Arctic Wind across 1,000 miles of frigid Alaskan waters, never getting a response to warning messages sent by radio, lights, bells, flags and loudspeakers.

After receiving permission to use warning shots or disabling fire, Ryan pulled up close and told his men to make a show of uncovering the Sherman's machine guns and preparing its 76mm deck gun. As the big gun's turret rotated toward the fishing vessel, the radio finally came alive.

"What are you doing?" asked the anxious master of the Arctic Wind, which the Coast Guard says was manned by an all-Russian crew, had an expired registry in Honduras and was catching salmon for sale in Japan.

The Sherman informed him that a Coast Guard aircraft had spotted his ship a week earlier violating the 1993 global prohibition on all drift-netting in international waters--a ban embodied in a U.N. resolution, U.S. law and several international conventions.

"You wouldn't shoot us on the high seas!" radioed the fishing vessel.

"Yes, we will. We have permission," responded Ryan.

With that, the Arctic Wind surrendered. Yesterday, the Coast Guard was completing the diplomatic and legal formalities necessary to seize the ship and bring it to port in Alaska.

According to the Coast Guard, only a couple of weeks into a six-month voyage, the Arctic Wind already had more than a ton of salmon processed and packed in its refrigerated hold. One

of the nets it had released was five miles long, with buoys attached to the top and weights on the bottom so that it stretched 300 feet down from the surface. When it was pulled up, the silky web of plastic had ensnared some 300 salmon, three sharks, 20 puffins and two albatrosses.

Moreover, a Coast Guard patrol plane had spotted a whale thrashing to death in another net allegedly set by the Arctic Wind.

"Alaskan-originated salmon and many seabirds, marine mammals and other sea life are threatened by illegal high-seas drift-net fishing activity in the North Pacific Ocean," said the Coast Guard's chief of operations, Rear Adm. Ernest Riutta. "The U.S. Coast Guard is committed to interdicting rogue fishing vessels that persist in this destructive practice."

Illegal drift-net fishing has rebounded in recent years after a dropoff in the mid-1990s, when the ban first went into effect. According to the Coast Guard, there was a particular resurgence last year of activity by Russian vessels that slip easily from their coastal waters, where drift nets are permitted, into international waters, where they are not.

The Russian government has cooperated with enforcement efforts in the past, announcing fines against crews of vessels seized by the Coast Guard and then returned to Russia.

The interdiction of the Arctic Wind marked the first enforcement action by the Coast Guard in the 2000 fishing season, and Coast Guard officials said they meant to send a get-tough message.

Aboard the Sherman, Ryan, a 46-year-old from San Francisco, first confronted the fishing vessel about 600 miles southeast of Adak Island in the Aleutians. "She started going in circles and then doing high-speed turns back on us until the two of us were doing this little dance out in the middle of nowhere," the captain recalled.

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heads of state of the countries with which we trade—when they call what we have seen here in the last 5½ years—called the American miracle—and when I have talked to them, they've asked me for questions about what are some of the things that we had done. I found out in answering their questions that they themselves deplore the fact that in their countries the rules and regulations imposed on government—including things like this and rules about hiring and firing—are part of what they say

is holding them back and keeping them from having the kind of economic recovery we have.

Q. Ready for Gorbachev?

Q. Has Regan hurt your reputation? Has Regan hurt your reputation? Has Regan damaged your reputation, Mr. President?

The President. Well, I was worried about his.

Note: The exchange began at 3:49 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

Remarks at the United States Coast Guard Academy Commencement Ceremony in New London, Connecticut May 18, 1988

The President. Thank you, Admiral Cueroni, and thank you, Secretary Burnley, Admiral Yost, Senator Weicker, Senator Dodd. I thank you all. And it's an honor to be able to participate in the commencement exercises of the United States Coast Guard Academy. I'm especially delighted to be here with the class of 1988. You see, in certain ways I envy you. For one thing, all of you know what you'll be doing next year. *[Laughter]*

The fact is many young people have trouble choosing their life's work. I was an exception. After college, I knew exactly where my future lay. I became a radio sports announcer. It was just a lucky guess. But I know what I would say to any young people who told me that they were torn between different careers. If they said they wanted to help people in distress, guard our borders, conserve fisheries, battle drug smugglers, enforce maritime law, test their courage against stormy seas, and defend America in times of war, and wear proudly each day the uniform of this great country, then I would tell them just one thing—I'd tell them: Join the Coast Guard.

I know a lot has happened since you started here as swabs, were presented with a copy of "Running Light," and first rode the wind on America's mighty square-rigger, the *Eagle*. Soon, it'll be time for you to receive your commissions and bid fare-

well to the Academy. It's been said that graduation is a time of sentimental good-byes coupled with extreme relief. One student departing his alma mater wrote inside the cover of his yearbook: "All things must pass—though I almost didn't." *[Laughter]* Now, I don't imagine that any of you wrote anything like that inside of your copy of "Tide Rips."

You know, as President, I have a military aide from each of the five services. My Coast Guard aides have been excellent. One of them taught me that "The Coast Guard is that hard nucleus about which the Navy forms in time of war." But there's one thing I haven't been able to get a straight answer on. What I want to know is, how's the awning?

Cadets. Aye, aye, sir!

