

Weekly Compilation of
**Presidential
Documents**



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Contents

Addresses and Remarks

See also Bill Signings; Meetings With Foreign Leaders
Balkans, situation in—759
Gun control legislation, proposed—746
Maryland, Democratic National Committee dinner in Chevy Chase—756
National Medals of Science and Technology, presentation—750
NATO 50th Anniversary Summit
Close—735
Commemorative ceremony—710
Departure—708
Dinner—715
Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council
Dinner—733
Opening session—734
NATO-Ukraine Commission—732
North Atlantic Council
Meeting on Kosovo—709
Meeting with the frontline states—733
Opening session—716
School violence, measures to address—767
Radio address—717
“The Third Way: Progressive Governance for the 21st Century,” discussion—736
Union of American Hebrew Congregations dinner honoring Rabbi David Saperstein—742

Bill Signings

Education Flexibility Act of 1999, remarks—761

Communications to Congress

Nuclear weapons stockpile, letter transmitting report on certification—741
Ordering Reserves to active duty to support military action in Kosovo, message transmitting Executive order—754

Communications to Federal Agencies

Establishment of the Interagency Commission on Crime and Security in U.S. Seaports, memorandum—755
Kosovo
Assistance to refugees fleeing, memorandum—767
Emergency refugee admissions consultations relating to Kosovars, memorandum—769
Renewing the Federal Government-University Research Partnership for the 21st Century, memorandum—753

Executive Orders

Ordering the Selected Reserve and Certain Individual Ready Reserve Members of the Armed Forces to Active Duty—754

Interviews With the News Media

Exchanges with reporters
Rose Garden—705, 759
South Lawn—708
Interview with Katie Couric of the National Broadcasting Corporation—763
News conference, April 24 (No. 173)—728

(Continued on the inside of the back cover.)

Editor’s Note: The Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents is also available on the Internet on the *GPO Access* service at <http://www.gpo.gov/nara/nara003.html>.

WEEKLY COMPILATION OF PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

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Contents—Continued

Joint Statements

- Kosovo—711
- Washington Declaration—713
- Washington Summit Communique—718

Meetings With Foreign Leaders

- NATO leaders—705, 709–711, 713, 715, 716, 718, 732–736

Proclamations

- National Crime Victims' Rights Week—707
- National Science and Technology Week—715

Statements by the President

- Congressional inaction on legislation to strengthen Social Security—714
- Economy, national—769

Statements by the President—Continued

- Ordering Reserves to active duty to support military action in Kosovo, Executive order calling—753

Tobacco

- Legislation to waive the Federal Government's claim to tobacco settlement funds—763

- Supreme Court's decision to consider Food and Drug Administration regulation of tobacco products—741

- Working Group on Financial Markets report—763

Supplementary Materials

- Acts approved by the President—771
- Checklist of White House press releases—770
- Digest of other White House announcements—770
- Nominations submitted to the Senate—770

Week Ending Friday, April 30, 1999

**Remarks Following Discussions With
NATO Secretary General Javier
Solana and Exchange With Reporters**
April 22, 1999

The President. Good afternoon. Secretary General Solana and I have just had a good meeting reviewing the NATO Summit. Our alliance is strongly united today, in no small measure because of his leadership. He has made a tremendous difference as we have worked to reshape NATO to meet new challenges and as we have responded to Mr. Milosevic's repression in Kosovo.

Serb forces there have pushed nearly 1.4 million people, three-quarters of Kosovo's ethnic Albanians, from their homes. They have killed thousands, confiscated identity papers, separated parents from children, buried victims in mass graves, told Kosovars, "Take a last look around, for you will never return to Kosovo."

NATO's response has been firm and persistent. Our objective is clear: We want all the people of Kosovo restored to their homes, free of the hostile presence of Mr. Milosevic's forces; protected by an international security force; enjoying liberty and self-government. Mr. Milosevic can accept this outcome, or he can watch as NATO grinds down his war machine and the Serb people he claims to represent face mounting hardship.

Our allied forces come from many backgrounds, but they are working together, now, through some 9,000 air sorties. They have weakened Mr. Milosevic's defenses, command and control, and capacity to produce fuel and ammunition. We are attacking the infrastructure that supports the military offensive, including bridges and electrical power. Increasingly, we are striking at tanks, artillery, and aircraft, and in recent days we've begun to strike key facilities used to direct and incite the campaign of ethnic cleansing.

Meanwhile, our relief efforts are working to bring order out of chaos and hope to those in despair. I am grateful to all the Americans, and indeed, to people around the world who have provided assistance.

Now, tomorrow, the leaders of 42 nations will gather here for NATO's 50th Anniversary Summit. This summit will enable our alliance to advance our mission in Kosovo and to plan for a better future—to build a Europe that is undivided, democratic, and at peace.

This crisis in Kosovo has underscored the importance of the efforts we have been making for 5 years now to strengthen and adapt NATO for the new century, to enhance our capacity to address regional and ethnic conflicts on NATO's doorstep, to protect our citizens against terrorism and weapons of mass destruction, to improve security cooperation with partner nations across Europe, to help aspiring members improve their candidacies so they can join NATO.

At our summit, we will advance these efforts, meet with partner nations, including Ukraine and the nations of the frontline of the Kosovo crisis. We will reaffirm our commitment to advancing our cooperation for peace and stability with Russia, for though we have differences on Kosovo, the world benefits when we work together.

And we will further our efforts for deeper democracy, tolerance, economic development, and regional integration in South-eastern Europe, in the hopes that soon all the people there, including the Serbs who are now suffering from Mr. Milosevic's reckless tyranny, can have peace, prosperity, and true freedom.

Now I'd like Secretary General Solana to say a few words. Mr. Secretary General.

[At this point, Secretary General Solana made brief remarks.]

Q. Mr. President——

Q. Mr. President——

Q. Mr. President, are you as committed now to now using——

The President. One at a time, one at a time.

Ground Troops in Kosovo

Q. Mr. President, I wonder if you could clarify the U.S. Government's position on Secretary General Solana's decision yesterday to authorize a reassessment of last year's plan to possibly introduce ground forces into Kosovo. Does this represent a precursor to that kind of decision?

The President. Well, the answer to your last question is, no. The answer to your first question is, I support the Secretary General's decision to update the assessment. I think it is a wise and prudent course.

Now, my position is still the same. I support the strategy we have embraced. It has the unity of the alliance, and it will be vigorously prosecuted. A vigorous prosecution of the air campaign, an intensification of economic pressures, along with our continuing diplomatic efforts, I believe is the correct strategy. And I believe it will succeed. But I support the decision he made. I think it's only prudent.

Security Force for Kosovo

Q. Mr. President, there are reports of a new offer by Milosevic to the Russians to allow some type of security force into Kosovo. Number one, what do you know about this offer? And number two, will any security force have to have not only NATO troops but also American forces on the ground as well?

The President. Well, first of all, it's hard—I cannot comment on the offer because I literally don't know anything other than what you just said—that is, I heard about it just a few minutes before you did or after you did or at the same time, so I cannot comment on the details. If there is an offer for a genuine security force, that's the first time that Mr. Milosevic has ever done that, and that represents, I suppose, some step forward.

My interest here is in something that will work that will have the support of the parties. My belief is that the members of our alliance want us all to be able to go in there and

that the Kosovar Albanians want to feel protected and will expect us to be there.

I have always said from the very beginning that I would hope that there would be Russian troops there, Ukrainian troops there, troops from Slavic countries, from Orthodox Christian countries, because I would not entertain going into Kosovo unless our mandate was to protect all the people there, including the Serb minority.

There will be—after all the stuff the Albanians have been through and all the people who have been killed and the families that have been wrecked and the homes that have been burned and the records that have been destroyed, there will be people who will, inevitably, be looking for some outlet for vengeance there.

So I can't comment on this except to say if it is true, then it is at least the first acknowledgement by Mr. Milosevic that there will have to be a security force there. But for the security force to work, it will have to have the confidence of the people who live there. And it will have to operate in a way that protects all the people there, including the Serb minority.

Serbian Targets

Q. Secretary Solana and President Clinton, is NATO targeting Slobodan Milosevic directly? They destroyed one of his residences.

Secretary General Solana. The objective of this military campaign, as you know it very well, is very clear, has five points. We want to stop the killing. We want to have all the troops withdrawn from Serbia, from Kosovo. We want an international force, military force, to guarantee the security of Kosovo and to guarantee, fourth, the return of refugees. And for us, this is the most important commitment. The refugees that have been expelled brutally from that country, they have to return. And fifth, we want a political agreement in the terms that the President has mentioned.

Q. Yes, but I'm talking about the attack against one of the residences of Milosevic.

The President. The answer to your—yes, I understand your question. The answer to your question is, no, but we are targeting command and control facilities. And I think it is important.

