

FOIA MARKER

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. briefing paper	Background Paper: Portugal and NATO (3 pages)	05/09/2000	P1/b(1)
002. briefing paper	re: Iran terrorism (3 pages)	n.d.	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Portugal] [1]

2008-0702-F

jm223

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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252 -

480 -

3192

what we've got. And by your presence and your positioning, we have allowed the world to look through our window with you there, and that world has been able to also see our country.

So thank you for helping us let the world know that we do exist, and that we do value things that are important; that we are at the cutting edge of many things that we think others should come and look at. And we think that you've been a pretty good ad for the things that matter to us. (Laughter and applause.)

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Thank you.

PRIME MINISTER SHIPLEY: So what matters, Mr. President, in relationships, are those things that endure. New Zealand and the United States have enjoyed a strong relationship for many years. Your visit to New Zealand, I think, has been a huge step forward in cementing the strength of that relationship, and I thank you for that.

I believe that New Zealanders can look forward to moving from strength to strength. And we hope that before you finish your presidency, you will pick up that opportunity you referred to this morning, of coming again to New Zealand on your way to Antarctica, a place that both of us value as well.

Ladies and gentlemen, it's my pleasure, on behalf of all of you here, to ask you to raise your glasses, and to drink to friendship between the people of the United States and the people of New Zealand, people who are very good friends.

Mr. President, to friendship.

(The toast is offered.)

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Thank you very much. Forgive my hoarseness.

First, Prime Minister, to you, your family, your government and the people of New Zealand, I cannot thank you enough for the wonderful welcome that our party and my family members have received here. I apologize for having to rush home, but all of you know of the great storm that is now hitting the American coast. We had to move over 2.5 million people today in an attempt to minimize the loss of life. So I hope you'll forgive me, but let me say I have had a wonderful time here.

I'm glad that the fashion people approved of the way I wore the beautiful outfit you gave me. (Laughter.) You know, I've been President seven years now, I've been all over the world, I've received any number of items of clothing. And when you go to these meetings very often the people who are there get the native dress and we wear them. And usually, when I go home there is someone making fun of how I looked in the dress of whatever country I was. This is the smartest outfit I've ever been given. (Applause.)

In the calendar cycle, we in the Northern Hemisphere are moving in the opposite direction, so we're coming into fall and winter. And if you watch the television, I'll probably in your outfit several times more before the end of the year. (Applause.)

Let me say from the bottom of my heart, this has been a magical trip. I think every person, when he or she is young, dreams of finding some enchanted place, of beautiful mountains and breathtaking coastline and clear lakes and amazing wildlife, and most people give up on it because they never get to New Zealand. This has been an amazing thing for me and for all of us.

You might be interested to know that on the front page of The Washington Post today, there is a picture of my National Economic Advisor bungy jumping. (Laughter and applause.) We all had to remind him that he wasn't supposed to be Houdini and slip the cords, you know. (Laughter.) And so the whole story was about how much fun we were all having.

I hope that it will also be reported that at this meeting we took a strong stand for freedom and human rights in East Timor, and we are going in there, together with our friends from Australia and others in this region, to try to protect the integrity of the referendum for democracy and independence, and save lives. And I thank New Zealand for its leadership in this cause.

We also stood for the proposition that we can best lift the world's fortune by having more free and fair trade. And that, too, was profoundly important.

We celebrated today our partnership in Antarctic and talked about the importance of Antarctica to our whole future. I have mentioned often that, as all of you know probably, when the new millennium dawns it will dawn first on New Zealand. I will be proud to cross that bridge into the 21st century with you, knowing that we will be partners for peace and prosperity, and a more decent and humane future for all our children. And I thank you for that partnership.

I'd like to ask all of you to join me in a toast to the Prime Minister, to her wonderful husband, to her government, and to the people of New Zealand.

(The toast is offered.)

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END 7:06 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(The Hague, Netherlands)

For Immediate Release

May 28, 1997

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN EXCHANGE OF TOASTS
AT LUNCHEON

Small Ballroom of Noordeinde Palace
The Hague, Netherlands

1:53 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Your Majesty, Prime Minister Kok, honored colleagues, on behalf of the United States I would like to thank Her Majesty and the people of the Netherlands for this deeply appreciated commemoration. And thank you, Your Majesty, for your very fine statement.

The ties between our two nations are long and unbroken. When my country was first seeking its independence, the Netherlands was one of the first nations to which we turned. John Adams, America's first envoy to the Hague and later our second President, described the completion of a treaty of friendship with Holland as "the happiest event and the greatest action" of his life. More than 200 years later, America still takes pride in our friendship with this good land, whose compassion and generosity throughout the world is far disproportionate to its size.

I also express my gratitude to all my fellow leaders for being here today. Your presence is a very great honor to the United States and a symbol of the age of possibility which we now inhabit -- thanks in no small measure to the vision and work of General Marshall and his contemporaries in the United States and in Europe.

The Marshall Plan we celebrate today, as Her Majesty noted, was open to all of Europe. But for half the continent the dream of recovery was denied. Now, at last, all of Europe's nations are seeking their rightful places at our transatlantic table.

Here in this room are freely elected Presidents, Prime Ministers, and officials from every corner of Europe, including Russia. We are the trustees of history's rarest gift, a second chance to complete the job that Marshall and his generation began. Our great opportunity and our enormous obligation is to make the most of this precious gift and together to build an undivided, democratic, peaceful, prosperous Europe for the very first time in all human history.

The daunting challenge in Marshall's time was to repair the damage of a devastating war. Now we face the equally ambitious task of promoting peace, security, and prosperity for all the people of Europe.

As we celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Marshall Plan, let us commit ourselves to build upon its success for the next 50 years and beyond. And let us now join in a toast to Her Majesty and the people of the Netherlands in gratitude for this great and good day.

END

1:53 (L)

James B. Steinberg
Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Remarks to
The Center on the United States and France
Brookings Institution
May 24, 2000

Introduction

- Very pleased Phil Gordon invited me to give this talk. Understand he used to work at NSC. If someone could point him out to me, would appreciate it.
- Of course, most of you know vital role Phil did play at White House. Masterful job preparing for 50th anniversary NATO Summit, including toiling long and hard on NATO's new Strategic Concept. Also played central role in preparing President's trip to Turkey and Greece and helping to jump start Cyprus talks.
- My only hope is that he does not match his success at the White House, or before that at the ISS, with success here at the new Center on the United States and France. After all, if U.S.-French relations were to become devoid of all creative tension, those of us who work on transatlantic affairs may be out of a job, or at the very least bored.

The Worst of Times

- Recent New York Times article that received lots of attention was headlined: "Europe's Dim View of U.S. Evolving into Frank Hostility." It cited a litany of differences -- from arms control policy to trade disputes to the death penalty - for proposition there is crisis in transatlantic relations.
- In preparing this talk, decided to dig a little deeper to see if this coverage reflected reality, or was just flash in pan.
- Must tell you I'm very troubled by what I found. Consider these headlines: "Allies Complain of Washington's Heavy Hand". "France to NATO: Non Merci". "U.S. Declares Economic Warfare on Allies." "Protesters Rally Against American Arms Plan."
- Sure you all recognize the references. "Allies Complain of Washington's Heavy Hand" is headline of story about... the

1956 Suez crisis. "France to NATO: Non Merci" is a story from... 1966, when France left NATO's military command. "U.S. Declares Economic Warfare on Europe" is of course about... the 1981 Siberian pipeline crisis. "Protestors Rally Against American Arms Plan" is circa... 1986, during the debate over the deployment of intermediate range nuclear weapons in Europe.

- In short, bickering across the Atlantic is as old as the Alliance itself. And the colloquies and conferences we're seeing in the year 2000 about the crisis between the United States and Europe are simply an echo of the colloquies and conferences we saw in 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990.
- In fact, I would and will argue that relations across the Atlantic are deeper and stronger than ever, that our cooperation is broader than ever, and that prospects for the future are brighter than ever - provided we manage the relationship with wisdom and care.

The Big Picture - Thus Far

- Step back and consider our common successes thus far in the post cold War era. Just a decade ago, it was predicted that NATO would not endure, having lost its reason for being. Europe's new democracies would fail. Europe's project for a common currency and foreign policy would founder. US and the EU would go their own ways. Russia would turn inward and reactionary.
- The reality is quite the opposite. We not only preserved NATO, we strengthened it by adapting the alliance to new missions, and working with new members and partners, including Russia. Our common efforts have the new democracies of central Europe and the Baltics well on their way to joining the transatlantic mainstream. The EU - with our support - has brought monetary union into being and has made a remarkably fast start at a common foreign and security policy - a policy that this Administration strongly supports. The relationship between the United States and the EU is stronger than ever, as evidenced by the 14th US-EU summit of his presidency President Clinton is about to attend. And Russia, for all its difficulties, has just completed the first democratic transfer of power in its history.
- Some also predicted that a fundamental contradiction would emerge between our desire to sustain the TransAtlantic

partnership and Europe's determination to further its integration. Again, I think we have proved the opposite.

- From the outset of this administration, President Clinton has been a consistent and eloquent supporter of European integration. He believes in and supports a strong EU. He believes in and supports the EMU. He believes in and supports ESDP. The reason is simple, and it is based on the history of the 20th century. When Europe is divided, its people at war or subjugated to tyranny, that's not only bad for Europe, it's bad for America. When Europe is peaceful, undivided, and democratic, America benefits. And of course, such a Europe is a more effective partner for us in meeting the common challenges that have replaced the common existential threat as the glue of our relationship.
- This is not to say there have not been big picture problems. The wars in the former Yugoslavia were our common nightmare. But now that killing ground has become a proving ground for new structures of cooperation we have built - for a new NATO, the Partnership for Peace, NATO-Russia, the OSCE and, of course, a strong EU.
- It's also not to say that we have reached the end of history within the Euro-Atlantic area. The great construction project of our time -- a peaceful, undivided, democratic Europe - will not be complete until southeast Europe and Russia are truly part of the foundation. I expect you will be hearing the President talk about - and act on - that proposition when he is in Europe next week.
- Here too, the United States and Europe share the same goals and the same approach. We're working together thru NATO and UNMIK to pick up the pieces in Kosovo. We're working together through the Stability Pact to bring southeast Europe into the 21st century. We're working together to encourage Russia's new leaders to deepen democracy and economic reform, and to find a political solution to the crisis in Chechnya.
- Even in the area of trade -- where seemingly innocuous words like "bananas", "beef" and "hushkits" can cause mature diplomats to cry out in frustration - by almost any measure the transatlantic relationship is strong and growing stronger. US investment in Europe grew by seven times between 1994 and 1998. European companies are the largest investors in 41 of our 50 states. The value of these ties dwarfs the money in question in our disputes. We exchange more than \$1 billion

per day in goods and investments - and the number is rising. News trans-Atlantic alliances - for example, between Daimler and Chrysler, Bertelsmann and Random House - are creating a whole new depth to our partnership.

Why All the Angst?

- Of course, something must explain the spate of "U.S.-Europe divorce" articles. Two basic explanations.
- First, Americans and Europeans alike must contend with phenomenon of globalization. Some Europeans think 'globalization' is "Americanization." Of course, the U.S. is especially well placed to thrive in a globalizing world. But so is Europe - a proposition its companies are proving every day. And millions of Americans too are concerned about globalization's implications for them, their families, their futures - witness the receptions they gave delegates to the WTO meeting in Seattle and the WB/IMF meetings in Washington. For Americans, too, the way we live, work and interact - amongst ourselves, with our government, and with people and countries around the world - is changing more rapidly and more profoundly than ever before.
- Convinced globalization is neither inherently good, nor bad - but it is inevitable. We can't will it away. What we can do is work together to better share its benefits and spread its burdens. And here, U.S. and Europe uniquely well placed to lead.
- Second, and more specific to the U.S.-European relationship, end of Cold War brought demise of European dependence on U.S. for existential security. Into void surged two phenomena that are largely complementary but sometimes in conflict. On the one hand, what a certain Foreign Minister has called the American hyperpower - a country dominant militarily, economically, politically and culturally. On the other hand, an emerging European identity, built around EU, EMU, ESDP.
- This new reality requires us to refine the relationship across Atlantic. Not surprising certain amount of tension results. Not surprising each partner is experiencing discomfort in changes it is being forced to consider. For Europe, the challenge is to assume more of the burden of leadership. For the U.S., the difficulty lies in ceding more of the say in the conduct of common policies.

- I'm convinced we can and will meet these challenges, because the common challenges we face will compel us to do so. America needs Europe, just as Europe needs America, as much as we needed each other during the Cold War and, I would argue, even more than we did then.
- We have built a partnership that is unique in this world - a partnership that is global, tackling problems not only within our common area, but beyond it. And as you all know, the new problems we face are, more and more, global in nature.
- Of course, we must continue to contend with classic conflicts of international relations - wars between nation states fought over territory, resources and power. These will not go away.
- But more and more, new kinds of threats demand our time, energy and resources - threats that the U.S.-European partnership is uniquely placed to meet. Conflict within societies based on ethnic, racial and religious animosity. The spread of weapons of mass destruction. The challenge of international crime and terrorism, drug trafficking and cyber criminality. Epidemics of disease and malnutrition. Environmental degradation. The truth is no less profound for being plain: no one nation can tackle these problems alone. Isolationism or unilateralism cannot answer the challenges of the 21st century.
- And so I'm convinced that as people who share the same basic values and same core interests, we are fated to work more closely and deeply together than ever. For all the sturm and drung about transatlantic relations, I'm confident the relationship will endure and thrive. There is, simply put, no alternative.

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001. briefing paper	Background Paper: Portugal and NATO (3 pages)	05/09/2000	P1/b(1)
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National Security Council
Speechwriting (Paul Orzulak)
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002. briefing paper re: Iran terrorism (3 pages)

n.d.

P1/b(1)

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Russian CW Destruction

Objective

To encourage the EU and its member states to support CW Destruction efforts in Russia, especially at Shchuch'ye (pronounced "shoo-chee").

Background

Under the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC), Russia must destroy its chemical weapons (CW) by 2007 (or 2012 if an extension is approved). Due to the financial crisis, the high cost of destruction facilities (\$1 billion each, 7 are planned), and internal bureaucratic problems, Russia will miss both deadlines. While responsibility for destruction does lie with Russia, international assistance is crucial to destroying Russia's CW stockpile.

U.S. DESTRUCTION ASSISTANCE: The U.S. is the largest contributor, having provided \$192 million for CW destruction assistance through FY1998. Most of it is for the first phase (500 tons per year) of a CW destruction facility at Shchuch'ye. In FY2000, Congress imposed a prohibition on construction funding for the facility. Congress is concerned over inadequate international assistance and an inability to spend the money due to lack of Russian cooperation. We are currently working hard to demonstrate increased burdensharing, and Russian cooperation has improved. We are seeking to have that prohibition repealed.

INTERNATIONAL CW DESTRUCTION ASSISTANCE: Germany is the second largest contributor, \$25 million over several years for a blister agent destruction facility at Gorniy. Other contributors include The Netherlands, Italy, Sweden, and the European Commission. International assistance for Russian CW destruction totals around 10% of the U.S. contribution. The U.S. has approached the European Commission (EC) with requests for further assistance. EC officials, while sympathetic, report that they cannot act without a mandate from the Member States (the Council) who have not yet agreed to make this a priority.

Talking Points

- Although destroying its chemical weapons is at its core Russia's responsibility, increased international assistance to the Russian CW destruction program will be crucial for success.

- Failure by Russia to destroy its CW would have negative consequences for global arms control and nonproliferation objectives. Stopping the proliferation of all weapons of mass destruction, including chemical weapons, is a goal we all share.
- Congress has imposed a prohibition on U.S. funding for construction of the destruction facility at Shchuch'ye. However, I have asked Congress to repeal the funding prohibition and have asked for \$35 million for FY 2001.
- The Commission, Germany, Italy, The Netherlands, Canada, and others are now providing assistance to the Russian CW destruction program, and we are hopeful that this demonstration of international burdensharing -- and particularly increased international assistance to the Shchuch'ye project -- will convince Congress to repeal the funding prohibition.
- Urge EU and Member States to increase your support for the Russian CW destruction program; urge Member States to support an increase in Commission funding for CW destruction.