The President. Well—*[laughter]*—I hope that means it's all right. *[Laughter]* Well, graduation day belongs to the graduates, but I want to take just a moment to speak to some special people here today: your mothers and fathers. You know, I've often said that there's nothing that makes me prouder than America's young men and women in uniform. I want to ask the parents: Are you as proud of these soon-to-be officers as I am? *[Applause]* During World War II, one general said that America's secret weapon was "just the best darn kids in the world." Now, that may not have

been the exact word he used—[laughter]—but when I look at your sons and daughters today, I know exactly what he meant. And cadets, let me ask you something: For your parents, or that special teacher or friend who helped you to be here today, can we give them a very loud salute? [Applause]

Well, since your service was founded by the first Congress nearly 200 years ago, it has served with courage and honor in every war our nation has fought. The first Coast Guard casualty of World War II came the day after Pearl Harbor, when a transport evacuating American families out of Singapore came under attack. On D-day, when our soldiers hit the beaches at Normandy, there were Coast Guardsmen piloting the landing craft. And some 1,500 soldiers whose craft were sunk by enemy fire were rescued by the Coast Guard on that fateful day. Back when Washington bureaucrats were not as sophisticated or numerous as they are today, we named things more nearly for what they were. One of my favorite examples is that one of the predecessors of today's Coast Guard was known simply as the Life Saving Service. And though the Coast Guard does many jobs, I suspect seafarers in distress will always think of you that way.

In March of last year, some 200 miles off our New Jersey coast, in stormy Atlantic waters, a Soviet freighter sent out a desperate SOS. The ship was listing 26 degrees to port in seas that were running 20 feet. Gale force winds were gusting up to 55 knots, and the skies were dark with rain and sleet. The Soviet ship was sinking. Well, three Coast Guard helicopters came to the rescue. Their fuel was low; there was little time. And despite screaming winds and pitching seas, each helicopter in turn managed to hover above the ship's heaving deck. And the helicopter crews, with infinite care, lowered a wire basket and lifted up to safety, one by one, each of the 37 people on board. It was one of the most dramatic rescues in Coast Guard history and a heroic demonstration of what we mean when we say the Coast Guard is "an armed service and more."

Today, one of the Coast Guard's most important missions is to fight the importation of illegal drugs. In the last 10 years you

have arrested more than 8,500 drug smugglers, and for that, America salutes you. It's time to make illegal drugs public enemy number one. It's time to make—well, it's time to say America's tolerance for illegal drugs is zero. The Congress made a serious mistake when our fiscal year '88 budget request for the Coast Guard was reduced by \$72 million and forced a curtailment in the drug interdiction effort. I hope the Congress will restore the funds necessary for you to accomplish your vital mission.

While that is one thing, it's not the only thing that all of us as a nation must do. But before I talk about what remains to be done, let's take stock of what has already occurred. Yes, it's true that across the breadth of the Federal Government we have assembled a strong antidrug team and enacted tough antidrug policies. In 1982 we set up the South Florida Task Force, which was headed by Vice President Bush. Hundreds of additional drug agents were sent to Florida, along with extra judges and prosecutors. More Coast Guard cutters were deployed, and the other military services provided surveillance assistance for the first time. We made record drug seizures, and major crime in South Florida decreased nearly 20 percent.

Because of that success, the next year we formed the National Narcotics Border Interdiction System, also led by the Vice President, to coordinate Federal, State, and local law enforcement efforts against drug smuggling nationwide. Since the formation of the Border Interdiction System in 1983, annual cocaine seizures involving the Coast Guard are up more than 20 times what they had been. In 1987 I established the National Drug Policy Board in order to coordinate all of the administration's efforts in this crusade. This board, chaired by Attorney General Meese, has developed a series of comprehensive strategies to reduce both the supply and demand for illicit drugs.

And let me stress, the Coast Guard and the other armed services have played a major role in this unprecedented campaign. In addition to the Coast Guard's tremendous efforts, last year the Pentagon provided over 2,500 ship days of maritime support and more than 16,000 hours of air surveil-

lance. The Coast Guard and the Department of Defense gained important new resources for their drug-fighting efforts from the Antidrug Abuse Act of 1986. And last year the Coast Guard and agencies with which it works seized nearly 26,000 pounds of cocaine—26,000 pounds of a drug that has a street value of \$1,000 an ounce. Don't try to figure that out in your head; it's \$416 million. And by keeping deadly drugs from reaching our communities, I think the Coast Guard earned yet another good reason to be known as the Life Saving Service.

Another key part of the war on drugs has been the appointment of no-nonsense Federal judges. Not only have drug convictions doubled since 1979 but prison sentences are 40 percent longer. And last year, new, tougher sentencing guidelines were issued. The Comprehensive Crime Control Act, passed in 1984, helps put drug dealers out of business. Last year alone over \$500 million in drug-related assets were seized. Drug eradication programs are now underway in 23 countries, up from just 2 in 1981. More funds than ever before are being spent on drug education and public awareness, and more funds still have been requested. Since 1981 we've tripled the anti-drug law enforcement budget, and I'm asking for another 13-percent increase. That would give the Federal Government a total of \$3.9 billion next fiscal year to fight this menace.

All told, it's an extraordinary demonstration of our commitment and a remarkable record of achievement. And that having been said, you know what else—extraordinary as it is, remarkable as it is, as much a testimony as it is to those in law enforcement and the Coast Guard—more has to be done. There's an additional step we must take, and without it, I don't know if we can succeed. I want to use this opportunity today to call for a special initiative. One of America's greatest strengths is our unique capacity for coming together during times of national emergency. We set aside those differences that divide us and unite as one people, one government, one nation. We've done this before. We must do it now.