You know, when the weather permits, we go after the tanks and we go after the soldiers. But the tanks and the soldiers are there because people who believe in ethnic cleansing ordered them to go there. And in this conflict, it would be wrong and unfair not to target the command and control operations as well. And that's why the Socialist Party headquarters in Belgrade, for example, was targeted.

President Milosevic

Q. Mr. President, can the Kosovar refugees ever go home, with an international security force, without Mr. Milosevic giving his okay?

The President. Well, that's a hypothetical question, but, of course, there are scenarios under which that could occur.

Q. Mr. President, can you imagine an outcome in this war, sir, that would leave Milosevic in power?

The President. Well, we set forth certain conditions, and if he meets those conditions and the Serbian people are willing to continue him in power, then I could imagine such an outcome. Now, that begs the question of what the War Crimes Tribunal will do or what other action might be taken.

But we—NATO has never taken a position on that issue. Our concern has been for the Kosovar people, for the welfare of the refugees, for the integrity of their life and how they are treated.

Secretary General Solana. I would like to add to what the President has said, it would really concern us in the future of the people who have been suffering—being expelled from their houses, from their country—to see them returned. That we are going to see, and that's our main concern and the concern that we have now to continue.

The President. Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:05 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to President Slobodan Milosevic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). The transcript released by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the remarks of Secretary General Javier Solana. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Proclamation 7187—National Crime Victims' Rights Week, 1999

April 22, 1999

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Over the past year, in communities across our Nation, Americans have witnessed with shock and disbelief the painful consequences of hatred and brutality. The beating and murder of Matthew Shepard in Wyoming and the killing of Billy Jack Gaither in Alabama taught us how easily prejudice can erupt into violence. The murder of James Byrd in Texas reminded us in stark terms of the poisonous legacy of racism in America. While the victims of these crimes are known to us because of the particularly heinous nature of the acts that took their lives, there are thousands more Americans unknown to us who become victims of crime each day. Behind each of these tragic statistics is an individual whose rights have been violated, whose life has been taken or irrevocably changed, and whose family, friends, and community have been touched by the shadows of violence and fear.

Recognizing the widespread impact of crime on our Nation, my Administration has worked hard during the past 6 years to strengthen our criminal justice system, to reduce the incidence of crime, and to champion the rights of crime victims. Through such landmark legislation as the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994—which included the Violence Against Women Act, the Brady Bill, and the Community Notification Act—we have put thousands of new police officers into America's communities, given crime victims a greater voice in the criminal justice process, prevented more than a quarter million felons, fugitives, and stalkers from obtaining handguns, and protected women and children from violence and abuse in their homes and communities. With these and other measures, we have provided communities with needed assistance and have helped reduce the violent crime rate in the United States to its lowest level in nearly a quarter century.

But we still have much to do if we are to prevent those crimes motivated by hatred.

That is why I have urged the Congress to pass the Hate Crimes Prevention Act of 1999. This proposed legislation would strengthen existing Federal hate crimes law by covering crimes committed because of the victim's sexual orientation, gender, or disability, and by expanding the situations in which prosecutions can be brought for violent crimes perpetrated because of the victim's race, color, religion, or national origin.

As recent events have made clear, we must address intolerance early in life. We are reaching out to students in middle school— young people who are at an especially impressionable age—through a public-private partnership entitled “Dealing with Our Differences.” This partnership will develop a program to teach tolerance in the classroom, highlight positive ways in which adolescents are dealing with issues of diversity, and show the harmful impact intolerance causes in the daily lives of our youth. In an effort to understand better the problem of hate crimes and prejudice among young Americans, I have asked the Departments of Justice and Education to include in their annual report card on school safety a new section on hate crimes among our youth, whether they occur in school or elsewhere; and these departments will also collect and publish data regarding hate crimes and intolerance on college campuses.

During National Crime Victims' Rights Week, let us remember not only those who have suffered at the hands of criminals, but also those generous men and women who work each day to bring justice and healing to victims and their loved ones. Whether as victims' advocates, counselors, law enforcement personnel, prosecutors, or community volunteers, they reflect America's resolve to protect the rights of every citizen and to build a future where our differences no longer make us targets of hatred and intolerance. Let us also remember in our prayers the people of Littleton, Colorado. While it is still too early to determine the specific circumstances that led to this week's tragic events, it is never too soon to teach our children that violence and hatred are wrong and have no place in our schools or in our society.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America,

by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim April 25 through May 1, 1999, as National Crime Victims' Rights Week. I urge all Americans to remember crime victims and their families by working to reduce violence, to assist those harmed by crime, and to make our homes and communities safer places in which to live and raise our families.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-second day of April, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-third.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:11 a.m., April 26, 1999]

NOTE: This proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on April 23, and it was published in the *Federal Register* on April 27.

Remarks on Departure for the Ronald Reagan International Trade Center and an Exchange With Reporters

April 23, 1999

School Safety

The President. Good morning. Before I leave to go to the NATO Summit this morning, I'd like to say just a few more words about the tragedy in Littleton and the steps we're taking to make all our schools safer.

The images from Colorado have become painfully familiar, the terrified children, the racing ambulances, the grieving families. We saw them last year, in Pearl, West Paducah, Jonesboro, Springfield. We were reminded again this week that none of our communities is immune to senseless violence.

Still, it is important to remember and to remind our children that the vast majority of our schools are safe. Nearly everywhere in America a child still is safer in school than anywhere else in the community.

But this week's tragedy reminds us again that one act of violence is one too many. We must do more to keep guns out of the hands of children, to help our young people express

their anger and alienation with words, not weapons, to prevent violence from shattering the peace of our schoolyards.

I've spoken to Attorney General Reno, who was at the scene yesterday to assist law enforcement in their investigation and to offer comfort to the students and the families. I also talked with Dr. DeStefano and the school board last evening for a few minutes to share some thoughts with them and to express my appreciation to them for their efforts.

The Justice Department today will make \$1½ million from our crime victims trust fund available to help the communities assist the victims in their long journey toward recovery. And we will do more.

Last October, at our White House Conference on School Safety, I launched a new initiative to bring more of the same community policing that is doing so much to reduce crime on our streets to our schools. Today I'm pleased to announce the first of the grants funding these community police will be awarded to 336 schools and communities to help hire more than 600 police officers. Like their counterparts on the streets, these school officers will work closely with the citizens they serve, with students, teachers, and parents, to improve campus security, to counsel troubled youth, to mediate conflicts before they escalate into violence.

I want to thank Senator Chuck Robb for his strong leadership on this issue. By the end of the year we hope to have 2,000 new officers in our schools, and I encourage all communities to apply for these grants.

I also want to take this opportunity to remind communities that they have until June the 1st to apply for the Federal Safe Schools-Healthy Students funds, to help them put in place comprehensive violence prevention programs. Those of you who were with me yesterday in Alexandria at T.C. Williams High School know how important the students there believe such a program is. These funds can be used for everything from establishing conflict resolution groups to hiring more mental health counselors, to establishing new mentoring programs, to installing metal detectors and other security equipment.

By taking actions to prevent future acts of violence in our schools we can best honor the memories of those who lost their lives.

Thank you very much.

Legislative Initiatives/Ground Troops in Kosovo

Q. Mr. President, you didn't mention gun control. Are you going to do more on gun control?

Q. To be clear, sir, do all hostilities in Kosovo have to end before there can be consideration of ground troops, sir?

The President. First of all, I know you understand I've got to run over there and meet all the people who are coming. We will have more legislative initiatives to announce in the days ahead. As I said a couple of days ago, we will have some legislative responses and efforts we have been working on for some time, actually.

On the other, I think our conditions are clear.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:18 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Jon DeStefano, president, board of education, Jefferson County, CO.

Remarks at the Opening Session of the North Atlantic Council Meeting on Kosovo

April 23, 1999

Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary General. Mr. Secretary General, fellow leaders, let me begin by welcoming you warmly to the United States. We are honored to host this 50th Anniversary Summit of NATO. We meet to honor NATO's past, to chart its future, to reaffirm our mission in Kosovo, where NATO is defending our values and our vision of a Europe free, undivided, and at peace.

Today we send a clear message of unity and determination: to sustain our air campaign for as long as it takes; to stand firm in our conditions for ending it; to pursue diplomatic initiatives to meet those conditions; to increase political and economic pressure against the regime in Belgrade; to stand by

the frontline nations threatened by Belgrade's actions; and to work with them for stability, democracy, and prosperity in South-eastern Europe, so that when Mr. Milosevic's vision for the future is defeated, a better one can rise in its place.