Drafted:EUR/PRA:Teggert

Clearance:

AC: DWeekman ok

DOD/CTR: SKoch/RRock ok

S/NIS-C: KSavit/JBaldwin ok

H: TLynch (info)

EUR/ERA: DYap ok

S/P: LFeinstein ok

P: SWhite ok

D: Tcynkin ok

T: Jtimbie ok



AMERICAN EMBASSY LISBON

Office of the Deputy Chief of Mission

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To: NSC - Hoyt Yee

Fax #: 456 - 9150

From: Kathleen Stephens

Date: May 4, 2000

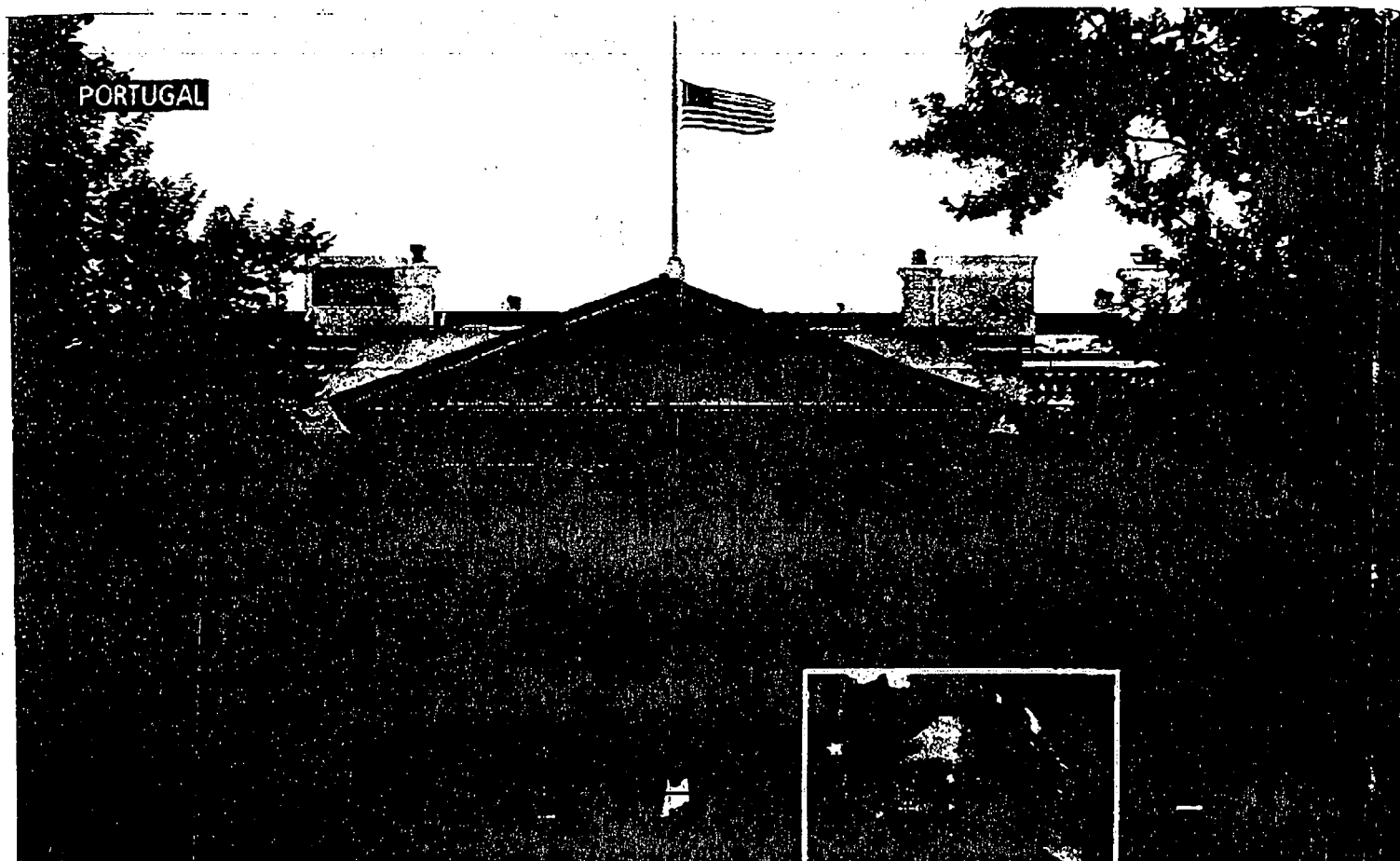
Re: POTUS VISIT TO PORTUGAL:

Total Pages: 7

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Possible useful background for remarks in Portugal.





SUCESSOS

O nosso homem na Casa Branca

O subsecretário da Energia é o primeiro luso-americano na Administração dos EUA. Mas já pouco fala português. E, sobretudo, nunca em público

EMÍLIA CAETANO • WASHINGTON

A mancira americana, deveria chamar-se Ernest Moniz III. O avô Ernesto emigrou dos Açores em 1910, para trabalhar numa fição de algodão em Fall River, Massachusetts. O pai, que já tinha o nome americanizado, foi operário da Firestone e pianista *after hours* em clubes locais. Ele é o titular de um amplo gabinete no topo de um edifício supermoderno no coração de Washington: a subsecretaria da Energia.

O gabinete de Ernest Moniz é uma sala onde as paredes só têm estantes. Não há retratos dele ao lado de Clinton ou de qualquer membro da administração nor-

te-americana: «Fiz sempre uma carreira à margem da política», explica.

Aos 53 anos, já ocupou alguns dos principais cargos ligados à física nuclear nos EUA. Depois de um percurso como professor no MIT (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), uma das suas tarefas foi presidir à comissão consultiva externa do departamento de Física de Los Alamos, o gabinete que, nos anos 40, produziu a primeira bomba atômica.

Inesperadamente, esta vinda para a política acabou por voltar a ligá-lo ao país que, dos três Ernest Moniz, só o primeiro conheceu. O seu gabinete foi palco da *cena oficial* do programa escolhido pela NASA para assinalar os 500 anos da des-



EPA E REUTERS

ERNEST MONIZ

O subsecretário norte-americano da Energia é neto de quatro açorianos

coberta do caminho marítimo para a Índia: convidou Portugal para um projecto especial que juntou cientistas de 40 países.

No princípio de 1998, pouco depois de Moniz entrar em funções, o secretário de Estado português dos Negócios Estrangeiros e o embaixador em Washington estiveram no seu gabinete: «Vieram aqui trazer-me a bandeira portuguesa, que ia para a estação espacial MIR.»

Crescer em Fall River

Ernest fala com gosto da sua infância em Fall River, nos tempos em que era o companheiro privilegiado do avô materno, Eugénio Pavão: «O meu dia típico em criança era ir com ele à pesca. Depois, íamos tomar qualquer coisa ao clube onde os portugueses se juntavam. Nessa altura, ouvia mais português do que inglês.»

Ainda hoje, mais de metade da população de Fall River é de ascendência portuguesa, sobretudo dos Açores. E já era assim nos tempos em que os quatro avós de Moniz de lá chegaram. Parte da família era ▶

Hoyt Yee

Announcements: pretty limited – AIDS initiative infectious disease initiative – biotechnology consultative forum, launching, culmination of a year-long process working since Washington in December, where we agreed that we needed 2 tracks of progress on biotech – govt to govt to address problem with market access – other track is consultative forum broad-based discussion group between Europeans and Americans involving civil society to have a conversation about benefits and risks about genetically modified organisms – have to have an understanding on second part before we get to first part – have arrangements done, agreed on mandate and composition of forum, will have a meeting in the near future – science, agriculture, public and private who will talk over issues and come to some understanding to take advantage

Also have something to announce on data privacy – written description – agreement that will allow us companies to have access to information in Europe about European clients that is protected by EU regulations – very strict – up until now, no US company can access information and store is here unless it is in compliance for EU regs – no framework for that here – thing called safe harbor here that companies can voluntarily abide by – once they are, the EU will allow participation – probably take weeks – companies that have already been abiding by safe harbor principles for some time – flipping the switch – companies that have been using this information – sales and marketing – for coming year – are we going to be able to tap into that market – predictable, reliable access to information important to building market share –

The Madrid Protocol on patent registration – been initialled already, we are announcing -- Allow US company to register for a patent in one country, will register in all countries – right now, have to go to each country, pay a separate fee, companies are going to save approx 67 percent on costs

discussed need to coordinate the security policies of the NATO and the EU – US welcome EU's effort to strengthen security in full cooperation with NATO – will strengthen trans-at relations and complement NATO's work

Russia –

How important our cooperation with EU has been in both the Balkans and Russia – share same goals and approach, keep cooperating on shared agenda.

we are going to cooperate on x,y,z

Portugal – hosted by the president – will be toasting him – prime minister will be there, too --

U.S.-EU Statement on the Expanding Threat of HIV/AIDS,
Malaria and Tuberculosis in Africa

Few challenges are more profoundly disturbing or more far-reaching than the collective threat posed to the citizens of Africa by three major communicable diseases: HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria. While the scope of the threat is global, Africa bears a disproportionate share of the suffering caused by these diseases. This year alone, HIV/AIDS will claim more than two million victims in Africa while another million lives will be lost to malaria and tuberculosis. The devastating effects of these diseases reverse decades of development and robs an entire generation, especially those caught in the trap of poverty, of hope for a better future. This health crisis in much of Africa deepens the vicious cycle of disease and poverty, erodes security and undermines social and economic development and poverty reduction.

We, the U.S. and EU, reiterate our commitment to combat HIV/AIDS and control diseases such as tuberculosis and malaria. Together with other countries and international organizations, we are already making a major effort. But the scale of the problem requires new mechanisms to mobilize international opinion, resources and to take appropriate actions to assist African countries. We welcome the work done in the UN Security Council during the January 2000 U.S. Presidency. In the Cairo Declaration and Action Plan of April 2000, the EU and African leaders pledged their commitment to pursue further action in this field. The renewal of the ACP-EU Partnership Agreement in June 2000 also highlights the need to work with the African, Caribbean and Pacific Partners on a comprehensive approach in the context of poverty reduction. We are looking forward to G8 initiatives on communicable diseases and poverty at the upcoming Summit in Okinawa.

Today, at the EU-US Summit, we agreed to join forces and look at new mechanisms and partnerships for finding responses and solutions to the threats posed by HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis. This will become part of our global agenda. We will work together to advance the following objectives:

International partnerships

- The EU and the US call for commitment and leadership to control malaria and tuberculosis and to combat HIV/AIDS in Africa.
- We welcome initiatives aimed at developing international partnerships with the WHO and other UN agencies, the donor community, governments in developed as well as developing countries, the pharmaceutical industry and civil society in order to find ways to encourage new international responses and sustain successful national health strategies.
- We recognize the central role and responsibilities of governments in Africa in setting priorities and coordinating country efforts and call upon our partners to support such national ownership.

Public awareness

- We will cooperate to increase public awareness of the scope of the crisis and to propagate effective health and prevention measures against these scourges. *The roles of primary health care services and basic education are crucial* as are information and other disease-targeted campaigns.
- We call upon political leaders in Africa and elsewhere to encourage information and education campaigns, including on how to prevent mother to child transmission of HIV/AIDS. *We welcome the success in some countries where strong leadership, openness to issues and flexible responses come together.*
- We will mobilize our diplomats and other representatives at the individual country level to work with national leaders and others to intensify cooperative actions, to share relevant information needed to strengthen local capacity and to deliver necessary health services and cost-effective treatments for HIV/AIDS and other infectious diseases.

Drugs and vaccines

- Together with developing country partners and with industry, we will strengthen our research and development cooperation in the fight against these poverty-related diseases. In this respect, we call for enlarged partnerships aimed at speeding up research and development. We will explore new methods of evaluating needed drugs and vaccines, including strengthening capacity and training in those countries most impacted by these diseases.
- In order to make new drugs, vaccines and other public health intervention methods available, we will stimulate increased links between our respective research activities and coordinate research tasks. We will support the introduction of new financial, legal and investment incentives designed to make drugs and vaccines more accessible and affordable to countries in need.
- **(EU: We welcome international initiatives on increased investments in the development of drugs and vaccines.)*
- (U.S. - We will support international coordination initiatives, such as the Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization (GAVI), the Multilateral Initiative on Malaria and the EU-ACP West African Vaccine Independence Initiative.

Resources

- The EU and US will seek increased governmental and private resources dedicated to the fight against HIV/AIDS and other diseases, including through multilateral organizations and institutions. We *acknowledge and encourage* the important role of NGOs and civil society.
- In the World Bank and other relevant organizations, we will support the setting up of mechanisms such as concessionary loans and debt relief.
- (U.S. - We will look for incentives and support for governments such as a linkage of the health budget to the HIPC debt relief initiative.)
- *(EU: We will support governments which improve their health systems*

within the HIPC debt relief initiative and the Poverty Strategy Paper as defined by the Bretton Wood Institutions.)

- We will seek to augment multilateral bank lending for healthcare systems.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Ankara, Turkey)

For Immediate Release

November 15, 1999

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN ADDRESS TO
THE TURKISH GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

General Assembly Hall
Ankara, Turkey

4:20 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Deputy Speaker, distinguished members, it is a great honor for me and my family and for our delegation to appear before this body, the repository of Turkish sovereignty which, as the words behind me affirm, belongs unconditionally and without exception to the people. (Applause.)

I have come to express America's solidarity with the Turkish people at a time of national tragedy, and to reaffirm our partnership for a common future. We have been friends for a very long time.

In 1863, the first American college outside the United States, Robert College, opened its doors to the youth of Turkey. It was the only foreign institution allowed along the Bosphorus, precisely because America had never encroached upon Turkish sovereignty. I'm very proud that Prime Minister Ecevit is an alumnus of Robert College. (Applause.)

Earlier in this century, the great founder of the Turkish Republic, Kemal Ataturk, captured America's imagination with his bold reforms. He was called a second George Washington. He appeared on the cover of "Our Time" magazine. He corresponded with members of our Congress. And we moved our embassy here to Ankara, the capital of his new republic.

In 1927, in a six-day speech before this body, Ataturk surveyed Turkey's relations with the countries of the world. And he paid America what I believe was a compliment when he said, "The United States is more acceptable than the rest." (Applause.) In an effort to remain more acceptable to you, I promise not to speak for six days. But I would like to review our relationship and our future.

At the dawn of the Cold War, President Truman committed America's resources to protect Turkey's sovereignty. The Truman Doctrine sealed our partnership, and laid the basis for the Marshall Plan and for America's entire postwar engagement with the rest of the world. Over 50 years, now, our alliance has stood the test of time, and passed every other test, from Korea to Kosovo. On behalf of all Americans, I thank you for half a century of friendship, mutual respect and partnership. (Applause.)

Since the Cold War ended, we have learned something quite wonderful. We have learned that our friendship does not depend upon a common concern with the Soviet Union, and that in fact, in the post-Cold War era, our partnership has become even more important. Together we are adapting NATO to the demands of a new century. We are partners for peace in the Balkans and the Middle East. We are developing new sources of energy to help the entire region. Last year, our trade was over \$6

billion. It has risen 50 percent in the last five years alone.

Thanks to the vision of your former President, Turgut Ozal, the continuing leadership of President Demirel and Prime Minister Ecevit, and the dynamism of the Turkish people, Turkey has become an engine of regional growth. In the months ahead, together we will launch new projects worth billions of dollars, mostly in the energy sector, to bring jobs to Turkey and to bring our two nations even closer.

This assembly has taken bold steps to lead Turkey into the new century. I want the American press to listen to this: Between June and September, this assembly passed a remarkable 69 laws. I'm going to tell our Congress about that when I get home. (Laughter.) But I will say this: It is not just the quantity of those laws that count, it is the quality. Landmark legislation on Social Security, an international arbitration law, banking reform -- laws that took courage and vision. Now, you face a difficult budget decision that requires courage and vision. If you do pass a sound budget, it will strengthen your economy and advance the prospects of a standby IMF agreement, something the United States strongly supports.

On the edge of a new millennium, we have a rare opportunity to reflect upon our journey -- two nations that started in very different places, with a shared commitment to democracy, who now must forge a partnership relevant to the new era.

In a sense, we are all here today because of Kemal Ataturk. Not only because he chose Ankara to be the capital -- (applause) -- not only because he chose Ankara to be your capital, but because he pledged Turkey's future to the democracy symbolized by this proud assembly. Ironically, he accomplished much of what he did with no help from the western powers -- indeed, against the opposition of most of them. Many tried to carve up Turkey, to reduce it to a rump state. In the face of this, however, Ataturk responded not by closing Turkey up, but by opening Turkey to the rest of the world, a decision for which we must all be very grateful.

For better and for worse, the events of that time when the Ottoman Empire disintegrated and a new Turkey arose have shaped the history of this entire century. From Bulgaria to Albania to Israel to Arabia, new nations were born, and a century of conflict erupted from the turmoil of shifting borders, unrealized ambitions, and old hatreds -- beginning with the first Balkan war and World War I, all the way to today's struggles in the Middle East and in the former Yugoslavia. Turkey's past is key to understanding the 20th century. But, more importantly, I believe Turkey's future will be critical to shaping the 21st century. (Applause.)

Today, I want to take a few minutes to explain why I believe that is true, and what we can do together to realize the future we both want.

Since people have been able to draw maps, they have pointed out the immutable fact of Turkey's geography -- that Asia Minor is a bridge between continents. Less than a kilometer separates Europe from Asia at the nearest point along the Bosphorus. And, in reality, there is no separation at all, thanks to the bridges you have built -- to the commerce that spans Turkey every day to the communications revolution that links all parts of the world instantaneously.

Turkey's ability to bridge East and West is all the more important when another fact of Turkey's geography is considered. You are almost entirely surrounded by neighbors who are either actively hostile to democracy and peace, or struggling against great obstacles to embrace democracy and peace. To the southeast, Iran is witnessing a remarkable

debate between proponents of a closed and open society, while Iraq continues to repress its people, threaten its neighbors, and seek weapons of mass destruction. I thank Turkey for its support of Operation Northern Watch, which allows us to deter Saddam's aggression, protect the people of northern Iraq, and avoid another refugee crisis like the one you so courageously met in 1991.

To the south, the Middle East is still roiled with violence, but blessed with an historic opportunity to build a comprehensive, just and lasting peace. Turkey is a force for that peace as well, through its ties to Israel and the Arab states.

To the northwest lie the Balkans, where in the last decade seven new democracies have been born, and four wars have claimed hundreds of thousands of lives. Turkish forces in NATO helped to end those wars, and thus to end this century with a powerful affirmation of human dignity and human rights. Today we are working side by side for an enduring peace in the Balkans, one which not only ends ethnic cleansing, but builds genuine cooperation, progress and prosperity.