Illegal drug use is the foremost concern in our country. And frankly, as I finish my final year in office and look ahead, I worry

that excessive drug politics might undermine effective drug policy. If America's antidrug effort gets tripped up in partisanship, if we permit politics to determine policy, it will mean a disaster for our future and that of our children. That's why today, I'm calling on both Houses of the Congress, both sides of the aisle, to join with my representatives in a special executive-legislative task force to advance America's unified response to the problem of illegal drug use. Because if we cannot remove the politics from drugs, how can we hope to remove the drugs from our communities, workplaces, and schools?

Our task force should agree on solutions for every area of the drug problem, from blocking supplies to curtailing demand, from treatment to education to prosecution, from interdiction and confiscation to eradication—nothing should be overlooked or left out. Our policy is one of zero tolerance for illegal drugs, and we're looking for solutions, not just a restatement of the problem. And no later than 45 days from now there should be a report to me and to the bipartisan leadership of Congress laying out our proposals.

Let me take a minute to spell out some specific items that need to be considered. First, to deter violent crime and narcotics trafficking, we have to deal with the drug syndicates on our terms. That means when a death results from narcotics trafficking or when a law enforcement officer is killed in the battle the law must provide for swift, certain, and just punishment—including capital punishment. We've got to send a loud, clear message to drug kingpins and cop-killers. We also need to appoint more tough Federal judges who take drug crime seriously and to pass mandatory penalties for those who sell drugs to children.

Our military assets can be used for greater command and control functions in surveillance and drug detection. And we should consider allowing our Governors greater use of the National Guard in this effort. But one thing must be clear: When it comes to the military, let's give them a clear mission for specific situations. To assist in this effort I have also today directed Secretary of Defense Carlucci to tap the best

minds both inside and outside of government to come up with creative solutions on how we can better use military resources and technologies to detect drugs and support civil law enforcement agencies in interdiction.

We need stepped-up international eradication programs to reduce the supply of drugs, and additional education and prevention programs to reduce demand, including the use of civil sanctions, such as fines and loss of Federal privileges. Our encouragement, our goal, should be for those who have never tried drugs to remain drug free.

I'm especially proud of the antidrug work that Nancy has done, which has changed the way we talk and think about drugs. You see, at the root of the drug crisis is a crisis of values and a spiritual hunger. I believe that as a society we're still paying for the permissiveness of the 1960's and 1970's, when restrictions on personal behavior came under attack by a cultural establishment whose slogan was "just say yes." There were numerous calls for repealing our prohibitions on drugs. And those who favored tougher drug laws, or even just keeping the ones we had, were labeled conservative, moralistic, reactionary, and old-fashioned—and that was back before those words were meant as compliments. [Laughter] The none-too-subtle message to young people was that they had to use drugs if they wanted to be cool. What greater shame can there be than that many of our young people began to use drugs not to rebel but to fit in? So, in the crusade for a drug free America, the next step is to enforce a policy of zero tolerance of illegal drug use. So, when we say no to drugs, it'll be clear that we mean absolutely none, no exceptions.

This concern with values goes beyond just the issue of drugs, of course. We worked hard in the early eighties on our national recovery so that we might be able to recognize, indeed, deal with social problems that had been too long ignored and sometimes obscured in the past. Well, today America is facing head-on social problems like drugs and crime. And this, as I say, stems from the renewal of our fundamental beliefs and values as a nation. And this renewal goes beyond just our own borders.

In one week I will depart for the Moscow summit. It'll be my first visit to the Soviet Union and my fourth meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev. Our goals there are something that I've been discussing for the last several months in detail, but let me summarize. There are four main agenda items in the U.S.-Soviet relationship: human rights, regional conflicts, arms reduction, and bilateral exchanges. With regard to human rights, though we note some improvements, we'll continue to press for full respect for the freedom of expression, travel, religion, and other rights contained in the Helsinki accords, and for institutional reforms that would guarantee such rights and the rule of law. We'll discuss a number of regional conflicts in which the United States supports the forces of freedom against brutal Communist dictatorships. In particular, we will note the progress of the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. We will reaffirm America's support for the brave Mujahidin freedom fighters and the goal of an independent, nonaligned, and undivided Afghanistan, free to determine its own future. In the area of arms control, General Secretary Gorbachev and I will continue our dialog on the reduction of nuclear weapons, focusing in particular on strategic offensive systems. And with respect to bilateral exchanges, I especially want to encourage more student exchanges between our two countries. I hope that more Soviet young people can view firsthand America's democratic system and way of life.

Just the other day I met with 70-some students, 38 Americans and 38 Soviet students, who've held a conference in Helsinki, in Moscow, and are now here in the United States holding one. And I looked out at them, as I'm looking at you, and you couldn't tell which were Russian and which were American. And I had to say to them: If all the young people of the world could get to know each other, there'd never be another war.

Well, I should also mention that part of our meetings will focus on the U.S.-Soviet Maritime Search and Rescue Agreement that has just been concluded. Other maritime issues we're currently discussing in-

clude the issue of fisheries and plans for dealing with emergency pollution spills. So, yes, the Coast Guard's concerns are the Moscow agenda.

It's been a great honor to be here with all of you. And you can be sure that when I'm in Moscow I'll think of all of you here today. You represent the best of America and carry in your hearts the values that are the source of our liberty and our spiritual strength. This is reflected in the path of the service that you've chosen. We're a nation of free men and women, who use our God-given liberty to serve our country because we love her and all that she represents. It's our earnest prayer to serve America in peace. It is our solemn commitment to defend her in time of war.