We will seek to do this together with our European partners, and with Ukraine and with Russia. We will make clear what is at stake. Mr. Milosevic's forces burn and loot homes and murder innocent people; our forces deliver food and shelter and hope to the displaced. Mr. Milosevic fans the flames of anger between nations and peoples; we are an alliance of 19 nations, uniting 780 million people of many faiths and ethnic, racial, and religious backgrounds. Mr. Milosevic knows only one way to achieve his aims, through force; we have done everything we could to resolve this matter peacefully.

But when we fight we fight to prevail—to prevail in this conflict and to build the undivided, democratic Europe that the founders of NATO envisioned 50 years ago.

Thank you, and welcome again.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:20 a.m. in the pavilion at the Ronald Reagan International Trade Center. In his remarks, he referred to Secretary General Javier Solana of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; and President Slobodan Milosevic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). The transcript made available by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the remarks of Secretary General Solana.

Remarks at a North Atlantic Treaty Organization Commemorative Ceremony

April 23, 1999

Mr. Secretary General, leaders of NATO, other distinguished foreign guests, my fellow Americans. It is a profound honor for the United States to welcome NATO back to Washington for its 50th anniversary, an occasion to honor NATO's past, to reaffirm its present mission in Kosovo, to envision its future.

In 1949, in his acceptance speech for the Nobel Prize, the American novelist, William Faulkner, acknowledged the fear of nuclear holocaust that then gripped the world. But

he declared firmly that humanity will not merely endure, it will prevail. In that same year, 12 nations came here to pledge to vindicate that faith. They were North Americans and Europeans determined to build a new Europe on the ruins of the old through a mutual commitment to each other's security and freedom.

In this auditorium, the French Foreign Minister, Robert Schuman, said that NATO's fundamental aim was not to win a war that would, after all, leave Europe ravaged but to avoid such a war, and I quote, "by becoming, together, strong enough to safeguard the peace." He was right. No member of NATO has ever been called upon to fire a shot in anger to defend an ally from attack.

The American Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, said that NATO would "free the minds of men in many nations from a haunting sense of insecurity and enable them to work and plan with confidence in the future." And he was right. NATO bought time for the Marshall plan. It encouraged allies to pool their military and economic strength, instead of pitting it against their neighbors.

The Prime Minister of Canada, Lester Pearson, predicted that the NATO Pact's achievement would "extend beyond the time of emergency which gave it birth, or the geographical area which it now includes." And he, too, was right. NATO gave hope to West Germany and confidence to Greece and Turkey. Ultimately, NATO helped break the grip of the cold war. Yesterday, Europe, divided by an arbitrary line, on one side, free people living in fear of aggression, on the other, people living in tyranny who wanted to be free. Today, thanks in no small measure to NATO, most of Europe is free and at peace.

Today we are joined by the leaders of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic, whose descent into darkness helped to spark NATO's creation. Today they are a part of NATO, pledged to defend what was too long denied to them. So we say to Prime Minister Orban, President Havel, President Kwasniewski: Welcome to NATO, welcome home to the community of freedom.

As we look to the future, we know that for the first time in history we have a chance to build a Europe truly undivided, peaceful, and free. But we know there are challenges

to that vision: in the fragility of new democracies; in the proliferation of deadly weapons and terrorism; and surely, in the awful specter of ethnic cleansing in Southeast Europe, where Mr. Milosevic—first in Croatia and Slovenia, then in Bosnia, now in Kosovo—has inflamed ancient hatreds to gain and maintain his power. He is bent on dehumanizing, indeed, destroying a whole people and their culture and, in the process, driving his own people to deep levels of distress.

We're in Kosovo because we want to replace ethnic cleansing with tolerance and decency, violence with security, disintegration with restoration, isolation with integration into the rest of the region and the continent. We want Southeastern Europe to travel the same road as Western Europe half a century ago and Central Europe a decade ago.

But we are fundamentally there because the Alliance will not have meaning in the 21st century if it permits the slaughter of innocents on its doorstep. This is not a question of territorial conquest or political domination but standing for the values that made NATO possible in the first place.

This is the mission of NATO at the age of 50 on the edge of a new century, determined to reach forward into the future with a united continent, with a collective defense, remaining open to new members from the Baltics to the Black Sea, remaining committed to work with partners for peace and progress, including Russia and Ukraine, and others who are willing to work for the values and the future we dream of. This is the kind of alliance we come to this summit to reaffirm and to build for the future.

Almost 100 years ago, President Theodore Roosevelt said something that could well be applied to a united Europe and to our united transatlantic Alliance today. Of America's coming of age in the world, he said, "We have no choice as to whether we will play a great part in the world. That has been determined for us by fate, by the march of events. The only question is whether we will play it well or ill."

Our nations played our part well after World War II, from the Berlin airlift to the founding of NATO, to the restoration of hope and confidence in Western Europe. We played it well after the cold war, from the

reunification of Germany to the enlargement of NATO, to the support we have offered democratic, open government in Russia and Ukraine, and the reach out we have done to other partners for peace. We played it well when we joined together to end the slaughter in Bosnia.

Now, we rise, as we must, to this new and fundamental challenge to the peace and humanity of Europe. Our message is clear: Peace and humanity will prevail in Kosovo; the refugees will go home; they will have security; they will have their self-government; the last European dictatorship of the 20th century will not destroy Europe's long-awaited chance to live, at last, together in peace and freedom.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:10 p.m. at the Mellon Auditorium. In his remarks, he referred to Secretary General Javier Solana of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Prime Minister Viktor Orban of Hungary; President Václav Havel of the Czech Republic; President Aleksander Kwasniewski of Poland; and President Slobodan Milosevic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). The transcript made available by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the remarks of Secretary General Javier Solana.

Joint Statement on Kosovo

April 23, 1999

1. The crisis in Kosovo represents a fundamental challenge to the values for which NATO has stood since its foundation: democracy, human rights and the rule of law. It is the culmination of a deliberate policy of oppression, ethnic cleansing and violence pursued by the Belgrade regime under the direction of President Milosevic. We will not allow this campaign of terror to succeed. NATO is determined to prevail.

2. NATO's military action against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) supports the political aims of the international community, which were reaffirmed in recent statements by the UN Secretary-General and the European Union: a peaceful, multi-ethnic and democratic Kosovo where all its people can live in security and enjoy universal

human rights and freedoms on an equal basis.

3. Our military actions are directed not at the Serb people but at the policies of the regime in Belgrade, which has repeatedly rejected all efforts to solve the crisis peacefully. President Milosevic must:

- Ensure a verifiable stop to all military action and the immediate ending of violence and repression in Kosovo;
- Withdraw from Kosovo his military, police and para-military forces;
- Agree to the stationing in Kosovo of an international military presence;
- Agree to the unconditional and safe return of all refugees and displaced persons, and unhindered access to them by humanitarian aid organisations; and
- Provide credible assurance of his willingness to work for the establishment of a political framework agreement based on the Rambouillet accords.

4. There can be no compromise on these conditions. As long as Belgrade fails to meet the legitimate demands of the international community and continues to inflict immense human suffering, Alliance air operations against the Yugoslav war machine will continue. We hold President Milosevic and the Belgrade leadership responsible for the safety of all Kosovar citizens. We will fulfill our promise to the Kosovar people that they can return to their homes and live in peace and security.

5. We are intensifying NATO's military actions to increase the pressure on Belgrade. Allied governments are putting in place additional measures to tighten the constraints on the Belgrade regime. These include intensified implementation of economic sanctions, and an embargo on petroleum products on which we welcome the EU lead. We have directed our Defence Ministers to determine ways that NATO can contribute to halting the delivery of war material including by launching maritime operations, taking into account the possible consequences on Montenegro.

6. NATO is prepared to suspend its air strikes once Belgrade has unequivocally accepted the above mentioned conditions and demonstrably begun to withdraw its forces from Kosovo according to a precise and rapid

timetable. This could follow the passage of a United Nations Security Council resolution, which we will seek, requiring the withdrawal of Serb forces and the demilitarisation of Kosovo and encompassing the deployment of an international military force to safeguard the swift return of all refugees and displaced persons as well as the establishment of an international provisional administration of Kosovo under which its people can enjoy substantial autonomy within the FRY. NATO remains ready to form the core of such an international military force. It would be multinational in character with contributions from non-NATO countries.

7. Russia has a particular responsibility in the United Nations and an important role to play in the search for a solution to the conflict in Kosovo. Such a solution must be based on the conditions of the international community as laid out above. President Milosevic's offers to date do not meet this test. We want to work constructively with Russia, in the spirit of the Founding Act.

8. The long-planned, unrestrained and continuing assault by Yugoslav military, police and paramilitary forces on Kosovars and the repression directed against other minorities of the FRY are aggravating the already massive humanitarian catastrophe. This threatens to destabilise the surrounding region.