To the east, 12 independent nations have emerged from the ruins of the Soviet empire. There is no more important challenge today than helping them to develop stable, independent, democratic societies. Turkey here also has been a leader, reaching out in particular to nations that share ties of language, culture and history.

There is still much to be done. We must help Russia to complete its momentous democratic revolution. We must be clear with Russia that its fight against terrorism is right, but that the use of indiscriminate force against civilians is wrong, likely to exacerbate the very tensions Russia wants to resolve. We must keep working together to resolve the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh. We must secure the region's energy resources in a way that protects the Bosphorus, helps newly free states to stand on their feet, empowers Turkey and Europe's future growth. We'll have a chance to address all these challenges when nearly a third of the world's nations gather at the OSCE summit in Istanbul this week.

When we step back and look ahead, it is possible to imagine two very different futures over the next generation. Without too much trouble, a pessimist might foresee a dark future, indeed: a Middle East with the peace process shattered, Saddam's aggression unchecked, democracy collapsed in the Caucasus in Central Asia, extremism and terror spreading across the region, more violence in the Balkans, military coups, unstoppable nuclear tensions in Pakistan and India.

But there is another vision -- one that requires a strong Turkey playing its rightful role at the crossroads of the world, at the meeting place of three great faiths. It is possible to see that brighter future: one of rising prosperity and declining conflict; one in which tolerance is an article of faith, and terrorism is seen, rightly, as a travesty of faith; a future in which people are free to pursue their beliefs and proclaim their heritage; in which women are treated with equal respect; in which nations see no contradiction between preserving traditions and participating in the life of the world; a future of growing respect for human rights that protect our differences and our common humanity; and, specifically, a future in which nations that are predominantly Muslim are increasingly partners with nations that are not, acting in concert in ways, large and small, to realize the shared hopes of their people.

I hope that the next time an American President addresses a nation with a Muslim tradition, he will be able to say that the progress of Indonesia and Nigeria and Morocco, all very different nations, has helped all of us put the lie to the tired claim of an inherent clash of

civilizations. As Ataturk said 75 years ago, "countries vary, but civilization is one." President Kennedy said the same thing in Berlin when he said, "freedom is indivisible."

All told, there are now billions of people around the region and the world whose future depends upon decisions made in this very room over the next 25 years. Each has a stake in Turkey's success in defining itself as a strong, secular, modern nation, proud of its traditions, fully part of Europe. That will require hard work and vision. You have done much of it already through Ozal's reforms, through the actions of this assembly, through the thousands of ways in which the Turkish people daily are forging an energetic and responsive civil society.

The future we want to build together begins with Turkish progress in deepening democracy at home. Nobody wants this more than the people of Turkey. You have created momentum and edicts against torture in a new law that protects the rights of political parties, in the achievements and vitality of this assembly. Avenues are opening for Kurdish citizens of Turkey to reclaim that most basic of birth rights -- a normal life.

But there still is far more to be done to realize the promise of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, articulate at the very moment our two countries entered into close relations 50 years ago. That progress will be the most significant sign of Turkey's confidence in looking to the new century, and in many ways, the most meaningful measure of your progress.

We agree with something that was never said more clearly than by the founder of the Turkish Republic -- sovereignty should not be built on fear. Neither America nor Europe nor anyone else has the right to shape your destiny for you. (Applause.) Only you have that right; that, after all, is what democracy is all about. We raise these issues because for all the reasons I have mentioned. We have a profound interest in your success and we consider ourselves your friends. (Applause.)

Keep in mind, I come from a nation that was founded on the creed that all are created equal; and, yet, when we were founded, we had slavery, women could not vote, even men could not vote unless they owned property. I know something about the imperfect realization of a country's ideas. We have had a long journey in America, from our founding to where we are. But the journey has been worth making.

And in our own troubled century, about to close, we have clearly learned that when writers and journalists freely express themselves, they exercise not only a fundamental right, but fuel the exchange of ideals essential to prosperity and growth. When peaceful outlets exist to express normal human differences, the peace is preserved, not shattered. When people can celebrate their culture and faith in ways that do not infringe upon the rights of others, moderates do not become extremists, and extremists do not become misguided heroes.

A second way to shape the future lies in reducing tensions in the Aegean -- something that will require hard work by both Turkey and Greece. Believe me, I appreciate how much history lies behind this troubled relationship. But people are beginning to see the possibilities that can be created by a new and better history. Prime Minister Ecevit's government has taken important strides in that direction. I agree with something he once said to me: there is just as much as history and geography uniting you across the Aegean as there is dividing you.

Greece is also taking some risks for peace and recognizing as never

before that Turkey's destiny lies in Europe. You came together to promote stability in the Balkans, something that was, in fairness, far more difficult for them to do than for Turkey or the United States. The people of both nations were movingly joined again when tragedy struck you both in the form of earthquakes, first in August and then, horribly, again last week. Every person who lost a loved one or a home to those earthquakes knows that there was no such thing then as a Turkish or a Greek tragedy, they were human tragedy's, and the world will never forget the humanity each nation displayed toward the other.

We must also work hard to reach a just settlement in Cyprus, and I am very pleased that yesterday the parties accepted Secretary General Annan's invitation to start proximity talks in New York on December 3rd. Their goal is to prepare the ground for meaningful negotiations, leading to a comprehensive settlement of the Cyprus problem. I hope these talks will bring us a step closer to lasting peace. I believe a negotiated settlement is the best way to meet the fundamental interests of all the parties, including real security for all Cypriots and an end to the island's division.

Finally, the future we want to build together will require foresight on the part of our other allies in Europe -- the foresight to see that our vision of a Europe that is undivided, democratic and at peace for the first time in all of history will never be complete unless and until it embraces Turkey. (Applause.) The United States is not a member of the European Union, but I have consistently urged European integration to move further and faster -- and that includes Turkey.

There are still those who see Europe in narrower terms. Their Europe might stop at this mountain range or that body of water or, worse, where people stopped to worship God in a different way. But there is a growing and encouraging consensus that knows Europe is an idea as much as a place -- the idea that people can find strength in diversity of opinions, cultures and faiths, as long as they are commonly committed to democracy and human rights; the idea that people can be united without being uniform, and that if the community we loosely refer to as the West is an idea, it has no fixed frontiers. It stretches as far as the frontiers of freedom can go.

Ten years ago this month, the Berlin Wall tumbled, a curtain lifted across Europe. The best way to celebrate that anniversary is to rekindle the feeling of liberation for a new generation. The best way to complete the unity glimpsed in 1989 is to integrate all of Southeastern Europe into the idea and institutions of Europe in 1999 and the years ahead. That means democracy in Serbia. It means peace in the Aegean. It means a successful democratic Turkey fully welcomed into the European community. (Applause.)

At the beginning of this new century in which we have so much hope, there is great optimism for both our countries. We have much to be proud of, but we must never forget that Turkey is built on the ruins of many ancient civilizations that once were every bit as optimistic as we are today. To avoid their fate, we must back up our words and our hopes with deeds. We must acknowledge the challenges still before us. We must not relinquish the confidence that brought us everything in this century as it becomes our history, but we must not lose the humility that this century's great troubles leave to every thinking person.

Turkey has come so far over so many barriers in so short a time. It was, after all, only 61 years ago this week that Ataturk died. Prime Minister Ecevit was one of the schoolchildren who filed into the palace to pay their respects to the fallen leader. All of you are the youth he advised in his most unselfish mandate near the end: to continue to think for yourselves, to always re-examine your beliefs and to reshape

democracy, generation after generation after generation.

What Turkey has generated in this century is a living example of what all people can do to claim a better destiny for themselves. A new century now lies untested before us. It is an enormous opportunity. By deepening the democratic revolution embodied by, and still emanating from, this very chamber, Turkey can do more than serve its own people well. By your example and your exertion, you can truly inspire the world.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END 4:46 P.M. (L)

5/19/00 3 pm
Rosshirt

Samuel R. Berger
Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Ceremony on the Conferment of Honorary Degrees
Tel Aviv University
May 21, 2000

President of the Supreme Court, Members of the Presidium, Deans, Excellencies, Governors,
Faculty and Students, Distinguished Guests, and, of course, My fellow Honorees:

I am honored and delighted tonight to be joining the ranks of the distinguished poets, artists, scientists, and statesmen who have received an honorary doctorate degree from Tel Aviv University, and I thank you for the added privilege of speaking for my fellow honorees. I understand that Amos Oz, who received an honorary degree here eight years ago, politely declined to speak for the others, saying "there is no way I can speak on behalf of anyone. On a lucky night I sometimes manage to represent myself." I admire Mr. Oz's humility and restraint. Nonetheless, I respectfully accept the privilege, and the risk, of speaking for my fellow honorees, but only in this sense: I will try in my remarks tonight to speak for all those here and everywhere who hope and work for a world at peace.

[pause]

There are few things in the history of human longing more highly prized than peace.

Isaiah prophesies the reign of the Messiah will see no end of peace. ~~[Isaiah 8:7]~~ The Koran teaches that ~~says~~ believers will be greeted ~~met~~ in paradise ~~with by salutations~~ angels wishing of them "Peace." ~~[Qur'an 13: 23-24]~~. Christians call Jesus Christ the Prince of Peace.

Tragically, throughout human history we have seen more advances in the tools for waging war than in the art of making peace. Today, with ethnic and ideological and territorial conflicts so persistent and the technology of destruction so sophisticated, we face with ever greater urgency the ancient question: Can peace prevail on earth?

I have been privileged, in serving President Clinton, to have met some leaders, and witnessed some moments, that have revealed precious truths about peace.

One truth is this: Commitment to a just peace means we may sometimes be forced to fight -- for when good and evil collide, peace and justice often cannot prevail together. We ~~The international community~~ faced such a moment last year, when Slobodan Milosevic sought to close the bloodiest century in history with a final chapter of ethnic slaughter. Many doubted whether the West could, or even should, respond. And yet, NATO's nineteen diverse democracies came together and stayed together to stop the killing. And I will never forget -- in the midst of NATO's action -- the words ~~the words later~~ uttered at the White House by Elie Wiesel: "This time the world was not silent."

But many conflicts do not end as quickly and decisively as Kosovo; indeed, many seem never to end at all. In the twisted logic of war, those who are weak reject peace because it appears to be surrender. And those who are strong reject peace because they believe peace [note: would "victory" work better in place of "peace" here?] is at hand.

Some of the leaders I admire most are those who sought peace when they were still strong. They have shown us it is possible to be wise before one is weary.

Nelson Mandela's country was settled centuries ago by Europeans who imposed a doctrine of white supremacy on the people of that land. And they forced into prisons -- or graves -- those

who fought back. In 1998, President Mandela took us to see his old cell on Robben Island – damp, cramped, hardly large enough for him to lie flat upon the floor, without a bed for much of his incarceration, with one tiny window -- one foot square. He lived there 27 years -- no heat, no fan, no faucet — and a bucket for a toilet. Yet he talked to us of his life there with extraordinary serenity. [note: to say ‘without a bed for much of his incarceration’ might prompt the thought: “at least he had a bed.” While the line about “lie flat upon the floor” implies no bed and thus, I think, paints a starker picture.]

“Weren’t you angry?” President Clinton asked him. “Even after you were freed, weren’t you bitter?” And President Mandela said: “Briefly, Yes. But then I thought: ‘I have waited so long for freedom. And if my anger follows me out of this place, I will still be their prisoner, and I want to be free. I want to be free.’”

I also remember our marathon meeting at the Wye Plantation in Maryland two years ago with President Clinton, Prime Minister Netanyahu, and Chairman Arafat – trying to restart a peace process that had stalled dangerously for 18 months. On day nine, the talks were close to breakdown, President Clinton had declared this our final day, and still there were matters we could not settle. Into this crucible came King Hussein, with only a few months of life left within him. Weak with cancer, he sat at the head of the table and in that deep sonorous voice – with the authority of one who has given up life’s squabbles and centered his mind on the eternal – he said: “There has been enough death and destruction. We have no right by our irresponsible actions to ruin the lives of our children, and our children’s children.” When he finished, no one even whispered a word of response. We resumed our work, and though we stretched that final day out 48 hours, we concluded the agreement.

I also remember the day in President Clinton’s first year in office, when Prime Minister Rabin and Chairman Arafat had concluded the Oslo Accords and were to join each other at the signing

ceremony sign the agreements [note: the foreign ministers signed] on the South Lawn of the White House. Just before leaving the Oval Office, President Clinton – understanding the demands of the moment -- said to Yitzhak Rabin: “You and Chairman Arafat will have to shake hands.” The Prime Minister looked truly pained. He wanted peace for the future. But would a handshake appear to forgive the past? He paused long in thought. But minutes later, he and Chairman Arafat sealed their agreement with a handshake, and Yitzhak Rabin said in his remarks to the world: “You do not make peace with your friends.”

President Clinton has quoted those words everywhere in the world he has urged people to make peace. To Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland. To the parties to the conflict in Burundi. To refugees returning to their homes in Kosovo. He told that story of Rabin to the Indian Parliament this spring, referring to the terrible costs of war and the imperative of dialogue with Pakistan. There in the legislative chamber of the world's most populous democracy, the story met with a murmur of voices, then applause. The wisdom and realism of Yitzhak Rabin's words struck home.

In all the peacemaking efforts I have seen, the greatest obstacles to a future of peace are the grievances of the past -- the searing memories of war; the heartbreaking sights of innocent suffering.

It is difficult to put aside the instinct for revenge; it can feel like disloyalty to those who have suffered. But making peace is not forgetting past grievances; it is trying to prevent fresh grief from befalling our children. The injustice suffered by both sides must be acknowledged by both sides. Those responsible for evil actions must be held accountable. But those who seek through peace to redress all past grievances, are not seeking peace; they are still waging war.

Nelson Mandela, King Hussein, Yitzhak Rabin, and others like Vaclav Havel and Kim Dae Jung, Gandhi and Martin Luther King have understood this truth. But the existence of a handful of heroes is not a strategy for peace. We need to grasp the defining features of this global age, and make them serve the cause of peace.

Nationhood and national sovereignty have served for centuries as unifying, stabilizing forces within society. They confer a common identity that builds bonds, advances progress, and eases cooperation among citizens. Today, however, the meaning of territorial boundaries is evolving. Goods, services, ideas, and people move more freely across borders than ever before.

As borders begin to function more as bridges than barriers, the geography of national security -- the link between land and national defense -- also is evolving. Weapons of mass destruction, long-range missiles, world-wide terrorist networks and global computer viruses are threats all nations face together and no nation can defeat on its own. Security now depends less on the distance between neighbors than on the closeness between neighbors. True security comes from being surrounded by partners, not walls.

By no means am I suggesting that the old threats have vanished, that sovereignty is not essential, that we don't need armies to defend our borders, our values, and our lives. We do. But in the tightly intertwined world of the global economy, it is harder than ever to win by making someone else lose. Neighbors increasingly share the same fortunes. ~~Regions tend to grow economically, or shrink economically together.~~ When they prosper ~~grow~~ together, grievances are lightened; the cost of confrontation rises, and so also do the incentives for maintaining peace.

Here in the Holy Land, this historic drama for peace is playing itself out right now. It is perhaps the greatest challenge of peacemaking in the world. This is a place that more than any other is defined by its past -- by its people's connection to their land; their traditions; their stories of

suffering, strife, and exile. And yet, as His Holiness Pope John Paul II showed the world so ~~movingly during his pilgrimage in his visit~~ here this Spring, feelings of 'good will' overflow boundaries when wholehearted devotion to one's own faith is matched perfectly consistent with a devout respect for the faith of others.

In a land where two sides have competing claims – but when a changing world opens new doors of opportunity -- imagination must come to the support of peace. ~~aid of memory~~. Through creativity, ~~and compromise~~, and respect, both sides can and must find a way to honor the past, acknowledge suffering, resolve competing claims, and give the gift of peace to one another and their children.

Can we seize this moment? The answer is not waiting to be revealed; it is waiting to be created – by the force of each of our actions. And we must act now. The stream of history flows endlessly onward. It will not wait. It will not return.

Many wise men across the centuries have prophesied that the world will never know an end of war. Yet, who is to say what is the limit of human achievement, or what is the endpoint of moral development? The existence of war over millennia is merely evidence peace is difficult, not proof that peace is impossible.

If we are ever to replace the anticipation of war with the expectation of peace, we must be able to do it here, in this land, at this time. And why not here in this land? The teachings from this land gave us our ideas of human dignity and social justice. The prophets of this land gave us our hope for progress in human history. The people of this land gave us our proof that impossible goals can become possible through generations of single-minded struggle.

The inheritors of this Holy Land can then -- if any can -- come together in a moment of choice to change the world -- and turn hostility to prosperity, suffering into healing, and war into peace.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 8, 1999

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT QUANDT LECTUREGeorgetown University
Washington, D.C.

3:27 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much, Secretary Albright, for your introduction and your leadership. From the reception you just received, I would say you can come home at any time. But I hope you'll wait a while longer.

Thank you, Father O'Donovan, for welcoming me back to Georgetown. Dean Gallucci, thank you. Mrs. Quandt, thank you so much for this lecture. And to the representatives of BMW, members of the diplomatic community, the many distinguished citizens who are here, and to Mr. Billington, Mrs. Graham, and others, and to all the young students who are here -- in many ways, this day is especially for you.

I, too, want to say a special word of thanks to Prime Minister Zeman of the Czech Republic and Prime Minister Dzurinda of Slovakia. They have come a long way to be with us today. They have come a long way with their people in the last decade -- from dictatorship to democracy; from command and control to market economies; from isolation to integration with Europe and the rest of the world. It has been a remarkable journey. You and your people have made the most of the triumph of freedom after the Cold War. We thank you for your example, and for your leadership and your friendship, and we welcome you. Thank you. (Applause.)