I believe that America is standing before the brightest future the world has ever known, and that future is yours. And prop-

erly so, because you've chosen to wear the uniform of your country and risk all that you have and all that you are in her defense. I wish not only to congratulate you on your graduation, but as your Commander in Chief, I salute you! Thank you, and God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 1:11 p.m. at Nitchem Field. In his opening remarks, he referred to Rear Adm. Richard Cueroni, Superintendent; James H. Burnley IV, Secretary of Transportation; Adm. Paul A. Yost, Commandant; and Senators Christopher J. Dodd and Lowell P. Weicker, Jr., of Connecticut. Prior to his remarks, the President visited the USCG "Vigorous" for briefings and demonstrations of procedures used for the interdiction of vessels. Following his remarks, the President returned to Washington, DC.

Interview With Foreign Television Journalists

May 19, 1988

Helsinki Accords

Q. This is the Oval Office in the White House. First, Mr. President, let me thank you for this opportunity to give us an interview before the Moscow summit. And my name is Mikko Valtasaari. I'm from the YLE, Finland. And I'm here with Edward Stourton, ITN, Britain; Antonello Marescalchi, RAI, Italy; Kenichi Iida, NHK, Japan; Wolf von Lojewski, ARD, West Germany, and Jacques Abouchar, Antenne-2, France.

And, Mr. President, you are soon in Helsinki, and next Friday you will speak from the very same stage where the Helsinki document was signed in 1975. And at that time, President Gerald Ford was criticized by going there and signing on to something that was cause of détente, which only served the Soviet interest, as it was said. How do you evaluate the document now?

The President. Well, I value it very much because it specified the agreement of a number of governments to recognize those basic rules of freedom for people. And since our country, this country here, is the first

one that ever declared that government is the servant of the people, not the other way around, we heartily endorsed it.

Right now our concern, as I'm sure the concern of a great many other people is that there has not been a complete keeping of those pledges in that agreement by some of the participants—by the Soviet Union, particularly—in recognizing the fundamental rights of people to leave a country, return to a country, worship as they will, and so forth.

Q. Do you think that the Soviet Union has moved that way?

The President. That what?

Q. —has moved that direction after this document—

The President. I am, I think, reasonably optimistic in view of the summit meetings that we've had, and the meeting we're going to have, that we have made progress with the Soviet Union on a number of those things under the present leader.

FAX

To: Paul Orzulak, NSC speech writing
From: LT Eric Kowack, USCGA

5 pages

Paul-

Enclosed please find the material you requested. I left a message about the cadets marching in the Inauguration parade when they were 4/c (freshmen). I hope this helps but feel free to give me a ring anytime.

Eric

Marched in inaugural parade

-Came in with him,

leaving with him.

L

United States Coast Guard Academy Class of 2000

Class President: 1/c Marc Smith

Class Advisor: LT Eric Kowack

This class has had (almost) excessive training on personal finance that began their 3/c year (sophomore) with a discussion on the financial wisdom of purchasing CD's versus investing the money - as a result they may find it funny if the speaker thoughtfully wonders how much money he/she would have if he/she hadn't bought certain CDs many years ago or records that contain old, terrible music.

The Superintendent likes to say "Go Books!" instead of the normal expression "Go (USCGA) Bears!." The class would probably find it funny to tastefully mimic that expression.

Class Motto & Crest

Ducentes viam en millennium

Leading the way into the millennium

Class Crest: The sword symbolizes our connection to the officer corps, the Jayhawk and cutter symbolize our connection to the operational fleet. On the cutter itself, our reporting in date was used as the hull number.

Ring Crest: 4 '2000's are placed in the crest, the most obvious at the top of the crest, the remaining 3 are hidden within the crest

People Who Are Significant to the Class

CAPT Brooks - Commandant of Cadets

LT Kowack - Class advisor

CDR Alfultus - Marine Science Instructor

MK1 Wilcott - Academy staff

Mike Powers - Academy staff

Class Activities

Spring and fall road rallies - cadets use clues to figure out where the final meeting place is for a party

Castle dance - cadets rent out a mansion in Newport for a formal dance

Toga parties at Campus - self explanatory.

Playing pool in the 1/c lounge - a daily leisure activity

Heckling at soccer games - cadets are notorious for excessive heckling at games where they are usually told to stop "heckling" - this often leads to a complaint letter from the opposing college president. Cadets are proud of this.

Class Hang-outs

Campus Pizza
Mr. Gs
Stash's Café
Roadhouse Café
Hawk's Nest

***** Many people in the audience, including the class of 2000 and their families are staying out at the beach houses at Hawk's Nest and Groton Long Point - the audience would react to mentioning those places!

Memorable Moments in General

Luders - 2 week sailing programs during 2/c (Junior) year.
Bourbon St during CATP (during flight training)
Castle Dance
Road Rallies
Skits in the new quad after taps (4/c year)

*** will definitely get a reaction (laugh) -

1. 1/c Richard Droshe was a contestant on the "Price is Right".
2. Their class advisor acted in a role on the TV show "Baywatch".

Academic

Who's Who of America:

1/c Burrus, 1/c Kessler, 1/c Gross, 1/c Serumgard, 1/c Worst, 1/c Broadhurst, 1/c Skow, 1/c Sommella, 1/c Hamel, 1/c Rogers, 1/c Andrechik, 1/c Orlich, 1/c Yezefski, 1/c Teixeira, 1/c Corteville, and 1/c Simmons

Road Scholar:

1/c Peggy Gross and 1/c Tim Sommella were candidates for the Scholarship.