9. NATO, its members and its Partners have responded to the humanitarian emergency and are intensifying their refugee and humanitarian relief operations in close co-operation with the UNHCR, the lead agency in this field, and with other relevant organisations. We will continue our assistance as long as necessary. NATO forces are making a major contribution to this task.

10. We pay tribute to the servicemen and women of NATO whose courage and dedication are ensuring the success of our military and humanitarian operations.

11. Atrocities against the people of Kosovo by FRY military, police and paramilitary forces represent a flagrant violation of international law. Our governments will co-operate with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) to support investigation of all those, including at the

highest levels, responsible for war crimes and crimes against humanity. NATO will support the ICTY in its efforts to secure relevant information. There can be no lasting peace without justice.

12. We acknowledge and welcome the courageous support that states in the region are providing to our efforts in Kosovo. The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Albania have played a particularly important role, not least in accepting hundreds of thousands of refugees from Kosovo. The states in the region are bearing substantial economic and social burdens stemming from the current conflict.

13. We will not tolerate threats by the Belgrade regime to the security of its neighbours. We will respond to such challenges by Belgrade to its neighbours resulting from the presence of NATO forces or their activities on their territory during this crisis.

14. We reaffirm our support for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all countries in the region.

15. We reaffirm our strong support for the democratically elected government of Montenegro. Any move by Belgrade to undermine the government of President Djukanovic will have grave consequences. FRY forces should leave the demilitarised zone of Prevlaka immediately.

16. The objective of a free, prosperous, open and economically integrated Southeast Europe cannot be fully assured until the FRY embarks upon the transition to democracy. Accordingly, we express our support for the objective of a democratic FRY which protects the rights of all minorities, including those in Vojvodina and Sandjak, and promise to work for such change through and beyond the current conflict.

17. It is our aim to make stability in Southeast Europe a priority of our transatlantic agenda. Our governments will co-operate urgently through NATO as well as through the OSCE, and for those of us which are members, the European Union, to support the nations of Southeast Europe in forging a better future for their region—one based upon democracy, justice, economic integration, and security co-operation.

NOTE: The joint statement was issued by the heads of state and government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Washington, DC, on April 23 and 24. It was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary but was not issued as a White House press release. An original was not available for verification of the content of this joint statement.

The Washington Declaration

April 23, 1999

1. We, the Heads of State and Government of the member countries of the North Atlantic Alliance, declare for a new century our mutual commitment to defend our people, our territory and our liberty, founded on democracy, human rights and the rule of law. The world has changed dramatically over the last half century, but our common values and security interests remain the same.

2. At this anniversary summit, we affirm our determination to continue advancing these goals, building on the habits of trust and co-operation we have developed over fifty years. Collective defence remains the core purpose of NATO. We affirm our commitment to promote peace, stability and freedom.

3. We pay tribute to the men and women who have served our Alliance and who have advanced the cause of freedom. To honour them and to build a better future, we will contribute to building a stronger and broader Euro-Atlantic community of democracies—a community where human rights and fundamental freedoms are upheld; where borders are increasingly open to people, ideas and commerce; where war becomes unthinkable.

4. We reaffirm our faith, as stated in the North Atlantic Treaty, in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and reiterate our desire to live in peace with all nations, and to settle any international dispute by peaceful means.

5. We must be as effective in the future in dealing with new challenges as we were in the past. We are charting NATO's course as we enter the 21st century: an Alliance committed to collective defence, capable of addressing current and future risks to our security, strengthened by and open to new members, and working together with other

institutions, Partners and Mediterranean Dialogue countries in a mutually reinforcing way to enhance Euro-Atlantic security and stability.

6. NATO embodies the vital partnership between Europe and North America. We welcome the further impetus that has been given to the strengthening of European defence capabilities to enable the European Allies to act more effectively together, thus reinforcing the transatlantic partnership.

7. We remain determined to stand firm against those who violate human rights, wage war and conquer territory. We will maintain both the political solidarity and the military forces necessary to protect our nations and to meet the security challenges of the next century. We pledge to improve our defence capabilities to fulfill the full range of the Alliance's 21st century missions. We will continue to build confidence and security through arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation measures. We reiterate our condemnation of terrorism and our determination to protect ourselves against this scourge.

8. Our Alliance remains open to all European democracies, regardless of geography, willing and able to meet the responsibilities of membership, and whose inclusion would enhance overall security and stability in Europe. NATO is an essential pillar of a wider community of shared values and shared responsibility. Working together, Allies and Partners, including Russia and Ukraine, are developing their cooperation and erasing the divisions imposed by the Cold War to help to build a Europe whole and free, where security and prosperity are shared and indivisible.

9. Fifty years after NATO's creation, the destinies of North America and Europe remain inseparable. When we act together, we safeguard our freedom and security and enhance stability more effectively than any of us could alone. Now, and for the century about to begin, we declare as the fundamental objectives of this Alliance enduring peace, security and liberty for all people of Europe and North America.

NOTE: The joint statement was signed and issued by the heads of state and government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Washington, DC, on April 23 and 24. It was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary but was not issued as a White House press release. An original was not available for verification of the content of this joint statement.

Statement on Congressional Inaction on Legislation To Strengthen Social Security

April 23, 1999

I am deeply disappointed by reports that the congressional Republican leadership has abandoned the effort to enact legislation this year to strengthen Social Security for the 21st century. We have an obligation to ensure that Social Security is safe and strong not only for today's seniors but for our children and future generations as well. The American people expect us to meet this fundamental challenge. Instead, just one week after passing a budget that promises a massive \$800 billion tax cut, the Republican leadership is sending a message that Congress is either unable or unwilling to face up to the challenge of strengthening Social Security.

That is not acceptable, and I urge the Republican leadership to reconsider its opposition to acting on Social Security this year. I have proposed concrete steps to bolster Social Security and offered time and again to work with the Congress in a bipartisan way to make the tough choices needed to secure the Trust Fund over the long term. Republican leaders have yet to consider my proposals or advance any of their own.

Our economy is the strongest it has been in a generation. Now is the time to strengthen Social Security for the future. I remain committed to working with Members of Congress of both parties who are committed to enacting comprehensive Social Security legislation this year. We can and must accomplish this critical goal for the American people.

Proclamation 7188—National Science and Technology Week, 1999

April 23, 1999

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

The American experience is deeply rooted in the desire to expand our frontiers and increase our knowledge about ourselves and our world. We stand at the end of a century marked by wondrous advances in science and technology—advances that have immeasurably improved the lives of our citizens. As recently as 100 years ago, space travel, genetic engineering, and telecommunications existed only in the realms of imagination and science fiction. Today, the nascent International Space Station, the nearly complete Human Genome Project, and the flourishing Internet attest to the great strides our civilization and our Nation have made. The scope and speed of our discoveries are truly breathtaking, and each day new applications of science and technology enrich our lives in fields as diverse as medicine, communications, engineering, and the arts.

Recognizing the importance of maintaining America's scientific and technological leadership, my Administration is seeking increased funding in areas like biomedical research and in earth and space sciences. My fiscal year 2000 budget also proposes a 28 percent increase in information technology research to finance a new initiative—Information Technology for the Twenty-First Century (IT²). This initiative will support long-term information technology research that will lead to fundamental advances in communications and improvements in computing.

During National Science and Technology Week, in communities large and small, engineers, scientists, educators, business people, and community leaders will lead observances to help their fellow citizens appreciate the world's scientific and technological wonders. I encourage all Americans—and especially our young people—to participate in the many educational activities taking place across our Nation. The more we understand and appreciate the extraordinary tools that

science and technology place at our fingertips, the more we can accomplish in our efforts to create a cleaner environment, healthier families, better schools, and a brighter future. The only limit on our achievements is our imagination.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim April 25 to May 1, 1999, as National Science and Technology Week. I call upon educators and students, the business community, and all the people of the United States to work this week and throughout the year to learn more about the contributions science and technology make to our lives and our future.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-third day of April, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-third.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., April 27, 1999]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on April 28.

Remarks at the NATO 50th Anniversary Summit Dinner

April 23, 1999

Ladies and gentlemen, welcome to the White House and, again let me say, welcome to Washington and to the NATO Summit.

Some of you know that I am quite a fan of music. And I found a little-known bit of history related to the founding of NATO 50 years ago. When the original North Atlantic Treaty was signed, the United States Marine Band, which was in the auditorium playing for us today, was in the auditorium then, playing a group of songs from George Gershwin's famous opera, "Porgy and Bess." The two songs they played were, "I Got Plenty of Nothing," and "It Ain't Necessarily So." Well, I think after 50 years we can still appreciate Gershwin, but the songs were poorly

timed, because NATO has had plenty of substance, and its word has been necessarily so.