Today we celebrate one of history's most remarkable triumphs of human freedom: the anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall, surely one of the happiest and most important days of the 20th century.

For the young people, the undergraduates who are here who were, at that time, 9 or 10 years old, it must be hard to sense the depth of oppression of the communist system, the sense of danger that gripped America and the world. I still remember all of our air-raid drills when I was in grade school, preparing for the nuclear war as if, if we got in some basement, it would be all right. (Laughter.) It, therefore, may be hard to imagine the true sense of exuberance and pride that the free world felt a decade ago.

So, today, I say to you, it is important to recall the major events of that period; to remember the role America was privileged to play in the victory of freedom in Europe; to review what we have done since; to realize the promise of that victory; and most important of all, to reaffirm our determination to finish the job -- to complete a Europe whole, free, democratic, and at peace, for the first time in all of history.

Let's start by looking back a decade ago at Berlin. If the Soviet empire was a prison, then Berlin was the place where everyone

could see the bars and look behind them. On one side of the wall lived a free people, shaping their destiny in the image of their dreams. On the other lived a people who desperately wanted to be free, that had found themselves trapped behind a wall of deadly uniformity and daily indignities, in an empire that, indeed, could only exist behind a wall, for, even if an opening appeared, letting ideas in and people out, the whole structure surely would collapse.

In the end, that is exactly what happened in the fall of 1989. Poland and Hungary already were on the road to democracy. President Gorbachev of the Soviet Union had made clear that Soviet forces would not stand in their way. Then, Hungary opened its borders to the West, allowing East Germans to escape. Then the dam broke. Berliners took to the street, shouting, "We are one people." And on November 9th, a decade ago, the wall was breached. Two weeks later, the Velvet Revolution swept Czechoslovakia, started by university students, just like the undergraduates here, marching through Prague, singing the Czech version of "We Shall Overcome." Then, in Romania, the dictator Ceausescu, fell in the bloody uprising. A little more than a year later, the Soviet Union itself was no more. A democratic Russia was born.

Those events transformed our world and changed our lives and shaped the future of the young people in this grand room today. Yes, the students of our era will still grow to live in a world full of danger, but probably -- and hopefully -- they will not have to live in fear of a total war in which millions could be killed in a single deadly exchange. Yes, America will still bear global responsibilities, but we will be able to invest more of our wealth in the welfare of our children and more of our energy in peaceful pursuits.

You will compete in a global marketplace, travel to more places than any generation before you, share ideas and experiences with people from every culture -- more and more of whom have embraced, and will continue to embrace, both democracy and free markets.

How did all this happen? Well, mostly it happened because, from the very beginning, oppressed people refused to accept their fate. Not in Poland in 1981, when Lech Walesa jumped over the wall at the Gdansk Shipyard and Solidarity first went on strike; or in Czechoslovakia, during the Prague Spring of 1968. I was there a year and a half later as a young student, and I never will forget the look in the eyes of the university students then and their determination eventually to be free.

They did not accept their fate in Hungary in 1956, or even in St. Petersburg way back in 1920, when the sailors who had led the Soviet revolution first rose against their new oppressors. They did not accept their fate in any Soviet home where the practice of religion was preserved, though it was suppressed by the state; or in countless acts of resistance we have never heard of, committed by heroes whose names we will never know.

The amazing fact is that all those years of repression simply failed to crush people's spirits or their hunger for freedom. Years of lies just made them want the truth that much more. Years of violence just made them want peaceful struggle, and peaceful politics, that much more. Though denied every opportunity to express themselves, when they were finally able to do it they did a remarkable job of saying quite clearly what they believed and what they wanted: democratic citizenship, and the blessings of ordinary life.

Of course, their victory also would not have been possible without the perseverance of the United States and our allies, standing

firm against the Iron Curtain and standing firm with the friends of freedom behind it. Fifty years ago, when all this began, it was far from certain that we would do that. It took determination -- the determination of President Truman to break the blockade of the Soviet Union of Berlin; to send aid to Greece and Turkey; to meet aggression in Korea. It took the determination of all his successors to ensure that Soviet expansion went no further than it did.

It took vision -- the vision of American leaders who launched the Marshall Plan, and brought Germany into NATO, not just to feed Europe or to defend it, but to unify it as never before, around freedom and democracy. It took persistence -- the persistence of every President, from Eisenhower to Kennedy to Bush, to pursue policies for four decades until they bore fruit.

It took resources to bolster our friends and build a military that adversaries ultimately knew they could not match. It took faith to believe that we could prevail while avoiding both appeasement and war; that our open society would in time prove stronger than any closed and fearful society.

It took conviction -- the conviction of President Reagan, who said so plainly what many people on the other side of the Wall had trouble understanding, that the Soviet empire was evil and the wall should be torn down; the conviction of President Carter, who put us on the side of dissidents and kept them alive to fight another day.

And it took leadership in building alliances, and keeping them united in crisis after crisis -- and finally, under President Bush, in managing skillfully the fall of the Soviet empire, and the unification of Germany, and setting the stage for a Europe whole and free.

This was the situation, the remarkable situation that I inherited when I took office in 1993. The Cold War had been won. But in many ways, Europe was still divided -- between the haves and have-nots; between the secure and insecure; between members of NATO and the EU, and those who were not members of either body and felt left out in the cold; between those who had reconciled themselves with people of different racial and religious and ethnic groups within their borders, and those who were still torn apart by those differences.

And so we set out to do for the Eastern half of Europe what we helped to do for the Western half after World War II -- to provide investment and aid, to tear down trade barriers so new democracies could stand on their feet economically; to help them overcome tensions that had festered under communism; and to stand up to the forces of aggression and hate, as we did in the Balkans; to expand our institutions, beginning with NATO, so that a Europe of shared values could become a Europe of shared responsibilities and benefits.

Since then, there have unquestionably been some setbacks -- some small and some great. Under communism, most everyone was equally poor. Now, some people race ahead, while others lag far behind. Former dissidents who once struggled for freedom are now politicians trying to create jobs, to fight corruption and crime, to provide basic security for people who are simply tired of having to struggle.

Most terrible of all have been the wars in the former Yugoslavia, which claimed a quarter-million lives and pushed millions from their homes. But, still, 10 years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, most of Europe is unquestionably better off -- as these two leaders so clearly demonstrate.

Democracy has taken root, from Estonia in the north to

Bulgaria in the south. Some of the most vibrant economies in the world now lie east of the old Iron Curtain. Russia has withdrawn its troops from Central Europe and the Baltics, accepted the independence of its neighbors -- and for all its own problems, has not wavered from the path of democracy.

The armed forces of most every country, from Ukraine to Romania all the way to Central Asia, now actually train with NATO. NATO has three new allies -- Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic -- three strong democracies that have stood with us in every crisis, from Iraq to Bosnia to Kosovo. Other new democracies are eager to join us as well, including Slovakia, and they know our alliance is open to all who are ready to meet its obligation. Eleven countries are beginning a process that will lead them to membership in the European Union.

And just as important, because we and our allies stood up to ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Kosovo, the century is not ending on a note of despair with the knowledge that innocent men, women and children on the doorstep of NATO can be expelled and killed simply because of their ethnic heritage and the way they worship their God. Instead, it ends with a ringing affirmation of the inherent human dignity of every individual.

With our alliance of 19 democracies strong and united, working with partners across the continent, including Russia, to keep the peace in the Balkans. With new hope for a Europe that can be, for the first time in history, undivided, democratic and at peace. I hope all of you will be proud of what your country and its allies have achieved, but I hope you will be even more determined to finish the job, for there is still much to be done.

On Friday, I will leave on a trip to Greece and Turkey, Italy and Bulgaria. This trip is about reinforcing ties with some of our oldest allies, and completing the unfinished business of building that stable, unified, and democratic Europe. I believe there are three principal remaining challenges to that vision that we must meet across the Atlantic, and I might say one great challenge we must meet at home.

The first is the challenge of building the right kind of partnership with Russia -- a Russia that is stable, democratic and cooperatively engaged with the West. That is difficult to do because Russia is struggling economically. It has tens of thousands of weapons scientists -- listen to this -- it has tens of thousands of weapons scientists making an average of \$100 a month, struggling to maintain the security of a giant nuclear arsenal. It has mired itself again in the cruel cycle of violence in Chechnya that is claiming many innocent lives.

We should protect our interests in Russia, and speak plainly about actions we believe are wrong. But we should also remember what Russia is struggling to overcome and the legacy with which it must deal. Less than a generation ago, the Russians were living in a society that had no rule of law, no private initiative, no truth-telling -- no chance for individuals to shape their own destiny. Now they live in a country with a free press, with almost 1 million small businesses, a country that should experience next year its first democratic transfer of power in a thousand years.

Russia's transformation has just begun. It is incomplete; it is awkward. Sometimes it is not pretty. But we have a profound stake in its success. Years from now, I don't think we will be criticized, any of us, for doing too much to help. But we can certainly be criticized if we do too little.

A second challenge will be to implement, with our allies, a plan for stability in the Balkans, so that region's bitter ethnic problems can no longer be exploited by dictators, and Americans do not have to cross the Atlantic again to fight in another war. We will do that by strengthening democracies in the region, promoting investment and trade, bringing nations steadily into Western institutions, so they feel a unifying magnet that is more powerful than the internal forces that divide them.

I want to say that again -- I am convinced that the only way to avoid future Balkan wars is to integrate the countries of Southeastern Europe more with each other, and then more with the rest of Europe. We have to create positive forces that pull the people toward unity, which are stronger than the forces of history pulling them toward division, hatred and death.

We must also push for a democratic transition in Serbia. Mr. Milosevic is the last living relic of the age of European dictators of the communist era. That era came crashing down with the Wall. He sought to preserve his dictatorship by substituting communist totalitarianism with ethnic hatred and the kind of mindless unity that follows if you are bound together by your hatred of people who are different from you. The consequences have been disastrous -- not only for the Bosnians and the Kosovars, but for the Serbs, as well.

If we are going to make democracy and tolerance the order of the day in the Balkans, so that they, too, can tap into their innate intelligence and ingenuity and enjoy prosperity and freedom, there can be no future for him and his policy of manipulating human differences for inhuman ends.

A third challenge is perhaps the oldest of them all, and in some ways, perhaps the hardest -- to build a lasting peace in the Aegean Sea region, to achieve a true reconciliation between Greece and Turkey, and bridge the gulf between Europe and the Islamic world.

When I am in Greece, I'm going to speak about the vital role Greece is playing and can play in Europe. The world's oldest democracy is a model to the younger democracies of the Balkans, a gateway to their markets, a force for stability in the region. The one thing standing between Greece and its true potential is the tension in its relationship with Turkey.

Greece and Turkey, ironically, are both our NATO allies, and each other's NATO allies. They have served together with distinction in the Balkans. Their people helped each other with great humanity when the terrible earthquakes struck both lands earlier this year. This is a problem that can be solved. Eventually, it will be solved. And I intend to see that the United States does everything we possibly can to be of help. When I go to Turkey, I will point out that much of the history of the 20th century, for better or worse, was shaped by the way the old Ottoman Empire collapsed before and after World War I, and the decisions that the European powers made in the aftermath.

I believe the coming century will be shaped in good measure by the way in which Turkey, itself, defines its future and its role today and tomorrow. For Turkey is a country at the crossroads of Europe, the Middle East and Central Asia; the future can be shaped for the better if Turkey can become fully a part of Europe, as a stable, democratic, secular, Islamic nation.

This, too, can happen if there is progress in overcoming differences with Greece -- especially over Cypress; if Turkey continues to strengthen respect for human rights; and if there is a real vision on

the part of our European allies, who must be willing to reach out and to believe that it is at Turkey where Europe and the Muslim world can meet in peace and harmony, to give us a chance to have the future of our dreams in that part of the world in the new millennium.

Now, the last challenge is one we can only meet here at home. We have to decide, quite simply, to maintain the tradition of American leadership and engagement in the world that played such a critical role in winning the Cold War and in helping us to win the peace over this last decade.

Think about it -- we spent trillions of dollars in the Cold War to defeat a single threat to our way of life. Now, we are at the height of our power and prosperity. Let me just ask you to focus on this and measure where we are as against what has been happening in the debate about maintaining our leadership. We have the lowest unemployment rate in this country in 30 years, the lowest welfare rolls in 30 years, the lowest crime rates in 30 years, the lowest poverty rates in 20 years, the first back to back budget surpluses in 42 years, and the smallest federal government in 37 years. In my lifetime, we have never had -- ever -- as a people, the opportunity we now have to build the future of our dreams for our children.

In the early 1960s, we had an economy that closely approximated this, but we had to deal with the challenge of civil rights at home and also from the Vietnam War abroad. Today, we are not burdened by crisis at home or crisis abroad, and the world is out there, looking to see what we are going to do with the blessings God has bestowed upon us at this moment in time.

Everything else I said will either happen or not happen without American involvement unless we make up our minds that we are going to stay with the approach to the world that has brought us to this happy point in human history. That is the most important decision of all.

Now, what are we doing? Well, first, our military budget is growing again to meet new demands. That has to happen. But I want to point out to all of you, it is still, in real terms, \$110 billion less than it was when the Berlin Wall fell. Everyone agrees that most of that money should be reinvested here at home. But don't you think just a small part of the peace dividend should be invested in maintaining the peace we secured and meeting the unmet challenges of the 21st century?

Look at all the money we spent at such great cost over the last 50 years. The amazing fact is we are not spending a penny more today to advance our interest in the spread of peace, democracy and free markets than we did during the 1980s. Indeed, we are spending \$4 billion less each year.

I think it's worth devoting some small fraction of this nation's great wealth and power to help build a Europe where wars don't happen, where our allies can do their share and we help them to do so; to seize this historic opportunity for peace between Arabs and Israelis in the Middle East; to make sure that nuclear weapons from the former Soviet Union don't fall into the wrong hands; to make sure that the nuclear scientists have enough money to live on and to feed their families by doing constructive, positive things so they're not vulnerable to the entreaties of the remaining forces of destruction in the world; to relieve the debts of the most impoverished countries on Earth, so they can grow their economies, build their democracies and be good, positive partners with us in the new century; and to meet our obligations to and through the United Nations, so that we can share the burden of leadership with others, when it obviously has such good

results.

I think most Americans agree with this. But some disagree -- and it appears they are disproportionately represented in the deciding body. Some believe America can and should go it alone, either withdrawing from the world and relying primarily on our military strength, or by seeking to impose our will when things are happening that don't suit us.

Well, I have taken the stand for a different sort of approach -- for a foreign affairs budget that will permit us to advance our most critical priorities around the world. That's why I vetoed the first bill that reached my desk; why I'm pleased that Democrats and Republicans in Congress worked together last week on a strong compromise that meets many of our goals. But we're not finished yet. We still must work to get funding for our United Nations obligations and authorization to allow the use of IMF resources for debt relief.

This is a big issue. It has captured public attention as never before. I mean, just think about it: This issue for debt relief for the millennium is being headlined by the Pope and Bono, the lead singer for U2. (Laughter.) That is very broad base of support for this initiative. (Laughter.) Most of the rest of us can be found somewhere in between our pole-star leaders there.

But it's not just a political issue. It is the smart thing to do. If you go to Africa, you see what competent countries can do to get the AIDS rate down, to build democratic structures, to build successful economies and growth. But we have to give them a chance. And the same is true in Latin America, in the Caribbean, in other places. This is a big issue.

I hope the bipartisan agreement we reached over the weekend on the foreign affairs budget is a good sign that we are now moving to reestablish and preserve the bipartisan center that believes in America's role in the new post-Cold War world.

In the coming year, we have an ambitious agenda that also deserves bipartisan support. We have about 100 days to meet the ambitious timetable the leaders of the Middle East have set for themselves to achieve a framework agreement. We have to secure the peace in the Balkans. We have to ease tensions between India and Pakistan. We have to help Russia to stabilize its economy, resolve the conflict in Chechnya, and cheer them on as they have their first democratic transfer of power, ever.

We have to bring China into the World Trade Organization, while continuing to speak plainly about human rights and religious freedom. We have to launch a new global trade round in African and Caribbean trade bills, press ahead with debt relief, support the hopeful transitions to democracy in Nigeria and Indonesia, help Colombia defeat the narco traffickers, contain Iraq and restrain North Korea's missile program. We have to continue to do more to fight terrorism around the world. And we must do what is necessary -- and for the young people here, I predict for 20 years this will become a national security issue -- we have to do more to reverse the very real phenomenon of global warming and climate change.

To meet those challenges and more, we simply must hold on to the qualities that sustained us throughout the long Cold War; the wisdom to see that America benefits when the rest of the world is moving toward freedom and prosperity; to recognize that if we wait until problems come home to America before we act, they will come home to America.

We need the determination to stand up to the enemies of peace

-- whether tyrants like Milosevic or terrorists like those who attacked our embassies in Africa. We need faith in our own capacity to do what is right, even when it's hard -- whether that means building peace in the Middle East or democracy in Russia or a constructive partnership with China. We need the patience to stick with those efforts for as long as it takes, and the resources to see them through.

And, most of all, we need to maintain the will to lead; to provide the kind of American leadership that for 50 years has brought friends and allies to our side, while moving mountains around the world.