Internships:

1/c Chris Burrus worked with Dr. Ballard exploring the Mediterranean.

1/c Teresa Grano traveled with a group to Israel as part of a service academy goodwill exchange between officers in training in the U.S. to officers in training in Israel.

1/c Sandi Fox worked with the International Ice Patrol.

Senior Projects:

Naval Architecture and Marine Engineering:

Designed a deep water surface cutter and a replacement for the Mackinaw, a Great Lakes cutter

1/c Rogers and 1/c Scolfield received memberships to the ASNE for their papers

Mechanical Engineering:

Solar Splash, 1 of the 20 international boats competing, currently ranked #1

U.S. First, an engineering outreach program between colleges and elementary/high schools. Placed 22nd out of 400 competitors.

Fuel Cell, a test stand and operation manual for testing future Fuel Cell use for ATON and other applications in the Coast Guard.

Electrical Engineering:

Cadets in the class completed various individual projects regarding the use of GPS and Loran. Improving Coast Guard response to distress signals was one example.

Civil Engineering:

Rails To Trails, a project with the CT Department of Environmental Protection and National Guard. Built two bridges from unused railroads.

Marine Environmental Sciences:

Hazardous material response, drilled with the strike team and individually responded to hypothetical spills.

1/c Andrechik presented a paper at a National Hazardous Materials Conference

Athletic (needs to be annotated by the Athletic staff)

1/c Nick Neely went to Olympic trials for pistol.
25 All-New England athletes
4 All American athletes

Musical

1/c Madeline Wright has been accepted for the NE
Intercollegiate Band Festival for 4 years.

Military / Leadership

1/c Jessica Worst attended the All Service Academy
Honor Conference

1/c Lalicata, 1/c Burrus, 1/c Serungard, and 1/c Worst
attended the All Service Academy Leadership Conference

Community service day lead by all 1/c, primarily
established by 1/c Corteville and 1/c Gross - this class is
proud of it's community service record

5/5

REMARKS AS PREPARED FOR DELIVERY BY VICE PRESIDENT AL GORE
INTERNATIONAL PRESS INSTITUTE
Boston, MA - Sunday, April 30, 2000

I'm honored to be here in the Old South Meeting House -- where the seeds of American liberty were first planted. And I'm delighted to have this chance to meet with the International Press Institute. The people in this room raise the banner of freedom around the world.

I know that you take your responsibility very seriously -- to stand for freedom of expression, and the free flow of ideas, even in places where those freedoms are far from self-evident.

In this fundamental sense, you demonstrate, each and every day, a principle that I believe is essential to American foreign policy in this new global age.

America's power comes not just only from our weapons and munitions -- but also from the American ideal itself.

For as long as the Old South Meeting House has stood, America has stood as proof of the principle that self-governance unlocks the highest fraction of human potential -- that liberty and democracy allow our people to share in an ever-widening circle of freedom, human dignity, and self-sufficiency.

This is a time of great opportunity for our country. Our economy is the envy of the world. Living standards are rising -- and the gap between the rich and the poor is closing for the first time in 20 years. America is a powerful engine for the global economy, because we have met our responsibility to balance our budget, to begin paying down our debt, and to embrace our role in supporting free markets and economic growth among all nations.

Just as we have an extraordinary prosperity, we also stand at an extraordinary time in our history. We are the only superpower. We are the strongest force for peace and prosperity that the world has ever known.

Twenty-five years ago today, the last helicopters lifted off from the roof of our embassy in Saigon. Although that brought an end to the war in Vietnam - a conflict I witnessed with my own eyes -- it did not bring an end to its influence on our thinking about foreign policy.

Even now, a decade after the end of the Cold War, we hear echoes of the old arguments. Some seem to believe that with the fall of the old Soviet empire, we have nothing more to fear in the world and should dramatically cut our defense budget. Others keep insisting that we continue to prepare to face down a Cold War threat that no longer exists, and persistently ignore the world as it is. I believe that both groups are locked in a self-destructive argument over a false choice.

For all of my career, I have believed that America has a responsibility to lead in the world. That's why I was one of only a few Democrats in the United States Senate to vote in support of the use of force to drive Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait. And even as I was working hard in the Congress to help develop new approaches to arms control, I often disagreed with the

predominant view in my own party as I pushed for a strong national defense and a new generation of less destabilizing missiles.

We are now in a new era. To label this time "the post-Cold War era" belies its uniqueness and its significance. We are now in a Global Age. Like it or not, we live in an age when our destinies and the destinies of billions of people around the globe are increasingly intertwined. When our grand domestic and international challenges are also intertwined. We should neither bemoan nor naively idealize this new reality. We should deal with it.

We must now view what could be called the classic security agenda - the question of war and peace among sovereign states - in light of these new realities. But we must also recognize that there is a New Security Agenda, which I discussed at the United Nations Security Council in January - a set of threats that affect us all and that transcend political borders; a set of challenges equal in magnitude to the challenges of the past.

Today, at the dawn of the 21st Century, we need a foreign policy that addresses the classic security threats -- and understands the new ones as well. We need a new approach for a new century -- grounded in our own economic and security interests, but uplifted by what is right in the world. We need to pursue a policy of "forward engagement" - addressing problems early in their development before they become crises; addressing them as close to the source of the problem as possible; and having the forces and resources to deal with those threats as soon after their emergence as possible.

We need a new security agenda for the Global Age based on forward engagement.