In 1949, when we entered NATO, it signaled a radical departure in America's history, because we had been warned from the time of our first President, George Washington, against entangling alliances with other nations. But we learned the hard way, after World War I, that the warning was no longer valid in the 20th century.

In the last 50 years, all of us have become more and more involved with events beyond our borders because we have seen increasingly how they affect the lives of people within our borders and how the values we espouse at home must be defended abroad. That is in large measure what we are trying to do in Kosovo, to protect the innocent families, the children, and to stand for the values that we have stood for as an organization for 50 years now.

We owe a great debt of gratitude to our founders, to the generation of people after the Second World War who constructed a world of freedom that stood against tyranny and eventually helped to end the cold war. We can best pay that debt by standing up for those values today, including meeting our responsibilities to the children and the future of southeastern Europe in the terrible suffering of Kosovo.

Mr. Secretary General, I want to say a special word of thanks to you for your steadfast leadership, for your continuing reminder to all of us that we must both do our duty and stay together as we do it. Tomorrow we will focus on Kosovo again, but we will also look to the larger issues of the 21st century. Again, I compliment you on your leadership, and I thank all of our colleagues for their input.

We will look back on this summit, I think, and say, "Well, it wasn't one of those traditional meetings, where we got to have a lot of fun and a lot of laughs, because we were so gravely concerned with the suffering of the people in the Balkans. But it was a profoundly important one because it reminded us of why we got started, what we have to do tomorrow, and what it is that gives our Alliance meaning in this present day."

I'd like to ask all of you to join me in a toast to Secretary General and Mrs. Solana, and to NATO and its future. Thank you.

[At this point, a toast was offered.]

Mr. Secretary General.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:30 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Secretary General Javier Solana of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and his wife, Concepcion. The transcript made available by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the remarks of Secretary General Solana.

Remarks at the Opening Session of the North Atlantic Council Summit

April 24, 1999

Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary General.

Yesterday, we recalled NATO's history, embraced our new members, deepened our unity and our determination to stand against ethnic cleansing in Kosovo and to build a broader transatlantic community that respects human rights of all ethnic and religious groups and offers all Europeans the chance to build better lives together.

I want to begin by thanking the Secretary General for his leadership. I thank all of you for your leadership and your unity, the foreign and defense ministers, General Naumann and General Clark and all the people in our governments who worked so hard to support our efforts. I know I speak for all of us when I say we are very proud of our men and women in uniform in the Balkans. And we remember today, especially, the three who are being held prisoner by Mr. Milosevic and who still have not received the Red Cross visits required by the Geneva Convention, even though he is on television in the United States saying they will receive them.

The crisis in Kosovo has underscored the importance of NATO and the imperative of modernizing our alliance for 21st century challenges. Today we will embrace a comprehensive plan to do just that, so that NATO can advance security and freedom for another 50 years by enhancing our capacity to address conflicts beyond our borders, by protecting our citizens from terrorism and weapons of mass destruction, by deepening our partnerships with other nations and helping new members enter through NATO's open

doors. In preparing NATO for the 21st century, we will make our alliance even stronger.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:21 a.m. in the Mellon Auditorium. In his remarks, he referred to Secretary General Javier Solana of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Gen. Klaus Naumann, chairman, NATO Military Committee; Gen. Wesley K. Clark, Supreme Allied Commander, Europe; President Slobodan Milosevic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro); and the three U.S. Army infantrymen in custody in Serbia: Staff Sgt. Andrew A. Ramirez, Staff Sgt. Christopher J. Stone, and Specialist Steven M. Gonzales. The transcript made available by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the remarks of Secretary General Solana.

The President's Radio Address

April 24, 1999

Good morning. Tomorrow in church services all across America, we'll be thinking of those who lost their lives in Littleton, Colorado. This is a time for all Americans to pray for their families as well as those who were injured and their loved ones and all the people of the schools and the community.

It's also a time for all Americans to ask what we can do, as individuals and as a nation, to turn more young people from the path of violence, how we can take responsibility, each and every one of us, for the future of our children. We've seen far too many tragedies like the one at Columbine High School. It's striking that these violent assaults on human life often illuminate the best of the human spirit. We marvel at the bravery of the fatally wounded teacher who led 40 students to safety. We look with admiration at the medics and the police officers who rushed to the scene to save lives; the clergy, the counselors, the local leaders who immediately began the painful process of helping people to heal; and the parents and students who, in the face of hatred, refuse to return it.

At a moment of such terrible, terrible violence, these people didn't turn away, and we can't either. Instead, every one of us must take responsibility to counter the culture of violence. Government must take responsibility. Next week I'll send to Congress two

new bills to keep our children safe. First, we must do more to keep guns out of the hands of violent juveniles. My bill will crack down on gun shows and illegal gun trafficking, ban violent juveniles from ever being able to buy a gun, and close the loophole that lets juveniles own assault rifles.

Second, we must do more to prevent violence in our schools. My safe schools bill will help schools pay for more counselors and conflict resolution programs, more mentors, and more metal detectors. It also includes \$12 million for emergency teams, to help communities respond when tragedy strikes. And Government can help parents take responsibility. It's harder than ever for parents to pass on their values in the face of a media culture that so glorifies violence.

As Hillary pointed out in her book, the more children see of violence, the more numb they are to the deadly consequences of violence. Now, video games like "Mortal Kombat," "Killer Instinct," and "Doom," the very game played obsessively by the two young men who ended so many lives in Littleton, make our children more active participants in simulated violence.

A former Lieutenant Colonel and psychologist, Professor David Grossman, has said that these games teach young people to kill with all the precision of a military training program but none of the character training that goes along with it. For children who get the right training at home and who have the ability to distinguish between real and unreal consequences, they're still games. But for children who are especially vulnerable to the lure of violence, they can be far more.

Vice President Gore has led the fight to give parents the tools to limit the exposure of their children to excessive violence, from a television rating system to new ways of blocking inappropriate material on the Internet to the V-chip. By this July, fully half of all new televisions will have the V-chip; so will every new television in America by the year 2000.

Years ago, Tipper Gore sounded the first alarm about the damaging effects on our children of excessive violence in movies, music, and video games. Today, she is still drawing attention to mental illness. This June, she will host the first ever White House Conference

on Mental Health, where we'll talk about how to recognize mental illness in young people before it's too late.

These are steps the National Government is taking to protect our children. But it is not a job Government can or should do alone—parents come first. They should turn off the television, pay attention to what's on the computer screen, refuse to buy products that glorify violence. Make sure your children know you care about what they're doing.

And to the media and entertainment industries, I say just this: You know you have enormous power to educate and entertain our children. Yes, there should be a label on the outside of every video, but what counts is what's on the inside and what it will do to the insides of our young people. I ask you to make every video game and movie as if your own children were watching it.

In the days ahead, as we continue the process of healing, we must pledge ourselves to the task of putting an end to the culture of violence and building in its place a culture of values we can be proud to pass on to all our children.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 8:30 a.m. on April 24 in the Map Room at the White House for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. In his address, the President referred to Columbine High School teacher David Sanders; and gunmen Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold. The transcript was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on March 24 but was embargoed for release until the broadcast.

Washington Summit Communiqué

April 24, 1999

An Alliance for the 21st Century

1. We, the Heads of State and Government of the member countries of the North Atlantic Alliance, have gathered in Washington to celebrate the 50th anniversary of NATO and to set forth our vision of the Alliance of the 21st century. The North Atlantic Alliance, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law, remains the basis of our collective defence; it embodies the transatlantic link

that binds North America and Europe in a unique defence and security partnership.

2. Fifty years ago, the North Atlantic Alliance was founded in troubled and uncertain times. It has withstood the test of five decades and allowed the citizens of Allied countries to enjoy an unprecedented period of peace, freedom and prosperity. Here in Washington, we have paid tribute to the achievements of the past and we have shaped a new Alliance to meet the challenges of the future. This new Alliance will be larger, more capable and more flexible, committed to collective defence and able to undertake new missions including contributing to effective conflict prevention and engaging actively in crisis management, including crisis response operations. The Alliance will work with other nations and organizations to advance security, prosperity and democracy throughout the Euro-Atlantic region. The presence today of three new Allies—the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland—demonstrates that we have overcome the division of Europe.

3. The Alliance takes the opportunity of this 50th anniversary to recognise and express its heartfelt appreciation for the commitment, sacrifice, resolve and loyalty of the servicemen and women of all Allies to the cause of freedom. The Alliance salutes these active and reserve forces' essential contributions, which for 50 years have guaranteed freedom and safeguarded trans-Atlantic security. Our nations and our Alliance are in their debt and offer them profound thanks.