Years from now, I want people to say those were the qualities of this generation of Americans. I want them to say that when the Cold War ended, we refused to settle for the easy satisfaction of victory, to walk home and let our European friends go it alone. We did not allow the larger prize of a safer, better world to slip through our fingers.

We stood and supported the Germans as they bravely reunified, and supported the Europeans as they built a true union and expanded it. We stood against ethnic slaughter and ethnic cleansing. We stood for the right kind of partnership with Russia. We acted to try to help Christian and Jewish and Muslim people reconcile themselves in the Middle East, and in the bridge represented by Turkey's outreach to Europe. I want them to say that America followed through, so that we would not have to fight again.

A few months ago, my family and I went to a refugee camp full of children from Kosovo. They were chanting their appreciation to the United States, thanking America for giving them a chance to reclaim their lives. It was an incredibly moving event, with children who have been traumatized far beyond their ability even to understand what has happened to them, but who know they have been given a chance to go home now.

Years from now, I believe the young people in this audience will have a chance to go to Europe time and time again, and you will, doubtless, meet some of those children. Or, maybe some of the young people who actually tore down the Berlin Wall, or marched in the Velvet Revolution. They will be older then. I hope they will say, when I was young I sang America's praises with my voice, but I still carry them in my heart. I think that will be true if America stays true. That is what we ought to resolve to do on the anniversary of this marvelous triumph of freedom.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END 4:02 P.M. EST



**The United States Mission
to the European Union**
Brussels, Belgium

Senior Level Group Report to the EU-U.S. Summit

Washington, D.C., December 17, 1999

Since our last Summit in June, we have continued during the Finnish Presidency to work closely together within the framework of the New Transatlantic Agenda. There will be new opportunities for cooperation between the United States and the European Union, particularly in the light of developments in the EU, such as the strengthening of Common Foreign and Security Policy structures, including the appointment of a High Representative and the forming of European Security and Defense Policy, and EU enlargement. Looking to the new Millennium, the U.S. and the EU remain committed to the promotion of democracy, sustainable growth and a high quality of life across the globe. We will work to ensure that our efforts contribute to these ends in the spirit of our Bonn Declaration.

We have consulted closely on further steps to implement the principles and mechanisms for early warning and problem prevention adopted at the U.S.-EU Summit in Bonn in order to prevent conflicts and facilitate resolution of problems before they risk undermining our broader relationship. We remain committed to continued close consultations on the various understandings and agreements reached at the May 18, 1998 London Summit. The implementation of all aspects of these remains for both of us a high priority. We have strengthened cooperation on non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction with a focus on specific proliferation problems in South Asia, Eastern Europe and Central Asia, the Gulf, and the Korean Peninsula. We have also maintained dialogue and cooperation on a range of counterterrorism issues, including on threats to the Middle East Peace Process and on the Taliban.

Major Achievements

The U.S. and EU have worked, in close cooperation with our partners, to develop a shared strategy for the stability and growth of Southeastern Europe, a major challenge for the international community. We continued our cooperation in Kosovo. We have launched the Stability Pact for Southeastern Europe as an important framework for facilitating reconciliation and regional cooperation, as well as the integration of the countries of the region into European and transatlantic structures. By implementing the Stability Pact, we are promoting peace, prosperity and democracy throughout the region. Investment and trade play an important part, as does the fight against corruption. We have agreed with our Stability Pact partners and with countries outside the region to a series of measures to which all the countries of the region will be invited to sign on. We have also worked to promote democracy in Serbia. We are working to give a response to Montenegro's urgent need for technical and financial assistance to stabilize its economy.

The U.S. and EU have maintained and will intensify close contacts on matters related to security and defense. In so doing, we will build on the substantial and constructive

accomplishments registered at the Helsinki European Council and the December NAC Ministerial which include putting in place arrangements to ensure the fullest possible involvement of non-EU European NATO members. As the EU is developing its institutions to implement its common security and defense policy, we agree on the importance of developing modalities for full consultation, cooperation and transparency between the EU and NATO.

Under the Transatlantic Economic Partnership, agreement has been reached to open negotiations on an MRA on marine safety equipment and on the first services MRAs on insurance, architecture and engineering services. We successfully launched the first phase of the TEP biotechnology pilot project. We have signed a Veterinary Equivalence Agreement.

In separate statements to be issued on the occasion of the Summit, we underscore our deep concern about the situation in Chechnya; we also emphasize our firm commitment to addressing the problems and needs in Southeastern Europe; we identify areas where we can deepen cooperation on Northern Europe; and we set out our common principles and an action plan to address the global problem of the destabilizing accumulation and the spread of small arms and light weapons. We also signal our continued commitment to the multilateral trading system and the WTO.

Future Priorities:

At the top of our diplomatic agenda will be cooperation on Southeastern Europe, including implementation of the Stability Pact; on Russia and other States in Eastern Europe and Central Asia; and in support of the Middle East Peace Process. We will explore complementarity between our policies in the Mediterranean Basin. We will continue together to promote peace and stability, democracy and respect for human rights throughout the World, in particular in Africa. We will work to put into effect our joint statements on small arms and on Northern Europe. The U.S. and the EU will continue to work together to construct a strong and enduring approach to European security. We will continue our enhanced cooperation on non-proliferation, counterterrorism and the fight against organized crime. We will amplify informal consultations between our experts, within the NTA framework, on Justice and Home Affairs, as the EU implements its new competences in the area.

We will continue to work towards the launch of a new WTO Round. We will make additional efforts to achieve further results before the next summit on the implementation of the TEP Action Plan and, in particular, we expect to be able to announce agreement on guidelines/principles for effective regulatory cooperation and more transparent regulatory procedures by mid-2000. Resolving our outstanding bilateral disputes remains a high priority. We have decided to take new steps to address the full range of issues of concern in biotechnology both through reinforced high-level dialogue between administrations within the NTA framework and with input from civil society. We will now proceed to establish the modalities of this enhanced dialogue.

The following Appendix outlines in more detail our achievements over the past six months and key priorities for the next six months.

Appendix

Current Achievements

Through the implementation of the early warning and problem prevention principles and mechanisms, we have become more attuned to each other's concerns, political or trade related. Under the early warning mechanism, the U.S. and the EU have discussed such diverse issues as human rights in Sudan, visa policy under the Schengen Agreement, Harbor Service User Fees, the Electrical and Electronic Waste Directive, Low Frequency Emissions, the Iran non-proliferation Bill, steel wire rods and market access for satellites. The Transatlantic Business, Consumer, Environment and Labor Dialogues have been encouraged to take up the

invitation to contribute to identifying early warning issues and to offer options for their resolution. We welcome the steps the the Transatlantic Business Dialogue (TABD) has already taken to respond to this. The Legislative Dialogue has an important role to play in the process.

We continued our cooperation in Kosovo to implement UN Security Council Resolution 1244 in all its aspects, particularly regarding interim civil administration, humanitarian affairs, institution building and reconstruction. We worked with each other and the countries of the region, particularly our Bosnian hosts, to stage a successful July Summit in Sarajevo to launch the Stability Pact for Southeastern Europe. In the few short months since Sarajevo, the U.S. and the EU have worked closely with their Stability Pact partners to register a considerable package of achievements, including a regional Anti-Corruption Initiative, a regional Investment Compact, efforts to fight organized crime through the Bucharest Anticrime Center, promotion of independent media in the region, and a donor review process to identify regional priorities that would merit funding. We cooperated closely on the donor coordination process chaired by the European Commission and the World Bank, and agreed on holding a regional funding conference under the auspices of the High Level Steering Group in the first quarter of 2000. Recognizing that a democratic Serbia that respects human rights and enjoys friendly relations with its neighbors is essential to the stability of the region, the U.S. and the EU have also launched a trilateral dialogue with Yugoslav democratic forces to promote democracy in Serbia and to plan for the eventual integration of a democratic Serbia into the Stability Pact.

We increased our dialogue and cooperation on non-proliferation issues with Russia, focusing our efforts on cooperative threat reduction and other security activities, in light of the increased proliferation risks from economic turmoil. In particular, we have worked cooperatively to develop complementarity among different multilateral responses to the situation, including those proposed by the EU and by the U.S.-proposed Expanded Threat Reduction Initiative. We have identified new areas for future U.S.-EU cooperation in and with Russia and intensified our efforts on existing ones. Problems of the health (tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS) situation in Russia were one of the priorities. We have consulted closely on the issue of food aid and the need to address agricultural reform.

We have continued to encourage economic as well as political reforms in Ukraine. In the run-up to the October 31 presidential election and beyond, we continued our close political cooperation and made progress on the implementation of the other initiatives set out in our June 1999 summit statement. These include, in particular, energy sector reform, public health (\$2 million each from the U.S. and the EU to fund a HIV program in Ukraine), the retention of an OSCE presence in Kiev, and our ongoing public diplomacy efforts at developing civil society. An agreement establishing the Kiev Regional Environmental Center, a joint U.S.-EU initiative, has been signed. We have worked together to support power sector reforms and additional funding for the Chernobyl sarcophagus in line with our commitments under the G7/Ukraine Memorandum of Understanding on closing Chernobyl by 2000. In Belarus, we have cooperated in urging the Government to make progress in human rights and the restoration of democracy and have supported fully the activities of the OSCE Advisory and Monitoring Group and its efforts to initiate and advance government-opposition dialogue.

Our concerted efforts, including through our Special Envoys for the Middle East Peace Process, contributed to the conclusion of the Sharm el Sheikh Memorandum, notably with our parallel letter of guarantees to the Palestinian Authority. We have worked for its timely implementation, the resumption of the Syrian and Lebanese tracks, as well as the early relaunch of the Multilateral track. In parallel, we have contributed, as appropriate, to the successful conclusion of the negotiations on permanent status within the agreed deadline.

Our Special Envoys have continued to cooperate on the Cyprus problem. We have made parallel efforts to alleviate the human suffering and help reconstruction of the worst affected areas in Turkey after the earthquakes in August and November. We joined forces in the humanitarian crises in Kosovo and East Timor. We supported the UN-organized consultation on autonomy, allowing for the free expression of the East Timorese people on their future.

Deeply concerned by the violence that erupted, we took part in the international effort to restore law and order (INTERFET) and for the gradual resettlement of displaced persons. We both substantially contributed to UNTAET.

We have consulted each other on the events in Pakistan, and we expressed our concern with regard to the new military regime, calling for an early return to democracy and stressing our shared concern for regional stability. We have collaborated to enforce the UN sanctions regime against UNITA in order to help restore peace in Angola.

We have continued our dialogue on important human rights issues in countries, such as Burma, China, Cuba, Iran and Sudan. We have frankly disagreed on several issues including the use of the death penalty, the best approach to dealing with countries where slavery is practiced and on some issues related to the treatment of religious minorities. We have worked closely together in the UN on Libya.

We have consulted on non-proliferation and other issues related to the Korean peninsula. We have each reviewed and updated our existing policies for promoting peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula to take account of developments. We have each shown our commitment to working with our regional partners on these issues, including by support for the engagement policy of the Republic of Korea. We both have actively supported the Korean Energy Development Organization (KEDO) in implementation of the light-water reactor project and in provision of heavy fuel oil to the DPRK pending completion of the first of the two reactors. We welcomed the commitment by DPRK to freeze test-launches of missiles, while U.S.-DPRK talks continue, as a positive initial step towards meeting international concerns in this field. We have also provided significant food aid and other assistance to the DPRK. The U.S. is embarked on a process aimed at improving relations with the DPRK. The EU has continued to pursue its political dialogue with the DPRK.

We enhanced our efforts to promote adherence to international non-proliferation instruments, notably in the EU's bilateral dialogue with Iran, as well as in our contacts with India and Pakistan. We also continued raising the issue of transfers to countries of concern with Russia. On counterterrorism, we have continued to maintain our extensive cooperation. We have underlined that suppression of financing of terrorism is one of the key areas where reinforced cooperation is needed. We have also worked together extensively on the development of the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Fundraising. We have given mutual support to Security Council Resolution 1267 and its implementation and urged the Taliban to comply promptly with it. We have expressed our concern over the possible terrorist acts, which could hinder the Middle East Peace Process and called for an end to such acts or any support for them. We have agreed to cooperate, as appropriate, concerning counterterrorism assistance to the Palestinian Authority.

The OSCE Review Conference, preparatory meeting and the Istanbul Summit were significant areas for U.S.-EU coordination and cooperation. We shared and worked towards common goals regarding the OSCE comprehensive concept of security and the need for better tools such as civilian reaction teams (REACT), which will enable the OSCE to take rapid measures to address issues of conflict prevention, conflict management and post-conflict rehabilitation. Two joint proposals on corruption and the economic dimension of the OSCE were incorporated into the Summit Declaration. We have continued to support the valuable work done by UN and the numerous UN agencies. We have consulted each other on the reform and financing of the UN.

We continued our important dialogue on the fight against organized crime. We held a conference focusing on Combating Child Pornography on the Internet in Vienna, September 29 - October 1, to reinforce cooperation between law enforcement and judiciary, to encourage Internet service providers to establish self-regulatory mechanisms; and to encourage the establishment of hotlines to enhance public involvement in countering child pornography on the Internet. We launched parallel information campaigns in Hungary and Bulgaria to help

prevent women falling victim to traffickers. The EU has informed the U.S. of the Action Plans for third countries of the EU High Level Working Group on Asylum and Migration. We have also discussed new ways of cooperating in the area of Justice and Home affairs to the benefit of citizens on both sides of the Atlantic. We have collaborated in different counter-narcotics initiatives; e.g. we undertook a joint U.S.-EU counter-narcotics assessment mission to Nigeria.

The charter for the new Regional Environmental Center (REC) for the Caucasus region was signed in September.

We have made further progress in our trade and economic relations. Our competition authorities have agreed to establish a working group to review cooperation procedures in the field of global mergers. The EC has signed the UN/ECE WP 29 Parallel Agreement on global regulations for wheeled vehicles' equipment and parts. We concluded a Statement of Cooperation, the purpose of which is to establish a framework for the exchange of supervisory information regarding banks and banking organizations that have establishments in both the U.S. and the EU. Implementation is now proceeding at the technical level, involving our banking supervisory authorities. On data privacy, we have made substantial progress towards establishing a "safe harbor" arrangement that will ensure high standards of privacy and maintain personal data flows across the Atlantic.

The U.S.-EU Working Group on Employment conducted two seminars; the first focused on the social dimension of Economic Integration and the second on Entrepreneurship.

We have continued to pursue actively our cooperation in a number of areas under the 1998 Science and Technology Agreement: follow-up of the New Vistas II Conference in June 1999, in Stuttgart; implementing arrangement on metrology research signed on October 5, 1999; implementing arrangement on materials research finalized and expected to be signed before the end of the year; and preparation of an implementing arrangement on non-nuclear energy research.

We have agreed on principles for government relations with people-to-people dialogues under the New Transatlantic Agenda. These key principles - transparency, access, equivalence, interaction, government support - will ensure a fair and equal approach to the handling of the dialogues. We participated actively in the annual meeting of the Transatlantic Business Dialogue in Berlin on October 29-30 and in the second meeting of the Transatlantic Environmental Dialogue in Washington on October 13-15. We reaffirmed our commitment to give careful consideration to the recommendations of the transatlantic dialogues and stressed the value which their contributions could make to our early warning effort.

Other Future Priorities

The U.S. and the EU will continue to develop the Early Warning principles and mechanisms announced at the June 21 **Bonn Summit**, so that they may constitute an effective means for preventing and resolving problems which threaten to damage relations between the U.S. and the EU. In order better to facilitate the process of early warning of potential bilateral trade problems, we will develop improved means for communicating within our respective governments. Both sides are now working to ensure follow-up on the early warning consultations already held, in terms of designating contact points at a technical level to carry the process further and on reporting back within a given time frame and elaborating options for solution.

We will implement the key priorities identified in our Summit Statement on Southeastern Europe. In addition, we will work with the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to accelerate progress on important economic structural reforms and to reinforce the improvements on inter-ethnic relations. We will continue to cooperate on developing the border crossing point of Blace to improve the flow of critical supplies into Kosovo. To continue promoting political and economic stability in Albania, we will work to strengthen the

Friends of Albania. process both internationally and in Tirana.

We will provide assistance to and coordinate with the OSCE in providing, at Russia's invitation, international monitors for the upcoming State Duma and Presidential elections. We will build on our cooperation on nonproliferation activities and seek to strengthen our efforts in this field, including resources to address high priority concerns. We will continue to exchange information with regard to assessing the need for food aid, taking into account the possible political implications and the potential impact of such aid on agro-industry in Russia and the neighboring countries, and on the need to address agricultural reform. Special attention will be paid to the prevention and tackling of organized crime in Russia. We are assessing possible cooperation on public health and, in particular, on communicable diseases.

In Ukraine, we will cooperate closely with the President and the Ukrainian government to strengthen political, economic and democratic reform. Bilaterally, we will work to make further progress on our joint initiatives. In the first half of 2000, we will devote particular attention to the implementation of the G7/Ukraine Memorandum of Understanding on the closing of Chernobyl by 2000. We will work together to conclude the decision-making process on loan financing for K2/R4, to support energy sector reform and to make serious progress on the Chernobyl sarcophagus. In Belarus, we will continue to work to support the OSCE-sponsored opposition-government dialogue on establishing a framework for free and fair parliamentary elections in 2000, respect for human rights and the restoration of democracy.