In that context, I want to make three essential points to you today. First, although the nature of the challenges we face are new, the bedrock of our foreign policy is not. America must always maintain a strong defense, and unrivalled national security -- to protect our own interests, and to advance the ideals that are leading the world toward freedom.

Second, from our position of unrivaled affluence and influence, we have a responsibility to lead the world in meeting the new security challenges. We must make forward-looking investments at home and abroad to conquer the new threats that are jointly menacing to us all -- and to rise to the possibilities of the moment to reshape the world.

Third, we must resist those who would meet new global challenges with a newfound fear of the world itself. Isolationism and protectionism were dangerously wrong in the Industrial Age -- and they are still wrong and even more dangerous in this new Global Age.

Let me consider each of these points in turn.

First, America must have a strong defense. We must never forget that our national defense is about much more than the land within our borders. Just as we fought and conquered totalitarianism during World War Two -- just as we fought and conquered communism during the Cold War -- we are defending the idea of freedom itself. All of our policies, in war and in

peace, are extensions by other means of Lincoln's proposition that our founders' dream is humankind's last best hope.

That is why America must have a military capability that is second to none. It is central to the continuing demands of the classic agenda -- to resist aggression, and to stop armed conflict. It is crucial to our security in this era of rogue states and international terror. And it is absolutely essential if we hope to wage peace through diplomacy. In our dealings with Saddam Hussein and Slobodan Milosevic, we have learned the importance of diplomacy backed with force. I look forward to the day when Serbia and Iraq will be free from the grip of Milosevic and Saddam and the terrors they have wrought on their own people.

We prevailed in those conflicts with minimal American casualties because we have maintained a superbly well-trained fighting force - and because the American people have supported investments in weapons that give us a technological edge.

Today, we need to ensure that our military personnel have adequate pay and benefits and continue to receive the training and leadership which makes them the finest in the world. And we are on the threshold of manufacturing and deploying the next generation of military weapons: weapons that are vitally needed to replace equipment that has been in service for far too long. Weapons that are critical to meeting changing needs on today's battlefields.

If I am entrusted with the Presidency, I will lead the effort to ensure that America has the new generation of weapons we need.

But we need not only a new generation of weapons. We need a new generation of thinking.

That means strengthening and renewing our key alliances. We must remain open to further enlargement of NATO, we must bolster our trans-Atlantic ties, and we must build a strong, stable relationship with the European Union. We must encourage Japan - one of our most important economic partners, to join us in meeting the global responsibility to assure growth, greater trade, and higher living standards. We must invigorate our ties with all the Americas -- to combat the flow of drugs; to increase the flow of trade and the pace of economic development and continued political reform and modernization.

In the Global Age, we must be prepared to engage in regional conflicts selectively -- where the stability of a region important to our national security is at stake; where we can assure ourselves that nothing short of military engagement can secure our national interest; where we are certain that the use of military force can succeed in doing so; where we have allies willing to help share the burden, and where the cost is proportionate. America can not be the world's policeman. But we must reject the new isolationism that says: don't help anywhere, because we can not help everywhere.

That means supporting the difficult work of democratic reform and economic growth, to help Haiti and other states in the Caribbean build a more hopeful future.

It means pressing for a lasting peace in Ireland -- not merely the laying down of arms, but the joining of hands in a new political relationship that enables former rivals to govern and thrive together.

In the Balkans, we have to keep working with our European allies, to protect a fragile peace and secure the economic future of the entire region.

On the Korean peninsula, we must continue to work with our South Korean allies to maintain the peace. And that means not only exercising creative diplomacy toward the North, but standing ready to honor our commitments to the defense of South Korea.

In South Asia, we have to work with India and Pakistan to dampen down a nuclear arms race on the sub-continent and to continue to urge them to deal with their differences over their conflict in Kashmir with peaceful means.

In the Middle East, I am deeply committed to doing all I can to facilitate their efforts to forge a fair and acceptable peace with security. And this I have believed for all my years in public life: Israel is America's strongest ally in a region of strife and conflict. If I'm entrusted with the Presidency, I will ensure that the U.S.-Israel relationship remains strong and unshakeable.

We need to intensify cooperation with civilized governments all over the world to combat the common threat of terrorism.

But perhaps the biggest change in our approach to the classic agenda is how we engage two countries that once were only known to us as enemies: Russia and China.

During the Cold War, we worked to contain these two powers and limit their reach. Our task in the 21st Century is not making them weak -- but instead to encourage forces of reform.

That is why we have worked hard these past seven years to help Russia make a transition to a market-based democracy. We have helped Russia privatize its economy and build a civil society marked by free elections and an active press. We have brought Russia into a working relationship with NATO through the Permanent Joint Council and the Partnership for Peace program. We have been able to work with Russian forces successfully inside a NATO framework in the Balkans.

We have helped safeguard Russian nuclear material against the danger of theft. We have made it possible for thousands of Russia's nuclear scientists and weapons experts to find peaceful pursuits. And we have helped Russia to reduce its nuclear arsenal by nearly 5,000 warheads.

This work has not been without difficulty, or controversy. We strongly disagree with Russia's course in Chechnya. Russia must intensify its own work to stop the flow of dangerous technologies that irresponsible groups and rogue states can use to create weapons of mass destruction. Russia must still take decisive steps to combat corruption and achieve reform. But a new Cold War is not the right path to progress. Engaging Russia is the right thing to do. That's why I took on the task of leading our effort to work with Russia - not because it was politically

popular, but because it was right for America's security, and right for the spread of democracy around the world.