4. The NATO of the 21st century starts today—a NATO which retains the strengths of the past and has new missions, new members and new partnerships. To this end, we have:

- approved an updated Strategic Concept; reaffirmed our commitment to the enlargement process of the Alliance and approved a Membership Action Plan for countries wishing to join;

- completed the work on key elements of the Berlin Decisions on building the European Security and Defence Identity within the Alliance and decided to further enhance its effectiveness;

- launched the Defence Capabilities Initiative;

intensified our relations with Partners through an enhanced and more operational Partnership for Peace and strengthened our consultations and co-operation within the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council;
enhanced the Mediterranean Dialogue;
and
decided to increase Alliance efforts against weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery.

5. As part of the Alliance's adaptation to the new security challenges, we have updated our Strategic Concept to make it fully consistent with the Alliance's new security environment. The updated Concept reaffirms our commitment to collective defence and the transatlantic link; takes account of the challenges the Alliance now faces; presents an Alliance ready and with a full range of capabilities to enhance the security and stability of the Euro-Atlantic area; reaffirms our commitment to building the ESDI within the Alliance; highlights the enhanced role of partnership and dialogue; underlines the need to develop defence capabilities to their full potential to meet the spectrum of Alliance missions, including forces which are more deployable, sustainable, survivable and able to engage effectively; and provides guidance to the NATO Military Authorities to this end.

6. To achieve its essential purpose, as an Alliance of nations committed to the Washington Treaty and the United Nations Charter, the Alliance performs the following fundamental security tasks:

Security:

To provide one of the indispensable foundations for a stable Euro-Atlantic security environment, based on the growth of democratic institutions and commitment to the peaceful resolution of disputes, in which no country would be able to intimidate or coerce any other through the threat or use of force.

Consultation:

To serve, as provided for in Article 4 of the North Atlantic Treaty, as an essential transatlantic forum for Allied consultations on any issues that affect their vital interests, including

possible developments posing risks for members' security, and for appropriate co-ordination of their efforts in fields of common concern.

Deterrence and Defence:

To deter and defend against any threat of aggression against any NATO member state as provided for in Articles 5 and 6 of the Washington Treaty.

And in order to enhance the security and stability of the Euro-Atlantic area:

Crisis Management:

To stand ready, case-by-case and by consensus, in conformity with Article 7 of the Washington Treaty, to contribute to effective conflict prevention and to engage actively in crisis management, including crisis response operations.

Partnership:

To promote wide-ranging partnership, cooperation, and dialogue with other countries in the Euro-Atlantic area, with the aim of increasing transparency, mutual confidence and the capacity for joint action with the Alliance.

7. We warmly welcome the participation of the three new Allies—the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland—in their first Alliance Summit meeting. Their accession to the North Atlantic Treaty opens a new chapter in the history of the Atlantic Alliance.

We reaffirm today our commitment to the openness of the Alliance under Article 10 of the North Atlantic Treaty and in accordance with Paragraph 8 of the Madrid Summit Declaration. We pledge that NATO will continue to welcome new members in a position to further the principles of the Treaty and contribute to peace and security in the Euro-Atlantic area. This is part of an evolutionary process that takes into account political and security developments in the whole of Europe. Our commitment to enlargement is part of a broader strategy of projecting stability and working together with our Partners to build a Europe whole and free. The ongoing enlargement process strengthens the Alliance and enhances the security and stability of the Euro-Atlantic region. The three new members will not be the last.

At the Summit in Madrid we recognised the progress made by a number of countries aspiring to join the Alliance in meeting the responsibilities and obligations for possible membership.

Today we recognise and welcome the continuing efforts and progress in both Romania and Slovenia. We also recognise and welcome continuing efforts and progress in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Since the Madrid Summit, we note and welcome positive developments in Bulgaria. We also note and welcome recent positive developments in Slovakia. We are grateful for the co-operation of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia¹ with NATO in the present crisis and welcome its progress on reforms. We welcome Albania's co-operation with the Alliance in the present crisis and encourage its reform efforts.

We welcome the efforts and progress aspiring members have made, since we last met, to advance political, military and economic reforms. We appreciate the results achieved, and look forward to further progress by these countries in strengthening their democratic institutions and in restructuring their economies and militaries. We take account of the efforts of these aspiring members, together with a number of other Partner countries, to improve relations with neighbours and contribute to security and stability of the Euro-Atlantic region. We look forward to further deepening our co-operation with aspiring countries and to increasing their political and military involvement in the work of the Alliance.

The Alliance expects to extend further invitations in coming years to nations willing and able to assume the responsibilities and obligations of membership, and as NATO determines that the inclusion of these nations would serve the overall political and strategic interests of the Alliance and that the inclusion would enhance overall European security and stability. To give substance to this commitment, NATO will maintain an active relationship with those nations that have expressed an interest in NATO membership as well as those who may wish to seek member-

ship in the future. Those nations that have expressed an interest in becoming NATO members will remain under active consideration for future membership. No European democratic country whose admission would fulfil the objectives of the Treaty will be excluded from consideration, regardless of its geographic location, each being considered on its own merits. All states have the inherent right to choose the means to ensure their own security. Furthermore, in order to enhance overall security and stability in Europe, further steps in the ongoing enlargement process of the Alliance should balance the security concerns of all Allies.

We welcome the aspirations of the nine countries currently interested in joining the Alliance. Accordingly, we are ready to provide advice, assistance and practical support. To this end, we approve today a Membership Action Plan which includes the following elements:

- the submission by aspiring members of individual annual national programmes on their preparations for possible future membership, covering political, economic, defence, resource, security and legal aspects;
- a focused and candid feedback mechanism on aspirant countries' progress on their programmes that includes both political and technical advice, as well as annual 19+1 meetings at Council level to assess progress;
- a clearinghouse to help co-ordinate assistance by NATO and by member states to aspirant countries in the defence/military field;
- a defence planning approach for aspirants which includes elaboration and review of agreed planning targets.

We direct that NATO Foreign Ministers keep the enlargement process, including the implementation of the Membership Action Plan, under continual review and report to us. We will review the process at our next Summit meeting which will be held no later than 2002.

8. We reaffirm our commitment to preserve the transatlantic link, including our readiness to pursue common security objectives through the Alliance wherever possible. We are pleased with the progress achieved

¹ Turkey recognises the Republic of Macedonia with its constitutional name.

in implementing the Berlin decisions and reaffirm our strong commitment to pursue the process of reinforcing the European pillar of the Alliance on the basis of our Brussels Declaration of 1994 and of the principles agreed at Berlin in 1996. We note with satisfaction that the key elements of the Berlin decisions are being put in place. These include flexible options for the selection of a European NATO Commander and NATO Headquarters for WEU-led operations, as well as specific terms of reference for DSACEUR and an adapted CJTF concept. Close linkages between the two organisations have been established, including planning, exercises (in particular a joint crisis management exercise in 2000) and consultation, as well as a framework for the release and return of Alliance assets and capabilities.

9. We welcome the new impetus given to the strengthening of a common European policy in security and defence by the Amsterdam Treaty and the reflections launched since then in the WEU and—following the St. Malo Declaration—in the EU, including the Vienna European Council Conclusions. This is a process which has implications for all Allies. We confirm that a stronger European role will help contribute to the vitality of our Alliance for the 21st century, which is the foundation of the collective defence of its members. In this regard:

- a. We acknowledge the resolve of the European Union to have the capacity for autonomous action so that it can take decisions and approve military action where the Alliance as a whole is not engaged;
- b. As this process goes forward, NATO and the EU should ensure the development of effective mutual consultation, co-operation and transparency, building on the mechanisms existing between NATO and the WEU;
- c. We applaud the determination of both EU members and other European Allies to take the necessary steps to strengthen their defence capabilities, especially for new missions, avoiding unnecessary duplication;
- d. We attach the utmost importance to ensuring the fullest possible involvement of non-EU European Allies in

EU-led crisis response operations, building on existing consultation arrangements within the WEU. We also note Canada's interest in participating in such operations under appropriate modalities.

- e. We are determined that the decisions taken in Berlin in 1996, including the concept of using separable but not separate NATO assets and capabilities for WEU-led operations, should be further developed.

10. On the basis of the above principles and building on the Berlin decisions, we therefore stand ready to define and adopt the necessary arrangements for ready access by the European Union to the collective assets and capabilities of the Alliance, for operations in which the Alliance as a whole is not engaged militarily as an Alliance. The Council in Permanent Session will approve these arrangements, which will respect the requirements of NATO operations and the coherence of its command structure, and should address:

- a. Assured EU access to NATO planning capabilities able to contribute to military planning for EU-led operations;
- b. The presumption of availability to the EU of pre-identified NATO capabilities and common assets for use in EU-led operations;
- c. Identification of a range of European command options for EU-led operations, further developing the role of DSACEUR in order for him to assume fully and effectively his European responsibilities;
- d. The further adaptation of NATO's defence planning system to incorporate more comprehensively the availability of forces for EU-led operations.