Promoting peace, stability and development in the Mediterranean region is a key priority for the transatlantic dialogue. We will work closely together during proximity talks under the auspices of the Secretary General of the United Nations and will continue to support all efforts to prepare the ground for meaningful negotiations leading to a comprehensive settlement on Cyprus on the basis of the relevant UN Security Council Resolutions. We will keep in close consultation regarding the key role Turkey could play in the whole area. While the EU is promoting, during the next months, a series of initiatives on its relations with the southern Mediterranean, the U.S. and EU will continue close consultations, including through our Special Envoys, on the Middle East Peace Process, focusing on encouraging final status negotiations and on supporting both parties throughout the negotiations, as appropriate. We will continue to support and to consult on the Syrian and Lebanese Tracks. We restate our joint commitment to build a consensus among concerned parties in order to convene as soon as possible a meeting of the Multilateral Track Steering Group. We will further bring substantial economic and technical assistance to the Palestinian Authority, and expect progress in the implementation of the revised Tripartite Action Plan.

To promote peace and stability, democracy and development in the world, we will continue to seek ways to develop our cooperation, i.a. exploring the possibilities for working together to alleviate the problems stemming from civil wars in Africa and other continents. Our Special Envoys in Africa will continue to work closely together. We are committed to assisting further the reconstruction of East Timor and to supporting a peaceful transition towards independence, the development of the rule of law and democratic society. We will support the Indonesian Government in its democratization process. The U.S. and the EU will also closely monitor developments in Pakistan.

With regard to the destabilizing accumulation of small arms beyond those required for legitimate security needs, we will continue to promote preventive and reactive measures, e.g. supporting the destruction of surplus weapons and post-conflict projects to disarm, demobilize and reintegrate ex-combatants. Within the framework of the statement adopted today, we will pursue further opportunities for cooperation. The U.S. and EU are ready to provide the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Secretariat with expert assistance for the effective implementation of the ECOWAS moratorium on export, import and manufacture of light weapons.

We will continue to consult closely with each other, the UN, relevant regional organizations

and other countries, as we seek to promote human rights, including through our respective dialogues with countries of concern.

We will continue consultations on the reform of the UN and on seeking a solution to the problem of UN finances, including full and timely payment of obligations and development of a more equitable assessment scale.

We will continue to advocate adherence to international non-proliferation instruments and their effective implementation. Despite delays that will affect the entry into force of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), we will each pursue further our efforts to convince India and Pakistan to sign and ratify the CTBT, as part of a wider effort to maintain regional peace and stability. The EU will continue to raise non-proliferation issues with Iran, in the framework of its comprehensive dialogue. Building on our respective efforts, we will continue to promote peace and stability in the Korean Peninsula, and encourage further dialogue with concerned states in the region. We will keep on pressing DPRK to commit itself to concrete and lasting results in the field of non-proliferation, both on the peninsula as well as globally. We reaffirm our shared commitment to KEDO and look forward to further progress in implementing the light-water reactor project.

The U.S. and the EU will seek to strengthen their cooperation and look for new opportunities to enhance transatlantic counterterrorism efforts. We will expand our cooperation in effectively suppressing financing of terrorism. We will continue to express our deep concern over possible terrorist acts aimed at hindering the Middle East Peace Process, and raise our concerns with those who support these acts. We will look into enhancing our cooperation on the issue of counterterrorism assistance to the Palestinian Authority. We will also continue to work together to achieve full, effective and speedy implementation of Security Council Resolution 1267.

The U.S. and the EU have been discussing the Information Society. We note from our experience that countries need to develop efficient communication and information infrastructure based on a market economy and a functioning democracy to realize fully the benefits of the Information Society. The U.S. and EU will work together towards a global information society that contributes to democracy, sustainable growth and quality of life. Given the importance of this subject, the EU will hold a Conference at ministerial level in Lisbon on "The Information Society and Knowledge", to which representatives of the civil society, policy makers and enterprises interested and active in this field will be invited, including experts from the U.S.

We anticipate increasing U.S.-EU cooperation in justice and home affairs, including in the fight against organized crime, such as money laundering, corruption, illegal drugs, child pornography on the Internet and trafficking in women and children, together with the necessary cooperation between law-enforcement bodies, including EUROPOL. We will identify new countries for joint cooperation on information campaigns on trafficking in women in 2000. We will continue or extend our cooperation to combat illegal drugs in the Caribbean, the Andean Region of South America, Southern Africa and Central Asia. Building on the August Mission to Nigeria, we will cooperate on counter-narcotics assistance to this key African country and assess whether this approach could be extended to other countries. We will work together in developing the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) in accordance with the Sydney Communiqué.

Building on the useful work undertaken at the fifth Conference of the Parties in Bonn in November, we shall continue to work closely on substantive progress towards implementation of the Kyoto Protocol on climate change ahead of the sixth Conference of the Parties meeting in November 2000. We will pay particular attention to Kyoto mechanisms, compliance and to Convention issues of importance to developing countries, including technology transfer.

We will cooperate closely in the run-up to the January 2000 extraordinary meeting in

Montreal, with a view to achieving an effective Biosafety Protocol.

We will continue to seek to implement the recommendations of our May 1999 High Level Assistance consultations, especially in the areas of humanitarian assistance with focus on Kosovo. We will also concentrate on food security, drugs, health, including reproductive health and infectious diseases, climate change, conflict prevention and peace-building. We will work towards a positive outcome of the next High Level meeting, which is scheduled to take place in the first half of 2000.

Both sides will work towards a positive outcome to the Intergovernmental Forum on Forests and at the VIII Session of the Commission on Sustainable Development. The development of agreed new noise standards for aircraft is a high priority for both of us. ICAO remains our preferred forum for achieving this. We will work to ensure that the RECs in Moscow and Kiev are opened soon and seek to agree on new RECs in Central Asia. We aim to finalize the future work plan of the U.S.-EU Task Force on Communicable Diseases at its next meeting in mid-2000.

We expect to conclude our discussions on data protection before the end of March, so that a package can be submitted for approval under the appropriate procedures shortly thereafter. We will hold the first meeting of the Joint Management Committee on the implementation of the Veterinary Equivalence Agreement in the first half of 2000. This meeting will address outstanding issues, including equivalency talks on residues. We will work to reach an agreement on interoperability between Galileo and GPS. We will pursue our negotiations on an agreement on wine.

We will step up our collaboration in all areas of mutual interest, building i.a. on the conclusions of the New Vistas in Transatlantic Science and Technology Cooperation Conferences of June 1998 and June 1999. In this context, the U.S. will be invited by the EU to participate in a meeting in the Azores in the first half of 2000.

The U.S. and EU will continue to support the development of dialogue between civil society on both sides, in particular on social, environment and consumer issues, given that their involvement is increasingly important in the formulation of policy decisions. We look forward to participating in the next meeting of the Transatlantic Consumer Dialogue in February, the next Transatlantic Environment Dialogue plenary in the spring and the mid-year meeting of the Transatlantic Business Dialogue. We will begin to prepare for the negotiation of the extension of the cooperation agreement on higher education and vocational training. We will support the further development of the Transatlantic Legislators Dialogue between Members of the European Parliament and Members of the U.S. Congress.

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RECORD ID: 0003275
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SUMMIT

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: BRIEFING MATERIAL FOR PRES PARTICIPATION IN LISBON EU SUMMIT ON
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ACTION: ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION

DUE DATE: 18 MAY 00 STATUS: S

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MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT A. BRADTKE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Subject: Briefing Material for the President's
Participation in the Lisbon EU Summit,
May 30 - June 1, 2000

Attached is briefing material and diskettes for use by
the President during his participation in the Lisbon EU
Summit, May 30 - June 1, 2000.

Stephens M. Mull for
Kristie A. Kenney
Executive Secretary

Attachments:
Briefing Material
Diskettes (2)

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E.O. 13526
Department of State Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By JM NARA, Date 3/29/11
2008-0702-F

Briefing Material

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LEVEL 1 - 9 OF 178 STORIES

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Financial Times (London)

March 20, 2000, Monday London Edition 2

SECTION: COMMENT & ANALYSIS; Pg. 23

LENGTH: 1095 words

HEADLINE: COMMENT & ANALYSIS: Europe plays catch-up on new economy: This week's EU summit aims to combat social exclusion and boost competitiveness, says Peter Norman:

BYLINE: By PETER NORMAN and PETER WISE

BODY:

It has been dubbed the dotcom summit. Its aim is to put the European Union's 15m un-employed back to work.

Meeting in Lisbon on Thursday and Friday, EU leaders want to make Europe the world's most competitive economic area in 2010 by embracing the knowledge-based economy.

It is a tall order. In a pre-summit analysis, the European Commission says Europe has been lagging behind for years. Growth rates "have consistently been less than the US, unemployment remains unacceptably high and too many people are excluded from society".

The EU faces stark choices. The Commission calculates the overall costs of social exclusion through underemployment, poverty, ill-health and crime could be Euros 1,000bn-Euros 2,000bn (Pounds 612bn-Pounds 1224bn) a year, or between an eighth and a fifth of EU gross domestic product.

The prize, if the EU can raise its average employment rate from today's 61 per cent of all adults to a US-level 70 per cent, is glittering. An additional 30m people - double the number presently unemployed - would be in work, easing many of Europe's problems, including its financially troubled social welfare and pension systems.

There are real hopes the EU can seize the opportunity to reverse its relative decline. "The Lisbon European Council provides a unique opportunity for the Union to shape its long-term goals - to identify priorities, to establish targets and monitoring mechanisms and to define who does what," the Commission says.

The economic background is favourable. EU growth is forecast at 3 per cent for this year and next. The euro has successfully bedded down since its January 1999 launch. Public finances are healthy. Inflation, in spite of higher oil prices, is not seen as a long-term problem.

But Europe can no longer rely on a traditional recovery to solve its problems. Last week's decision by the German carmaker BMW to dispose of Rover,



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Financial Times (London) March 20, 2000, Monday

its loss-making subsidiary, was just the latest example of large-scale restructuring with job losses in an established industry. To compensate, the EU must catch up with the US in developing and harnessing the new economy and encouraging entrepreneurs.

No one can doubt the dedication of **Antonio Guterres**, the Portuguese prime minister and summit host, to making Lisbon a success. He and his officials have ploughed through 40,000 pages of documents to prepare for the meeting.

Some ideas could foster rapid change. The Commission and the British and Spanish governments have submitted draft action plans setting dates for spreading internet use to all levels of society, encouraging small businesses and dismantling remaining barriers to the single market in areas such as finance, telecommunications, aviation and energy.

Unfortunately for Mr **Guterres**, financial markets do not share this enthusiasm. The euro has continued to languish below parity with the dollar, immune to promises of sustained EU growth based on economic reforms in member states.

The scepticism is easy to understand. Markets have heard such promises before, only to be disappointed.

A Commission report last week recorded little progress in promoting innovation, providing venture capital, cutting red tape for new businesses and making taxes more conducive to employment. EU countries had done little to reform benefit systems or open up public procurement procedures.

While Mr **Guterres** says that EU leaders understand the need to embrace the "e-economy", difficulties could arise when they look at detailed proposals.

The dispute between Britain and its EU partners over plans for a withholding tax on non-resident savings shows how views can differ. While Britain regards the tax as a job killer threatening London's thriving international bond market, others led by France and Germany say it is essential to completing the internal market.

On social and labour policies, there are clear differences between France, which has introduced the 35-hour week to boost employment, and Britain where Tony Blair, the prime minister, lays greatest stress on encouraging employability. In Belgium recently, Mr Blair spoke of reforming welfare systems "so they become springboards for employment rather than simply safety nets".

On the other hand, there are some reasons to hope the summit will produce more than rhetoric.

The speed of change in the new economy should concentrate minds. "If we don't do something about the internet and e-commerce soon, in two years we will have lost the game," says one official.

Although most EU states have left-of-centre governments, the summit's decisions are likely to respect market forces. The leaders will look at benchmarking, peer group pressure and sharing best practice - rather than regulation - to push Europe forward.



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Financial Times (London) March 20, 2000, Monday

Britain has suggested 16 measures with deadlines between the end of this year and 2005 for spreading the internet economy and encouraging business start-ups. Spain has identified four steps to jump-start the EU's strategy within a year, including eliminating all barriers to e-commerce and creating a European charter for small and medium-sized enterprises to allow them to operate easily across borders. Madrid has also proposed 13 measures to complete the single market and develop the information society by 2004.

Policing such policies will be a job for the Commission as well as member states. Fortunately for those who fear excessive regulation, the Commissioners responsible for the economy, single market and competition - Pedro Solbes, Frits Bolkestein and Mario Monti - are market liberals rather than interventionists.

Mr **Guterres** also believes there is no shortage of ideas in the EU. "I believe that, if all the European countries copied the best practice already available in each member state, we would probably be much better off than the US," he says.

Whether the Lisbon summit provides a signal for sustained economic lift-off will depend on how far EU leaders look beyond the immediate dotcom agenda and agree to liberalise their economies further and modernise the EU's welfare systems. Mr **Guterres** is determined the Lisbon summit should make a difference.

"We would like to decide some concrete measures that can be emblematic, and targets. We don't need to decide everything, but it should be clear . . . that we are serious in our will to promote specific changes.

"The process is not going to be finished in Lisbon. It will start in Lisbon. But what is important is that we take all the decisions that make it irreversible."

Additional reporting by Peter Wise in Lisbon

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: March 20, 2000



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LEVEL 1 - 20 OF 178 STORIES

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Financial Times (London)

February 28, 2000, Monday USA Edition 1

SECTION: WORLD NEWS - EUROPE; Pg. 2

LENGTH: 671 words

HEADLINE: WORLD NEWS - EUROPE: Portuguese presidency works to transform EU goals into policy action: Preparations are speeding up for next month's Lisbon summit. Peter Norman reports:

BYLINE: By PETER NORMAN

BODY:

The European Union's campaign to make its economy the most competitive in the world by 2010 moves up a gear today when **Antonio Guterres**, Portuguese prime minister, embarks on a round of visits to EU capitals to prepare next month's special summit in Lisbon.

Mr **Guterres**, for whom the summit marks the high point of Portugal's six-month EU presidency, says there is already "a strategic consensus" among member states about how to turn its wide ranging goals into policy action.

The EU's 15 leaders will meet on March 23-24 under a less than catchy slogan that reads: "Employment, economic reforms and social cohesion - towards a Europe based on innovation and knowledge".

To outsiders the words might look like a classic case of "euro-fudge" that attempts to embrace widely different views on economic and social policies in EU member states.

But Mr **Guterres** insists the Lisbon summit will launch a "clear strategy" for improved European growth, competitiveness and employment. Europe's present leadership, he believes, accepts the idea of "a new paradigm" in which innovation and knowledge will be the main source of wealth for nations, regions, businesses and individuals.

Preparations for the summit are under way at two levels. There have been high-level contacts among EU leaders - such as the meeting last week between Tony Blair, the UK prime minister, and Guy Verhofstadt, his Belgian counterpart, which produced some common ideas on how to strengthen employment, modernise welfare states and encourage job opportunities in small companies.

The summit will aim to define strategic goals and improved methods of implementing policies in three fields: development of the information society; structural reform of Europe's economies and promotion of "social inclusion".

For Mr **Guterres** and his advisers, mastering these issues will be crucial for managing the shift to a knowledge-based society. Conveniently, they are also politically balanced to appeal to the different interests of leaders such as Mr



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Blair, who lays great stress on structural economic reform, and Lionel Jospin, the French prime minister, for whom social issues are a higher priority.

The summit's different themes will require different types of response. The Portuguese EU presidency has so far adopted a cautious approach to what it considers more sensitive social issues, such as population ageing and the consequent adaptation of pay-as-you-go pension systems.

Governments are prepared to debate the issue at European level, officials say. But solutions will have to respect national differences so that any EU initiative is likely to be limited to exchanging information about best practice.

In promoting the information society, the summit will, by contrast, seek to agree concrete targets with deadlines. Lisbon will set EU priorities, which will be translated first into so-called "reference indicators" to allow benchmarking, and implemented through national plans.

An example of this approach is the UK suggestion that access to the internet in the EU should be the fastest and cheapest in the world by 2003.

EU leaders are unlikely to set similar deadlines for cutting unemployment, despite support for this idea in the EU Commission. (A Commission draft has suggested setting a 2005 date for the EU jobless rate to fall to 6 per cent and a 2010 target for full employment).

A more likely approach was outlined in last week's UK-Belgian paper. This would target "key groups - women, the young, single parents, the long term unemployed, over 50s, ethnic minorities, people with disabilities, people with low qualifications - with tailored programmes to reintegrate them into the labour force."

Mr Guterres's visits, starting in Dublin and Athens, will give him a chance to counter objections that the EU should not neglect long unresolved issues such as tax co-ordination.

"I am fighting to make Europe better," he says. "And if we don't have ambitious targets we won't be able to achieve anything."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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LEVEL 1 - 67 OF 178 STORIES

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Financial Times (London)

March 31, 1999, Wednesday SURVEY EDITION 3

SECTION: SURVEY - PORTUGUESE BANKING AND FINANCE; Pg. 01

LENGTH: 1189 words

HEADLINE: Travelling on the euro train to prosperity:
Membership of the EU and, in particular, participation in Emu are
the catalysts that have done most to stimulate Portugal's
economy, writes Peter Wise

BODY:

Electronic doors open automatically for visitors to Sociedade Interbancaria de Servicos (Sibs), the company that runs Portugal's automatic teller machine network, acknowledged as the most advanced in the world. On display inside, prototype ATMs, equipped with full computer keyboards in steel and large colour print-outs, provide services ranging from driving licence applications to internet browsing.