For these same reasons, we must also follow a policy toward China that is focussed on results, not rhetoric.

Make no mistake: we have strong disagreements with China over human rights and religious freedom, and over Chinese treatment of Tibet. These issues cannot -- and must not -- be ignored or marginalized. They must constantly be pursued. Human rights and human dignity speak to the deepest bonds we share, across all borders and nationalities. America has to prod China to make progress in all these areas -- and as President, that's exactly what I'll do.

We also have concerns over tensions building between China and Taiwan. We need to maintain our commitment to the One China policy, but urge China and Taiwan to intensify their dialogue and to resolve their problems by peaceful means. The Administration is honoring its obligation to make defensive weapons available to Taiwan. But I am deeply concerned that those in the Congress who are pushing the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act are blind to its consequences: a sharp deterioration in the security of the region.

It is wrong to isolate and demonize China -- to build a wall when we need to build a bridge.

As all of you know, I have friends and supporters who disagree with me on the best way to bring change and reform to China. I understand their views. They are justifiably impatient with the pace of change in China. I am, too. But the question is not whether we should be dealing with China. The question is whether we can afford not to.

Can we really abandon the kind of frank and open exchange that allows us to raise our differences in the first place? Can we really isolate a nation with 1.2 billion people and a nuclear arsenal? Can we really turn our backs on one of the most dynamic economies on the planet?

I strongly support Permanent Normal Trade Relations with China -- and I will continue to press the Congress to support it this year. I support China's membership in the World Trade Organization -- to make China abide by the same rules of international trade that we follow today.

We have to engage China -- even as we challenge China on key areas of difference. It is in America's clear national security interest to do so. It is in America's vital economic interest to do so. And in the long run, I believe it is the only way to bring freedom and reform to the people of China.

There is another reason for principled engagement with Russia and China, and a renewed commitment to our alliances. And that brings me to my second major point today.

While the old threats persist, there are new things under the sun -- new forces arising that now or soon will challenge our international order, raising issues of peace and war: a New Security Agenda.

I believe that we must not waste this moment. A responsible foreign policy must look outward from a stance of forward engagement, to our broadest hopes for the world -- not just inward, to our narrowest fears.

A responsible foreign policy must harness all our economic and military might -- but it must also make use of our values and principles.

And that is what concerns me about the foreign policy pronouncements of George W. Bush.

From what we can tell of his foreign policy, Governor Bush does not prepare us to meet the grand challenges of both the classic and New Security Agendas.

Just as we are about to deploy the next generation of military weapons, Governor Bush wants to "skip" that generation of weapons. Instead, he talks in vague terms about undefined new technologies. This would leave our armed forces ill-equipped for the battlefields of the next two to three decades. Is that a responsible approach to foreign policy?

Meanwhile, Governor Bush dangerously fixates on the Cold War past when speaking of the use of force. He suggests that he would not intervene to relieve even the brutal repression of ethnic cleansing and genocide. No wonder it took him six weeks to say anything about our action against the ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. Is that the right message for America to send to people around the globe struggling for freedom?

Stuck in a Cold War mindset, Governor Bush continues to view Russia and China primarily as present or future enemies. While we must remain vigilant against any deterioration in our relationships, the reality of the Global Age is that Russia and China are indeed competitors, but also vital partners in our efforts to tackle problems menacing to us all.

Just this past week, Governor Bush used his brief meeting with Russian Foreign Minister Ivanov to issue a warning that his intention would be to build and deploy a global "Star Wars" system that he believes could defend the U.S. and all our allies against any missile launch from any source. In the 1990's, most serious analysts took a look at the implausibility of this endeavor, the fantastical price that our taxpayers would be expected to pay, and the dangerously destabilizing consequences of traveling down that path -- and rejected this notion. Governor Bush wishes to return to it, and chose the worst possible venue in which to launch - for lack of a better phrase -- his risky foreign policy scheme. I won't even guess at the new math needed to make his risky foreign policy scheme and his risky tax scheme add up.

Instead I favor -- and we are negotiating with the Russians -- changes in the ABM treaty that would lead to a responsible and practical defense against a nuclear attack from a rogue state.

When it comes to the challenges of the New Security Agenda, Governor Bush's foreign policy is noticeably blank. Although Africa represents a vast untapped market, has major health and environmental concerns that directly impact us, and the reaches of modern terrorism took American lives in two of our embassies on that continent, Governor Bush said that Africa

Because of the historically unprecedented power of the technologies now widely available around the world, mistakes that were once tolerable can now have consequences beyond our calculation. Threats that were once local can have an impact that is regional and global. Damage that might once have been temporary and limited can now be permanent and catastrophic.

A rogue state or terrorist group with biological, chemical, or nuclear weapons -- or the technical skill to disrupt our computer networks -- can bring destruction far out of proportion to its size.

The international drug trade and corruption spill across borders - subverting democracy and the rule of law in country after country.

New pandemics and new mutations of disease can devastate entire societies -- with impacts threatening to destabilize entire regions.

The disruption of the world's ecological systems -- from the rise of global warming and the consequent damage to our climate balance, to the loss of living species and the depletion of ocean fisheries and forest habitats -- continues at a frightening rate. Practically every day, it becomes clearer to us that must act now to protect our Earth, while preserving and creating jobs for our people.