We task the Council in Permanent Session to address these measures on an ongoing basis, taking into account the evolution of relevant arrangements in the EU. The Council will make recommendations to the next Ministerial meeting for its consideration.

11. We have launched a Defence Capabilities Initiative to improve the defence capabilities of the Alliance to ensure the effectiveness of future multinational operations across the full spectrum of Alliance missions in the present and foreseeable security environment with a special focus on improving interoperability among Alliance forces (and where applicable also between Alliance and Partner forces). Defence capabilities will be increased through improvements in the deployability and mobility of Alliance forces, their sustainability and logistics, their survivability and effective engagement capability, and command and control and information systems. In this connection, we endorse the Council decision to begin implementing the Multinational Joint Logistics Centre concept by the end of 1999, and to develop the C3 system architecture by 2002 to form a basis for an integrated Alliance core capability allowing interoperability with national systems. We have established a temporary High-Level Steering Group to oversee the implementation of the Defence Capabilities Initiative and to meet the requirement of co-ordination and harmonisation among relevant planning disciplines, including for Allies concerned force planning, with the aim of achieving lasting effects on improvements in capabilities and interoperability. Improvements in interoperability and critical capabilities should also strengthen the European pillar in NATO.

12. We reaffirm our commitment to the 1995 Peace Agreement, negotiated in Dayton and signed in Paris, which established Bosnia and Herzegovina as a single, democratic and multi-ethnic state, and to the full implementation of the Peace Agreement. We reiterate our readiness to work constructively with all Parties that support the Peace Agreement and seek to implement it.

13. The Madrid Peace Implementation Council meeting in December 1998 confirmed that the next two years would be vital in strengthening the peace process in Bosnia and Herzegovina and recognised that SFOR's presence remains essential, both to keep the peace and to provide the secure environment and support for civilian implementation. Return of refugees to areas in which they are a minority will remain vital

for political stability and reconciliation. We will support efforts to take this process forward.

14. SFOR will continue to work closely and effectively with the High Representative, whose role we support, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, the OSCE and other major international organisations, the UN International Police Task Force and other agencies implementing the civilian aspects of the Peace Agreement. We commend the crucial contribution of men and women of both NATO and Partner countries serving in SFOR, who are helping to bring peace to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

15. SFOR's presence cannot, however, be maintained indefinitely. SFOR is being streamlined through efficiency measures. We note that the Council in Permanent Session is examining options on the future size and structure of SFOR.

16. The continuing crisis in and around Kosovo threatens to further destabilise areas beyond the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY). The potential for wider instability underscores the need for a comprehensive approach to the stabilisation of the crisis region in South-Eastern Europe. We recognise and endorse the crucial importance of making South-Eastern Europe a region free from violence and instability. A new level of international engagement is thus needed to build security, prosperity and democratic civil society, leading in time to full integration into the wider European family.

17. NATO is determined to play its full part in this process by contributing to the building of a more secure and co-operative relationship with and between the countries of the region. Given the differences in economic development and the diversity and complexity of the problems of each country in the region, international efforts to develop and stabilise the region must be comprehensive, coherent and well co-ordinated. To achieve these ends, NATO, the WEU, the EU, the OSCE and the UN must work closely together. The international financial institutions also have a crucial role to play. The Alliance's efforts to enhance regional security and stability in South-Eastern Europe and to help resolve humanitarian problems, and the efforts by other international organi-

sations, as well as those by the countries of the region, should be mutually reinforcing.

18. We will be meeting with colleagues from the countries of South-Eastern Europe tomorrow. We intend to build on that meeting by maintaining NATO's consultations with the countries of the region. Accordingly, we will propose to them a consultative forum on security matters which brings together all NATO members and countries of the region at an appropriate level.

19. We direct the Council in Permanent Session, building on, as appropriate, the existing EAPC and PfP framework, to give substance to this proposal, *inter alia*, in the following areas:

- 19+1 consultations where appropriate;
- the promotion of regional co-operation in the framework of an EAPC co-operative mechanism, taking into account other regional initiatives;
- targeted NATO security co-operation programmes for the countries in the region, as appropriate;
- regionally focused PfP activities and exercises;
- better targeting and co-ordination of Allies' and Partners' bilateral assistance to the region.

20. The Alliance's efforts to enhance regional security in South-Eastern Europe complement those by other international organisations, as well as those by the countries of the region. We welcome the forthcoming European Union conference on a Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe on 27th May 1999, and the South-Eastern Europe Co-operation process, as well as other regional efforts. Coherence and co-ordination between the various initiatives will be of great importance.

21. The security of the Balkan region is essential to achieving lasting stability throughout the Euro-Atlantic area. Our goal is to see the integration of the countries of the region into the Euro-Atlantic community. We want all the countries and peoples of South-Eastern Europe to enjoy peace and security and establish normal relations with one another, based on respect of human rights, democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law.

22. We reaffirm our commitment to consultation, partnership and practical co-operation through the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council and the Partnership for Peace. We commit ourselves today to build an enhanced and more operational relationship with Partners for the 21st century that strengthens stability, mutual confidence, and security throughout the Euro-Atlantic area. The EAPC and the PfP have transformed political-military relations across the continent and have become the instruments of choice when the Alliance and its Partners consult and act together in the pursuit of peace and security. We look forward to consulting with our Partners at tomorrow's EAPC Summit meeting.

23. The EAPC, founded in 1997, contributes substantially to stronger political consultation and practical co-operation between the Alliance and its Partners, for solutions to security issues. We applaud this expanded dimension of political consultations, which has enhanced transparency and confidence among all EAPC members. The Alliance and its Partners have consulted regularly on regional security issues, such as on Bosnia and Herzegovina and on Kosovo. We have also developed new areas of co-operation such as peacekeeping, humanitarian de-mining, control over transfer of small arms, and the co-ordination of disaster relief and humanitarian assistance.

24. We welcome the successful fulfilment by the Alliance and its Partners of five years of Partnership for Peace and the full implementation of PfP enhancements launched in 1997. Enhanced PfP has ensured that NATO-Partner co-operation contributes concretely to Euro-Atlantic stability and security. The participation of 15 PfP Partners in IFOR/SFOR demonstrates the real-life benefits of PfP's focus on interoperability and provides valuable lessons for future Alliance-Partner co-operation. The presence of Partner officers in an international capacity in NATO military headquarters enables Partners to participate in planning for NATO-PfP exercises and NATO-led PfP operations. Enhanced PfP has also permitted NATO to take action to assist Albania and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia with their unique security concerns.

25. We welcome and take special note of the initiatives designed to make the Partnership more operational and ensure greater Partner involvement in appropriate decision-making and planning, as we had envisioned in our Madrid Declaration. These steps will ensure that the Partnership will be better able to address its objectives, and will provide a solid foundation for its continuing evolution as the core of a co-operative security network between NATO and its Partners for the 21st century. To further this goal, we have today approved the following comprehensive package. We have:

- approved a Political-Military Framework for NATO-led PfP operations, which will enhance Partners' roles in political guidance and oversight, planning, and command arrangements for such operations;

- endorsed the expanded and adapted Planning and Review Process, which will further enhance interoperability of Partner forces declared available for PfP activities, and will allow for more focused and increased Partner contributions of valuable forces and capabilities for future NATO-led PfP operations;

- endorsed the outline Operational Capabilities Concept for NATO-led PfP operations, which will provide for deeper military co-operation between the Alliance and Partners with the goal of improving the ability of Partner forces and capabilities to operate with the Alliance in NATO-led PfP operations and directed the Council in Permanent Session to pursue its further development;

- endorsed the outline programme on enhancing PfP training and education to optimise and harmonise NATO and national PfP activities in order to meet the current and future demands of an enhanced and more operational PfP. The outline programme includes the role of three new PfP tools—a PfP Consortium of Defence Academies and Security Studies Institutes, a PfP Exercise Simulation Network and PfP Training Centres. We directed the Council in Permanent Session to develop a PfP Training and Education Enhancement Programme.

26. We remain firmly committed to our partnership with Russia under the NATO-Russia Founding Act. NATO and Russia have a common objective in strengthening security and stability in the Euro-Atlantic area. Throughout the Kosovo crisis, NATO and Russia have shared the common goals of the international community: to halt the violence, to avert a humanitarian catastrophe, and to create the conditions for a political solution. These goals remain valid. Consultation and dialogue are even more important in times of crisis. NATO and its member countries are determined to build on the areas of common ground with Russia concerning the international response to the crisis in Kosovo and remain ready to resume consultations and co-operation in the framework of the Founding Act.