Only a few hundred yards from the group's headquarters, housed in the same gleaming black tower block as the Lisbon stock exchange, a startlingly different aspect of Portugal emerges. In a rundown shanty town, dozens of families, among the poorest in Europe, subsist in shacks roughly nailed together from old planks and rusty sheets of corrugated iron.

The deep gulf between these neighbouring Lisbon districts is a symptom of the rapid transition Portugal is undergoing as strong economic growth brings the country closer to average European living standards. Since 1985, average gross domestic product per capita has grown from just over half to about 70 per cent (about Es2m or euro 10,000) of the European Union average.

Some sectors of the economy are surging rapidly forward, often benefiting - like the ATM network - from a late-starter's advantage in leapfrogging stages of development. Their progress, however, exposes an increasingly stark contrast with more backward areas, including pockets of extreme poverty, an inefficient health system and low educational standards, where Portugal still lags behind most of its European peers.

Vitor Bento, head of the Public Debt Management Institute (IGCP), says these contrasts, which also exist in more developed countries, are a sign of positive change in Portugal, because every section of society cannot advance at the same pace. "Portugal's progress is like a train," he says. "The rear carriages only start moving after the locomotive has set off. But eventually the whole train arrives at the same destination."

Membership of the EU and, in particular, participation in economic and monetary union are the catalysts that have done most to stimulate Portugal's transformation. "Adopting the euro was like putting a lock on the door," says Rui Martins dos Santos, chief economist with Banco Portugues de Investimento.



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"There was a cost involved, but the benefits include smaller insurance premiums - that is, lower interest rates - and, above all, security."

He says the most important security provided by the euro is "protection from speculative raids against our currency. Disciplining the economy to qualify for the euro has already required a long period of exchange-rate stability, involving a substantial overall appreciation of the escudo in real terms and the abolition of the "crawling-peg" and one-off devaluations that had helped to keep industry competitive in the past.

Despite the stronger escudo, exports to the EU, which accounts for more than 80 per cent of Portugal's foreign trade, have been growing faster than the average rate of European economic growth, reflecting a gain in market share for Portuguese products. Manufacturers have been able to compensate for the loss of an exchange-rate advantage by improving productivity, says Mr Bento. Only in this way can Portugal catch up with the rest of the EU.

Portugal, once considered an outside candidate for joining the euro-zone, surprised many by complying so comfortably with the Emu criteria. More genuinely surprising, perhaps, was how painless the process proved. "Portugal was the only country able to reduce its budget deficit to below 3 per cent of gross domestic product (the Maastricht criteria) without reducing current government spending. This was achieved while actually increasing expenditure as a percentage of GDP," says Miguel Beleza, a senior economist with Banco Comercial Portugues.

This was partly because of the sharp fall in interest rates that occurred as Portugal prepared for Emu. It led to big reductions in the cost of servicing the public debt. Lower interest rates are also contributing to strong economic growth, which peaked at about 4 per cent last year. This has helped produce a substantial increase in tax revenue. An extensive privatisation programme has also eased government spending by providing funds for improving the balance sheets of state companies that have not yet been sold.

The EU Commission feels Portugal should now be more aggressive in reducing the public deficit, which the government aims to cut from a projected 2 per cent of GDP this year to 0.8 per cent in 2002. But **Antonio Guterres**, the first prime minister to take office from the new generation of modernising socialists that now dominate EU governments, argues that public spending needs to be relatively expansive if Portugal is to continue catching up with the rest of Europe.

European funds are also playing an important role in the country's modernisation, amounting on average to the equivalent of 3.5 per cent of GDP a year. The negotiations that ended last week with an agreement on Agenda 2000, the EU's plan for reforming spending, were the toughest Portugal had ever faced, said Mr **Guterres**.

He had been prepared to block an agreement unless a formula was found to spare the country sharp cuts in regional aid. Fearing Portugal would be the country hardest hit by EU funding proposals for the period 2000 to 2006, he pressed hard for concessions to soften the impact of proposed reductions.

After scoring what officials described as "a last-minute penalty" in the talks, Mr **Guterres** said Portugal had achieved all its objectives by securing 10.8 per cent of total EU structural funds, up from 10.6 per cent in the



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previous six-year period. Portugal would receive an average of Es650bn a year (euro 3.2bn), up from Es637bn previously, he said.

"European structural funds have been crucial in helping Portugal move closer to average EU levels of productivity and income. But we are still one of the poorest EU countries, facing a significant gap in relation to the European average," said Francisco Seixas da Costa, European affairs secretary in the Socialist government

The government had been prepared to fight because the Agenda 2000 proposals focused more on cutting structural funds, the main source of support for Portugal, than they did on reducing farm aid, from which Portugal derives almost no benefit.

According to the Centre for European Policy Studies, although Portuguese farmers are the poorest in the EU, they benefit the least from the Common Agricultural Policy. This is because CAP funds are channelled mainly to meat, dairy and cereal production, which are not prominent in Portugal. Other EU farmers are on average six times better off than their Portuguese counterparts, the Centre says.

"The modernisation of Portugal is to the advantage of the whole of Europe," says Mr Bento. "Germany, for example, is our biggest supplier. German and other European companies benefit directly as Portugal becomes more prosperous and spends more. European structural funds should be seen as an investment not a hand-out."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: March 31, 1999



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LEVEL 1 - 4 OF 178 STORIES

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Financial Times (London)

April 10, 2000, Monday Europe Edition 1

SECTION: OBSERVER; Pg. 19

LENGTH: 186 words

HEADLINE: OBSERVER: Go home OBSERVER COLUMN

BODY:

Go home

Poor old **Antonio Guterres** may feel he's suffering from a touch of the Mikhail Gorbachevs. For just as the one-time Soviet leader was feted in the rest of Europe while being reviled at home, the Portuguese prime minister has come in for plenty of domestic criticism, though his handling of the European Union presidency has won praise from abroad.

Opposition leaders leapt on the fact that **Guterres** was hobnobbing with fellow European socialists last week while his finance minister was defending unpopular fuel price increases in parliament. One of his government colleagues assured the Portuguese that: "The prime minister will resume his normal relationship with the country in July." He may find the atmosphere a little strained when he does.

At least the public spending cuts that have added to **Guterres'** woes don't just hurt the Portuguese. One of the first items to be axed was a slap-up dinner for journalists covering the EU finance ministers' meeting in Lisbon over the weekend. So maybe the international coverage of **Guterres'** accomplishments won't be so glowing next time around.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: April 10, 2000



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LEVEL 1 - 89 OF 178 STORIES

Copyright 1998 Guardian Newspapers Limited
The Guardian (London)

January 29, 1998

SECTION: The Guardian Features Page; Pg. 18

LENGTH: 448 words

HEADLINE: Obituary: Luisa Guterres: Analysis and a first lady

BYLINE: JILL JOLLIFFE

BODY:

LUISA Guterres, psychoanalyst and wife of the Portuguese Prime Minister Antonio Guterres, who has died of Chron's disease aged 51 in a London hospital, became Portugal's political first lady in 1995 when her husband, a moderate socialist in the Blair mould, led the Portuguese Socialist Party to power after 10 years in opposition.

His decision to run as prime minister had been conditioned by his wife's chronic illness, which involved her constant travel to London for treatment, but his performance in office was not affected, given that Luisa Guterres was not the sort of woman who was interested in a decorative protocolar role. She had accompanied her husband's political development from radical Catholic to socialist leader.

Born of a middle-class family in Oporto she married Guterres in 1972, in the twilight years of the Portuguese dictatorship. They had in common a marked social conscience: she was studying medicine and he was a militant of the Catholic Action movement, dedicated to working in the shanty towns of Lisbon.

But whereas Antonio Guterres was most influenced by Catholicism and enlisted in the Portuguese Socialist Party soon after the 1974 revolution, Luisa Guterres was influenced primarily by her scientific training, and did not join the party. The parliamentarian Antonio Reis, who attended their wedding and signed Antonio Guterres up for the Socialist Party, said: "She had great prestige as a psychoanalyst in Portugal, and her background was rather a contrast with that of her husband. Whereas he began his political career as a radical Catholic and his thought was and still is heavily influenced by religion, her vision of the world was scientific. The input in political debates involving them was always lively for this reason. She had a very discreet role in relation to her husband's political office, but she was an independent thinker of strong political convictions."

One of her main influences was Dr Pedro Luzes of the Portuguese Society of Psychoanalysts, of which she was a member. Being a psychoanalyst in Portugal in the days of the old regime was not easy, and her colleagues remember Luisa Guterres as a brilliant person who successfully completed an extremely rigorous course in medicine followed by training as a psychoanalyst. In her years as a practitioner she specialised in the psychoanalysis of children. A colleague also noted the contrast with her husband's personality: "His religiosity and her



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The Guardian (London), January 29, 1998

scientific thinking were complementary, their meeting point was in humanist principles."

She leaves two children: a son and a daughter.

Luisa Guterres, psychoanalyst, born 1947; died January 28, 1998

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: January 30, 1998

LEVEL 1 - 108 OF 178 STORIES

Copyright 1997 Guardian Newspapers Limited
The Guardian (London)

January 24, 1997

SECTION: THE GUARDIAN FOREIGN PAGE; Pg. 13

LENGTH: 1014 words

HEADLINE: LISBON TALK-ALIKE SETS AN EXAMPLE FOR BLAIR;

Portugal's Socialist prime minister **Antonio Guterres** resembles the Labour leader in many ways - and is still popular 15 months into his job, despite having no new money to spend. Are there lessons here? asks John Hooper QBY: John Hooper

BODY:

WHAT happens when a socialist government takes office having pledged not to increase spending?

That question, implicitly posed earlier this week by the shadow chancellor, Gordon Brown, has an answer - in Portugal.

Antonio Guterres, like Mr Blair, has converted an often reluctant party to free-market values, and is also accused of relying too much on an inner circle of spin doctors.

Like Mr Blair, Mr **Guterres** is a practising Christian who has successfully taken the moral high ground from the right. His language on law and order is almost identical to Mr Blair's.

Most significant to the current debate in Britain, Mr **Guterres** voluntarily promised to zip up the public purse before he began campaigning for office - but his motives were different: he has vowed to steer Portugal into the new European economic and monetary union.

But to do so he will have to ensure that Portugal can meet the Maastricht criteria and reduce its deficit to below 3 per cent of GDP.

Mr **Guterres** has been helped by lower interest rates, which have cut Portugal's debt servicing costs, but a tax rise would have been seen as hostile to enterprise. So he has clamped down on the tax -dodging professional classes instead, while keeping a tight rein on government spending.

The effect has been a kind of benign lethargy. Unable to do much because they cannot spend much, Mr **Guterres** and his ministers have concentrated on the feel-good factor.

"They have what they call a 'dialogue approach': talking to everyone about everything and trying to reach a consensus," says Jose Manuel Fernandes, deputy editor of the centre-left O Publico.

That has made them unusually well liked, particularly in the polls.



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Even Mr **Guterres's** rival, the leader of the opposition PSD Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa, acknowledges that the prime minister's style is "nice and warm".

Mr **Guterres** has introduced an experimental minimum wage and edged up nurses' and teachers' pay. But he has not tackled one of Portugal's biggest problems - the absence of anything but the semblance of a welfare state. Mr **Guterres** inherited education and health services in such deplorable states that even the rightwing press is campaigning for action. Talk of improving these services by greater efficiencies gets a dusty response from health and education professionals.

The problems which can arise when a "dialogue approach" is superimposed on a spending freeze are illustrated by the government's dilemma over university student fees. These had prompted protests on campus for several years. Almost as soon as they took office the Socialists suspended the fees, promised to discuss the matter and table legislation within six months.

"The problem is that everyone agrees that some sort of fee is needed - except the students," says Mr Fernandes. "The government's original deadline for a new law was June 1996. But here we are in January 1997 and we still don't have a new law."

But the government's approach may be tactical rather than strategic, he stresses. If it can get Portugal into economic and monetary union there is a prospect of rock-bottom interest rates that would free more money. That is the point at which Mr **Guterres** might decide he should keep faith with his socialist origins.

With Mr Blair reluctant to commit Britain to EMU, this is a horizon an incoming Labour government does not have.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: January 24, 1997



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Prime Minister

Biographical Notes

António Manuel de Oliveira Guterres : Born on the 30th April, 1949, in Santos-o-Velho, Lisbon, Widower, two children.

Academic Qualifications: Degree in Electrotechnical Engineering by Instituto Superior Técnico, Lisbon, 1966-1971, with the final classification of 19.

Political Curriculum:

Since October 1999

Prime Minister of the XIV Constitutional Government.

October 1995 - October 1999

Prime Minister of the XIII Constitutional Government.

Since October 1995

Re-elected Member of Parliament, by the Socialist Party, with suspended mandate.

Since November 1999

President of the Socialist International

September 1992-October 1999

Vice-President of the Socialist International, organisation which groups over one hundred socialist and social-democrat parties and organisations at world level.

Since 1991

Member of the Council of State.

1979 - 1995

President of the Municipal Assembly of Fundão.

1985 - 1995

Member of Parliament by the Socialist Party.

1985 - 1988

President of the Parliamentary Committee for Territorial Administration, Municipalities and Environment.

1981 - 1983

Member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, which groups the parliaments of all the democratic countries of Europe.

1983

President of the Parliamentary Committee for Demography, Migrations and Refugees of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe.

1977 - 1979

President of the Parliamentary Committee for Economy and Finance.

1976 - 1983

Member of Parliament by the Socialist Party.

Party Curriculum:

Since February 1992

Leader of the Socialist Party.

Since 1974

Member of the National Committee and of the Political Committee of the Socialist Party.

1988-1991

President of the Parliamentary Group of the Socialist Party.

1986-1992

Member of the National Secretariat of the Socialist Party.

1980-1987

Co-ordinator of the Electoral Technical Committee.

1977-1981

Member of the National Secretariat of the Socialist Party and co-ordinator of the Study Department of the Socialist Party

Professional Curriculum:

1984-1985

Director of Strategic Development of IPE (Investimentos e Participações do Estado, SA), responsible for the development of joint-ventures with foreign companies in areas of high technological level.

1983-1984

Director of the Master Plan Division of Gabinete da Área de Sines (New deep

water port, urban and industrial centre in the Portuguese coast).

1976-1979

Member of the European Integration Committee (Negotiating Committee for Portugal's Entry in the European Community).

1975-1976

Assistant of the Minister for Finance of the VI Provisional Government, Dr. Francisco Salgado Zenha. 1975.

Assistant of the Minister without Portfolio of the IV Provisional Government. Dr. Mário Soares. 1974-1975.

Head of the Cabinet of the Secretary of State for Industry of the I, II and III Provisional Governments, Eng. José Torres Campos.

1973-1974

Director of the Industrial and Technical Planning Division of Gabinete da Área de Sines. 1973.

Technical Cadre of the Technical Secretariat of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers (Central Planning Department).

Teaching Activities:

1973-1975

Lecturer of the Chairs of Theory of Systems and Signals and of Telecommunications at Instituto Superior Técnico.

1972

Lecturer responsible for the Post-Graduation Course "Economics for Engineers", at Instituto Superior Técnico.

1971-1972

Lecturer of the Chair of Physics I, under the orientation of Professor Sales Luís, while 5th year student at Instituto Superior Técnico, having, obtained for this purpose special authorisation from the Ministry for Education.

Associations:

1974

Enrolment as militant in the Socialist Party.

1973-1974

Founder, first Vice-President and member nº 1 of DECO - Associação Portuguesa de Defesa do Consumidor (Portuguese Consumer Defence Association)

1970-1996

Member of SEDES - Associação para o Desenvolvimento Económico e Social (Association for Economic and Social Development).

1968-1972

Member of JUC - Juventude Universitária Católica (University Catholic Youth).

Social Solidarity Activities:

1971-1972

President of Centro de Acção Social Universitário, university organisation for professional training actions and social development in impoverished neighbourhoods in Lisbon.

Participation in International Conferences:

Presence and participation in work-shops, seminars and conferences.

February 1996

Participation in the "World Economic Forum", in Davros.

1994

Participation in the "Bilderberg Meetings".

Publications and Participation in the Media:

Several articles of opinion and interviews in newspapers, magazines, radio and television programmes.

1979

Headed the Work Group responsible for the project "10 Years to Change Portugal -Programme of the Socialist Party for the 80's"; submitted at the 1979 National Congress of the Socialist Party

Distinctions:

1972

D. Dinis Award - awarded to the best student of the 1970/1971 course of Instituto Superior Técnico (awarded to the best students of only 6 universities).

Interests and Hobbies

Travels, History, with special emphasis on the Middle Ages, Cinema and Opera.

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[\[Main\]](#)

Prime Minister's Office - 1999

LEVEL 1 - 2 OF 66 STORIES

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Financial Times (London)

October 27, 1998, Tuesday LONDON EDITION 1

SECTION: WORLD NEWS - EUROPE; Pg. 02

LENGTH: 527 words

HEADLINE: Portuguese call for 'pact of courage'

BYLINE: By Peter Wise in Lisbon

DATELINE: Lisbon

BODY:

As leader of Portugal's Socialist party in 1991, **Jorge Sampaio**, now the country's president, stood before parliament and confessed to a crime. He declared what every politician knew but few dared to admit: the Socialists had spent much more on a recent general election campaign than the law allowed.

Seven years later, Mr **Sampaio** is calling for a "pact of courage and understanding" between parties to reform the political system, as the Socialist government attempts to deal with what one minister describes as "a serious crisis for democracy" involving allegations of corruption and illicit financing.