And at the very same time that these threats are developing, the traditional nation-state itself is changing -- as power moves upwards and downwards, to everything from supra-national organizations and coalitions all the way down to feuding clans. Susceptible to tyrants willing to exploit ethnic and religious rivalries, the weakest of these states have either imploded into civil war or threatened to lash out across their borders.

To meet these challenges requires cooperation on a scale not seen before. A realistic reading of the world today demands reinvigorated international and regional institutions. It demands that we confront threats before they spiral out of the control. And it requires American leadership - to protect our interests and uphold our values.

But the Global Age is not just a time of security threats, it's a time of unprecedented opportunities.

From Asia to the Americas, from sub-Saharan Africa to our own country, there are still far too many who have not benefited from the explosion of worldwide wealth. More than one billion of the Earth's inhabitants live on less than one dollar a day. And this deep and persistent poverty has a security dimension as well as a moral one -- for it invites social dislocation, violence, and war.

I believe that now we have a profound responsibility to open the gates of opportunity for all the world's people so that they can become stakeholders in the kind of society we would like to build at large in the world and at home. Let me be clear: promoting prosperity throughout the world is a crucial form of forward engagement.

We know how to launch this renaissance - for what has worked to spark the economic boom here in the United States is, at its essence, the way we can spark the fires of growth abroad. The difference is one of degree, not kind.

It starts with the rule of law, and with fiscal discipline and sound economic policy - but it does not end there. We must also invest in people, giving them the education they need to seize the jobs of the future - and in the developing world, that especially applies to women and girls; the health security they require to raise a family; the confidence that when they become old, they will not become abandoned.

An African leader, Julius K. Nyerere, said part way through the last century: "the most powerful contraceptive in the world is the confidence of parents that their children will survive." Along with the education and empowerment of women, improvement in child and maternal health, and culturally appropriate access to information and technologies for family planning, this basic confidence that smaller families are more prosperous families has helped the world make progress toward stabilizing population growth. It is crucial that we continue this effort with new resources -- and the U.S. must lead in this effort.

We must also promote global access to the Internet. We need to bridge the digital divide not just within our country, but among countries. Only by giving people around the world access to this technology can they tap into the potential of the Information Age.

We need not only open trading systems, but systems that work for people around the world - taking into account not only the bottom line, but the well-being of working men and women, the protection of children against sweatshop labor, and the protection of the environment. We have to ratify the Kyoto Agreement while making sure that all nations - developed and developing - do their part to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. In addition, we should take steps to boost the export of environmentally-clean technologies, an area where we have a decisive trade advantage. It is not only good for the environment. It is also good for economic growth.

We need to promote the stable flow of investment around the world - which, in turn, requires healthy financial institutions that can work to prevent financial instability, and that are capable of dealing with it should it occur.

We need to give the poorest countries a hand up - through passage of legislation such as the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act and the Caribbean Basin Initiative. We need more economic engagement and expanded trade with all the Americas. And we must assist the poorest nations through debt relief. I called for this process last year in Davos. We have begun it. We need to pursue and intensify it.

Certainly, we cannot do this alone -- we need to inspire the cooperation of others. The rebirth of Africa's economies, for example, is a task well-matched to the capabilities of the European Union and the United States working together. But if we do not point the way, if we are not as ready to invest in peace as in war, then others will not follow.

"doesn't fit into the national strategic interests." Is that a responsible assessment of our national interest?

One has to assume that these gaps in Governor Bush's foreign policy views and experience will be filled by the ideologies and inveterate antipathies of his party - the right-wing, partisan isolationism of the Republican Congressional leadership. Since 1994, the Republicans in Congress have recklessly tossed aside decades of bipartisan cooperation on foreign policy.

They have refused to adequately fund our diplomatic and international development efforts - from promoting peace in the Middle East to fighting drugs in South America. They have held our contributions to the United Nations hostage to their own political agenda for years. They have repeatedly tried to sabotage this Administration's programs, even in places like Bosnia and Kosovo where what is needed is steadiness and continuity of purpose. They have made themselves the sworn enemies of a worldwide effort to deal with the global environment.

And in the end, despite their constant assertion of concern for our alliances, they have rejected the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. In one blatant partisan move, they have profoundly shaken the confidence of our allies in American steadiness, purpose, and in our capacity to lead. Governor Bush joined with the isolationist, partisan Republican majority in Congress in opposing the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. He chose politics over principle.

Last Thursday, Governor Bush called for a return to "comity:" to an era when men and women of good will could reach across party lines for the sake of the national good. I couldn't agree more. But on the very same day, one of the Republican Party's great institutions, Senator Jesse Helms, out of overt distaste for the President - said that he will block any new arms control pact until a new President is inaugurated in January.

Well, this Administration is working on the entry into force of the START II Treaty, the negotiation of a START III Treaty providing for even deeper reduction in weapons pointed at the United States, and an agreement with Russia to adjust the ABM Treaty to make it possible to defend ourselves against rogue states.

If Governor Bush were to inherit from us an arms control agreement so clearly in the best interests of the American people, is Senator Helms the last word? Is Governor Bush willing to put aside partisanship for the cause of peace?

I believe America can do better -- for our own national security, and for the ideals we must model to the world.

And that is the choice in this election when it comes to foreign policy. Will we meet our responsibility? Will we move forward and do what is right for our country, our interests, our ideals, and our leadership in the world? Or will we build new walls, neglect new and urgent challenges, and pursue an irresponsible neo-isolationism?

If we meet our great responsibility, I believe we can not only deter aggression and create an ever more secure and widening world of security -- but we can also shape, step by step, a future of liberty and opportunity across the world. Thank you.