"My hope is that we can set aside the day-to-day warfare of party politics and establish sound foundations for the system that can be accepted by everyone," Mr **Sampaio** said in an interview.

Portugal is in the midst of a political crisis caused by the allegations of a former head of the National Road Board that construction companies gave pay-offs to officials and political parties in return for public works contracts.

Antonio Guterres, the Socialist prime minister, has responded with a package of anti-corruption measures. The road board controversy has revealed "the public's deep lack of confidence in the capacity of state institutions to combat corruption and punish the corrupt," Mr Guterres said in a televised address to the nation.

Both Portugal's main parties, the Socialists and the Social Democratic party, receive large corporate donations in cash, according to a university economics professor. Nobody knows how much goes to the parties or how much stays in the pockets of individuals, he said. This has given rise to a series of allegations of illicit personal enrichment.

Legislation on party financing has been reformed several times, including an untested new law approved in July. But calls are being made for further, more sweeping reforms aimed at making political funding wholly transparent.

Mr **Sampaio** suggests more stringent limits need to be imposed on election campaign spending. He believes voters would welcome more modest campaigns and



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fewer "Hollywood style" party political broadcasts. This would make overspending easier to to detect.

But for this to work, more effective verification and enforcement of the new limits would still be required. After Mr **Sampaio's** confession of overspending in the 1991 election - an admission deliberately made to bring about reform - the Socialist party was fined the equivalent of about £200.

He also suggests that donations to parties should be made public and verifiable - "names on cheques not money under the table". This would probably require more state funding for election campaigns, because fewer private companies would be willing to donate publicly. At present, state financing for political parties helps cover normal running costs but "does not amount to 1 per cent of the cost of a general election campaign," said Mr **Sampaio**.

"My aim is to help the country agree on the fundamental foundations of our political institutions," he said. "That is something for which it is worth putting aside party political conflict and taking time over."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 27, 1998



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LEVEL 1 - 5 OF 66 STORIES

Copyright 1998 The Financial Times Limited
Financial Times (London)

April 23, 1998, Thursday USA EDITION 1

SECTION: EUROPE; Pg. 03

LENGTH: 950 words

HEADLINE: Portugal takes on mentor role to eastern Europe's economies:
President **Jorge Sampaio** believes the experience of his country
over the last 30 years can show the east how to catch up with the
west, writes Peter Wise:

BODY:

Jorge Sampaio, Portugal's socialist president, told students at the School of International Relations in Kiev while on a visit to Ukraine last week that, having been a leader of a militant student movement in the 1960s, he was looking forward to a lively discussion.

He tried not to look disconcerted as they queued politely at the microphone to ask respectful questions. But a restrained curiosity quickly emerged from behind the formality. It soon became clear that the issue for these young Ukrainians was much the same question as Mr **Sampaio** and his companions had posed in their own youth when Portugal was poor, isolated and uncertain: how do we become modern, democratic, prosperous Europeans?

Mr **Sampaio** believes he has learned enough over the past 30 years to give Ukrainians and other east Europeans some of the answers.

In that period, Portugal toppled an authoritarian regime, emerged peacefully from revolutionary turmoil, privatised a state-dominated economy, made parliamentary democracy work, joined the European Union, almost caught up with western European living standards and qualified for economic and monetary union.

Portugal is now eager to impart the benefits of its experience to east European countries which want to achieve similar ambitions.

At the same time Mr **Sampaio** believes pragmatic political and business advantages are to be won from making the lessons of Portugal's recent history available to emerging democracies.

"The Portuguese transition was the first to reveal the great strength of the wave of democratisation, which then went on to Greece, Spain, and Latin America," he told the Ukrainian students.

"It was also the first time that, in a revolutionary situation, democratic socialists prevailed over orthodox communists." In this sense, Portugal's experience "anticipated the overthrow of communist regimes in central and eastern Europe".

While Mr **Sampaio** told Leonid Kuchma, the Ukrainian president, that he was



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impressed with the country's "determination to build a democracy based on the rule of law and the same humanist values as our own", there is something of an ambivalence in Portugal's attitude towards the former Soviet bloc.

For one thing, the market economies under construction in eastern Europe compete with Portugal for foreign investment. Most offer a lower paid but better educated workforce, production capacity much closer to big north European markets and a higher level of technology in some industrial sectors.

Moreover, when the main direction of European Union aid flows is switched from southern Europe and Ireland to the east European countries joining the EU, Portugal will suffer a reduction in its level of EU funding.

Portugal relies more heavily than any other EU member on so-called structural and cohesion funds, which provide the equivalent of more than 3 per cent of gross domestic product.

Yet Portugal has opted to throw itself wholeheartedly behind the EU's expansion to the east. In return, it expects its own claims for continuing to receive a high level of EU aid to be given a receptive hearing.

Part of this strategy involves imparting the wisdom of its emergence from dictatorship to any east European willing to listen.

In Ukraine, Mr **Sampaio** and his delegation of businessman, scientists and politicians found an eager audience.

In the Ukrainian parliament, persistent questions on how Portugal's parliamentary system works led him to sketch a diagram of the relationships between the presidency, government, parliament and other institutions. The piece of paper remained behind as an "historic document".

Ukrainian politicians were also keen to learn the details of Portugal's privatisation programme, one of the most extensive and successful in Europe. Mr **Sampaio** drew attention to how privatisation revenue had been used both to lower public debt and to restructure other state-owned companies in readiness for privatisation.

Alberto Moreno, a economist who works with the World Bank on an interchange programme between Portugal and east Europe, says one the most import lessons to be learned from the Portuguese experience is the need to create effective competition in sectors that are to be privatised.

Portuguese businessmen believe they have other experiences that can work to their advantage in east Europe. One of these is a familiarity with the same kind of stifling, time-consuming bureaucracy produced both by the Salazar-Caetano dictatorship in Portugal and the communist regimes of the former Soviet bloc.

"We understand the mentality behind the red tape and how officials have to take their time because they are justifying the existence of their jobs," says Pedro Soares dos Santos, head of the east European operations of Jeronimo Martins, Portugal's second largest retail distribution chain. "This makes us more effective than many other foreign investors."



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Financial Times (London) April 23, 1998, Thursday

Advice is not all Portugal is sharing with eastern Europe. Over the past four years, Jeronimo Martins has invested \$ 200m in setting up the largest food retail chain in Poland. It will be operating more than 400 stores by the end of this year and forecasts 1998 sales of \$ 600m. Several other Portuguese companies have followed with investments in Poland, Hungary, Russia and neighbouring countries.

"East European markets are less competitive in many sectors than any of the EU markets," says Mr Soares dos Santos. "That makes them a natural target for Portuguese companies finding there is no room left for expansion at home. By moving into east Europe we stand to benefit all over again from the flow of EU funds that has stimulated such strong economic growth in Portugal."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: April 23, 1998



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LEVEL 1 - 27 OF 66 STORIES

Copyright 1996 The Baltimore Sun Company
The Baltimore Sun

January 15, 1996, Monday, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: TELEGRAPH (NEWS), Pg. 10A

LENGTH: 306 words

HEADLINE: Socialist **Jorge Sampaio** wins presidency in Portugal; Parliament, head of state now share party ties

SOURCE: FROM WIRE REPORTS

BODY:

LISBON, Portugal -- A Socialist lawyer defeated a former premier yesterday in elections to succeed veteran statesman Mario Soares as Portugal's president, ending a political era.

Jorge Sampaio's victory over Anibal Cavaco Silva, who conceded two hours after polls closed, gives Portugal a government and president of the same political hue for the first time since democracy was restored in 1974. Socialists won October's general elections, costing Mr. Cavaco Silva his premiership.

It also marks a milestone for Portugal with the nation's two dominant politicians of the past decade quitting the scene -- Mr. Soares, the affable defender of civil rights, and Mr. Cavaco Silva, the austere technocrat.

Official results from more than 90 percent of voting districts showed Mr. **Sampaio** winning 54 percent of the vote, compared with 46 percent for Mr. Cavaco Silva. Turnout was 66 percent of the nearly 9 million eligible voters.

Since 1974, voters had viewed the presidency as a counterweight to the government, electing a head of state of a different party than the dominant party in Parliament. But Mr. Cavaco Silva, 56, has been burdened with an economic slump that hit his government in recent years.

The avuncular Mr. **Sampaio**, 56, will take office March 9 and is expected to adopt a "father of the nation" style similar to that of Mr. Soares, 71, who is winding up the maximum two five-year terms as president allowed by the constitution.

Once considered a left-winger, Mr. **Sampaio**, a former Lisbon mayor, is solidly in favor of the European Union and says unemployment will be his main concern. He also is an expert negotiator.

Although the Portuguese president has a largely ceremonial role, he can veto legislation, and his power to dissolve Parliament can make him a key figure during political upheaval.

LOAD-DATE: January 16, 1996



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LEVEL 1 - 32 OF 66 STORIES

Copyright 1996 The Financial Times Limited;
Financial Times (London)

January 15, 1996, Monday

SECTION: Pg. 2

LENGTH: 537 words

HEADLINE: **Sampaio** victory ends era in Lisbon

BYLINE: By PETER WISE

DATELINE: LISBON

BODY:

The victory of Mr **Jorge Sampaio**, the Socialist candidate, in yesterday's presidential election, marks the end of a conservative era that advanced Portugal economically but failed to fulfil voters' aspirations for social change.

The defeat of Mr Anibal Cavaco Silva, the conservative candidate in the presidential race, comes hard on the heels of the Socialists' general election victory over his centre-right Social Democrats (PSD) last October, ending Mr Cavaco Silva's 10 years as prime minister.

Mr **Sampaio's** victory is largely an expression of support for the minority Socialist government amid fears that Mr Cavaco Silva could have undermined it in a political crisis. But the election was also partly a referendum on the conservative era that Mr Cavaco Silva epitomised.

'If the election were two months later, my victory would be certain,' Mr Cavaco Silva said during the campaign, acknowledging that the unpopular last years of his government would weigh strongly against him. 'I may lose the election but the judgment of history will be in my favour.'

Mr Cavaco Silva, 56, was virtually unknown when he first came to prominence as an austere finance minister 12 years ago and led the PSD to two overwhelming general election victories in 1987 and 1991. After vowing last week that he would never fight another election, his meteoric political career appears to be at an end. He is to resume his post as an economics professor.

By contrast, Mr **Sampaio**, also 56, is a life-long politician who began as a student leader of opposition to the authoritarian Salazar regime. His career peak, until yesterday, was his short-lived leadership of the Socialist party that ended with the election defeat by Mr Cavaco Silva in 1991. He went on to become mayor of Lisbon.

Although not a charismatic figure, Mr **Sampaio** embodies a new mood in Portugal in which issues such as education, health, housing, the environment and culture have taken prominence over what is now seen by many voters as the 'nouveau riche' materialism of the Cavaco Silva era.



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Mr Cavaco Silva, heading the first stable government Portugal had known since the return of democracy in 1974, was able to implement far-reaching reforms that have transformed the country's physical appearance.

After taking Portugal into what is now the European Union in 1986, he channelled a huge inflow of structural funds into the building of new roads, bridges, hospitals and schools. He launched an ambitious privatisation programme that is now moving towards completion and established a sound foundation for economic growth based on low inflation and controlled deficits.

These reforms have been embraced by the new Socialist government. But Mr Natonio Guterres, the prime minister, has won popularity by adding a social dimension to economic issues.

Mr Sampaio has won support for his championing of political tolerance, in contrast to allegations of 'arrogance' made against Mr Cavaco Silva

The former prime minister denies ever saying 'I never make mistakes and rarely have any doubts'. But it is a phrase attributed to him that is likely to go down in history as an indication of how the Cavaco Silva era came to an end.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: January 15, 1996



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Biography



JORGE FERNANDO BRANCO DE SAMPAIO was born in Lisbon on September 18, 1939. He is married to Maria José Ritta and has two children, Vera and André.



After his secondary education at the Pedro Nunes and Passos Manuel "lycées" in Lisbon, he entered the Law School of Lisbon University, from which he graduated in 1961. During these years he became a well known student activist and was elected President of the Students Association of the Law School and Secretary-General of the federation of academic associations (RIA) in 1961-1962. In this capacity he was one of the main protagonists of the students protest movement against the dictatorship in the early 60's.



As a lawyer, Jorge Sampaio was particularly active as a defender of prisoners tried by the special courts which dealt exclusively with political cases.



In 1969 he stood for the parliamentary elections as a candidate of the opposition movement to the dictatorship. During the 1973 elections, he decided not to stand again, as he considered that conditions for free and fair elections did not exist.

After the 1974 revolution Jorge Sampaio became one of the driving forces behind the creation of M.E.S., a socialist left wing movement, which he abandoned even before its first constitutive congress due to the extreme left drift of this initiative. In 1975 he played an important role in the political negotiations between civilian political forces and the moderate wing of the Armed Forces



Movement which had overturned the dictatorship, in order to ensure the establishment of a democratic regime in Portugal. He became a member of the Government in March as Secretary of State for External Cooperation. In this capacity he led negotiations with some of the Portuguese former colonies, following the agreements on their independence.

Still in 1975, he founded a political association ("Intervenção Socialista") and in 1978 he joined the Socialist Party, becoming a member of its National Secretariat the following year. He was elected to Parliament in 1979, 1980, 1985, 1987 and 1991, and was the Speaker for the Socialist Parliamentary Group in 1987 and 1988.



From 1979 to 1984 he was member of the European Human Rights Commission of the Council of Europe where he pursued an intense activity in the defense and promotion of those fundamental rights.

In 1986 and 1987 he was responsible for the International Department of the Socialist Party and was elected Secretary-General of the Party in 1989. In this capacity, Jorge Sampaio co-chaired the "Africa Committee" of the Socialist International. He was appointed by Parliament member of the Council of State, a consultative body of the President of the Republic.



Jorge Sampaio was elected Mayor of Lisbon in 1989 and received a second mandate for this office in 1993. He was President of the Union of Portuguese Speaking Capital Cities (UCCLA) between 1990 and 1995, Vice-President of the Union of Iberian-American Capital Cities (1990), President of the Eurocities Movement and President of the World Federation of United Cities.

With the support of the Socialist Party and of many independent personalities he stood for the Presidential elections of 1996 which he won on the first round with 53% of the vote. Jorge Sampaio was sworn in and took office as President of the Republic on March 9, for a five year term.



Jorge Sampaio is fluent in English and French. He has a passion for books and classical music; if given the chance, he enjoys directing an orchestra; he has a keen interest in football and also likes a good game of golf.

He has written a number of articles on political issues for Portuguese newspapers and magazines and has published two books, one of which is a collection of his political speeches and another which contains his reflexions on a number of contemporary issues ("A Look on Portugal", 1995).

LEVEL 1 - 64 OF 64 STORIES

Copyright 1992 The Financial Times Limited;
Financial Times (London)

February 24, 1992, Monday

SECTION: SECTION I; Overseas News; Pg. 3

LENGTH: 208 words

HEADLINE: Lisbon socialists elect new leader

BYLINE: REUTER, LISBON

BODY:

PORTUGAL'S opposition Socialist party (PS) yesterday chose Mr **Antonio Guterres**, an energetic 42-year-old pragmatist, as its new leader in an effort to revive its fortunes after last year's election defeat, Reuter reports from Lisbon.

Mr **Guterres**, who replaces the dry intellectual Mr Jorge Sampaio as secretary-general of the centre-left party, was overwhelmingly elected by 1,800 delegates at a three-day party congress.

He immediately challenged Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva to a televised debate on the budget - presented earlier this month - which imposed value added tax on food.

The congress also elected a new 200-member National Commission dominated by Mr **Guterres**' supporters.

Mr **Guterres** challenged Mr Sampaio for the leadership after the PS, out of power since 1985, lost badly to Mr Cavaco Silva's centre-right Social Democrat party (PSD) in elections last October. the PS won only 29 per cent of the vote.

Mr **Guterres** has said he wants to rejuvenate the PS leadership and make the party more attractive to young people, whose interest has slid away from politics to making money in Portugal's economic boom. He also promised to widen the party's appeal to voters in the middle ground of the political spectrum.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH



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**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS WITH EUROPEAN UNION LEADERS
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, DC
DECEMBER 18, 1998**

- I am delighted to welcome Chancellor Klima [KLEE-muh] and President Santer [sahn-TEHR] to the White House.
- This is Austria's first EU presidency term, and Austria is the first of the three EU new members from 1995 to hold that office. I'm pleased that the EU has steadily expanded its membership, thereby helping to extend the frontiers of prosperity and democracy in Europe.
- Security will certainly be on our agenda, particularly our military operation to attack Saddam Hussein's weapons of mass destruction and his capacity to threaten Iraq's neighbors. I am encouraged by the support we have received for this effort from leaders around the world, as well as the support that has come from a bipartisan group in Congress. Let me say again that I am very proud of the American troops who are carrying out this mission, along with British forces.
- There are other important security matters to discuss, including our ongoing cooperative efforts to bring peace and stability to the Balkans and between the Israelis and Palestinians.
- We will also discuss the global economic situation and our shared responsibilities to spur growth, assist ailing economies, and make trade more free and fair. The overall economic relationship between the US and the EU is the largest in the world -- trade and investment between us supports more than six [twelve?] million jobs.
- So I am happy to report that we are putting in place an action plan for our new Transatlantic Economic Partnership, as agreed last May in London with Prime Minister Blair and President Santer. It is aimed at reducing trade barriers and improving regulatory cooperation between us. We will certainly be discussing that effort, as well as the January 1 start of the European Monetary Union.

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