27. Close relations between NATO and Russia are of great importance to stability and security in the Euro-Atlantic area. Since the conclusion of the Founding Act in May 1997, considerable and encouraging progress has been made in intensifying consultation and co-operation with Russia. The NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council has developed into an important venue to consult, to promote transparency and confidence-building, and to foster co-operation. Russia's participation in the implementation of the peace agreement for Bosnia and Herzegovina was a significant step towards a new co-operative relationship. We have developed an extensive dialogue on such matters as disarmament and arms control, including the adaptation of the CFE Treaty; peacekeeping and nuclear weapons issues. Strategy, defence policy and doctrines, budgets and infrastructure development programmes, and non-proliferation, are further examples of this increasing co-operation.

28. We attach great importance to a strong, enduring and distinctive partnership between NATO and Ukraine. Ukraine has an important role to play in enhancing security and stability in the Euro-Atlantic area and in particular in Central and Eastern Europe. We are pleased with the progress reached since the signing of the NATO-Ukraine Charter in Madrid, and will continue to strengthen our distinctive partnership. We continue to support Ukrainian sovereignty

and independence, territorial integrity, democratic development, economic prosperity and Ukraine's status as a non-nuclear weapons state as key factors of stability and security in Europe. We encourage Ukraine to carry forward its democratic and economic transformation, including its defence reform, and reaffirm NATO's support for Ukraine's efforts to this end. We applaud the progress made in the Joint Working Group on Defence Reform. We welcome the establishment of a NATO Liaison Office in Kyiv to further enhance Ukraine's role as a distinctive Partner. We also look forward to today's inaugural Summit meeting of the NATO-Ukraine Commission.

29. The Mediterranean Dialogue is an integral part of the Alliance's co-operative approach to security since security in the whole of Europe is closely linked to security and stability in the Mediterranean. We are pleased with the development of our Mediterranean Dialogue. The Dialogue is progressive in nature and we welcome the progress towards developing broader and deeper co-operation and dialogue with the countries in the Mediterranean region. We endorse the enhancements to the political and practical co-operation of the Mediterranean Dialogue agreed by the Council in Permanent Session and direct it to pursue their early implementation. We encourage Allied nations and Mediterranean Dialogue countries to organise events such as the Rome Conference in 1997 and the Valencia Conference in 1999 as positive steps to strengthen mutual regional understanding. We look forward to further opportunities to strengthen co-operation in areas where NATO can add value, particularly in the military field, and where Dialogue countries have expressed interest. The Dialogue and other international efforts, including the EU Barcelona process, are complementary and mutually reinforcing and thus contribute to transparency and building confidence in the region.

30. The proliferation of nuclear, biological and chemical (NBC) weapons and their means of delivery can pose a direct military threat to Allies' populations, territory, and forces and therefore continues to be a matter of serious concern for the Alliance. The principal non-proliferation goal of the Alliance

and its members is to prevent proliferation from occurring, or, should it occur, to reverse it through diplomatic means. We reiterate our full support for the international non-proliferation regimes and their strengthening. We recognise progress made in this regard. In order to respond to the risks to Alliance security posed by the spread of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and their delivery means, we have launched an Initiative that builds upon work since the Brussels Summit to improve overall Alliance political and military efforts in this area.

31. The WMD Initiative will: ensure a more vigorous, structured debate at NATO leading to strengthened common understanding among Allies on WMD issues and how to respond to them; improve the quality and quantity of intelligence and information-sharing among Allies on proliferation issues; support the development of a public information strategy by Allies to increase awareness of proliferation issues and Allies' efforts to support non-proliferation efforts; enhance existing Allied programmes which increase military readiness to operate in a WMD environment and to counter WMD threats; strengthen the process of information exchange about Allies' national programmes of bilateral WMD destruction and assistance; enhance the possibilities for Allies to assist one another in the protection of their civil populations against WMD risks; and create a WMD Centre within the International Staff at NATO to support these efforts. The WMD initiative will integrate political and military aspects of Alliance work in responding to proliferation.

32. Arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation will continue to play a major role in the achievement of the Alliance's security objectives. NATO has a long-standing commitment in this area. Allied forces, both conventional and nuclear, have been significantly reduced since the end of the Cold War as part of the changed security environment. All Allies are States Parties to the central treaties related to disarmament and non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention and the Chemical Weapons Convention, and are committed to the full implementation of

these treaties. NATO is a defensive Alliance seeking to enhance security and stability at the minimum level of forces consistent with the requirements for the full range of Alliance missions. As part of its broad approach to security, NATO actively supports arms control and disarmament, both conventional and nuclear, and pursues its approach against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their delivery means. In the light of overall strategic developments and the reduced salience of nuclear weapons, the Alliance will consider options for confidence and security building measures, verification, non-proliferation and arms control and disarmament. The Council in Permanent Session will propose a process to Ministers in December for considering such options. The responsible NATO bodies would accomplish this. We support deepening consultations with Russia in these and other areas in the Permanent Joint Council as well as with Ukraine in the NATO-Ukraine Commission and with other Partners in the EAPC.

33. The CFE Treaty is a cornerstone of European security. We reaffirm our commitment to the successful adaptation of the Treaty reflecting the new security environment and paving the way to greater conventional security and stability in Europe. In the course of the negotiations so far, Members of the Alliance have already declared their intention to undertake reductions in their equipment entitlements or holdings, and we strongly encourage others to follow suit with similar substantial reductions. In this context, we are pleased that agreement has been reached by CFE States Parties in Vienna in March 1999 on the key outstanding issues, permitting drafting work to proceed without delay. Allies will do their utmost to complete an adapted Treaty for signature by the time of the OSCE Istanbul Summit in November 1999. Until the adaptation process is completed, the continued full implementation of the existing Treaty and its associated documents will remain crucial.

34. We call on Russia to ratify the START II Treaty without delay. This would pave the way for considerable reductions of nuclear arsenals and would allow negotiations on a START III Treaty aiming at further far-reaching reductions. We remain committed

to an early entry into force of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, and call upon all countries to accede to and implement the Treaty in due course. We support the early commencement of negotiations on a Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty.

35. We are determined to achieve progress on a legally binding protocol including effective verification measures to enhance compliance and promote transparency that strengthens the implementation of the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention. We re-emphasise the importance of universal adherence to, and effective implementation of, the Chemical Weapons Convention. We support de-mining efforts in Bosnia, the development of practical initiatives under the auspices of the EAPC, and—for signatories—activities to meet obligations under the Ottawa Convention.

36. We call on Belarus, Russia and Ukraine to ratify the Open Skies Treaty without delay.

37. We will seek to intensify on a mutually reinforcing basis the Alliance's contacts and co-operation with other international organisations with a role to play in consolidating democracy and preserving peace in the Euro-Atlantic Area.

38. As stated in the Washington Treaty, we recognise the primary responsibility of the United Nations Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security. The Alliance and the UN have worked together effectively in implementing the Peace Agreement in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We look forward to developing further contact and exchanges of information with the United Nations, in the context of co-operation in conflict prevention, crisis management, crisis response operations, including peacekeeping, and humanitarian assistance. In the crisis in Kosovo, the Alliance is using its civil and military capabilities to work with the UNHCR, the lead agency in the field of refugee relief, and other relevant international organisations, in providing humanitarian assistance and refugee relief. The Alliance will consider on a case-by-case basis future co-operation of this kind.

39. Co-operation and co-ordination between the Alliance and the Organisation for

Security and Co-operation in Europe has expanded considerably in the light of the support we have provided to the OSCE-led Kosovo Verification Missions. We hope to make use of these important bridges between our two organisations to work together in conflict prevention, peacekeeping, crisis management and post-conflict rehabilitation, in the spirit of the OSCE's Common Concept for the Development of Co-operation between Mutually Reinforcing Institutions. We continue to support the efforts of the OSCE to develop a Document-Charter on European Security, worthy of adoption at the OSCE Istanbul Summit in November 1999.

40. The Alliance and the European Union share common strategic interests. Our respective efforts in building peace in the former Yugoslavia are complementary. Both organisations make decisive contributions to peace and stability on the European continent. Co-operation between the two organisations on topics of common concern, to be decided on a case-by-case basis, could be developed when it enhances the effectiveness of action by NATO and the EU.

41. The Alliance, in order to adapt its structures to better prepare it to meet future challenges, launched a comprehensive programme including the continuing adaptation of NATO's command structure. Accordingly, Allies welcome the activation decision of the implementation phase of the Alliance's new command structure. This will ensure NATO's ability to carry out the whole range of its missions more effectively and flexibly; support an enlarged Alliance and our more operational relationship with Partners; and provide, as part of the development of the ESDI within NATO, for European command arrangements able to prepare, support, command and conduct WEU-led operations. After successful trials, we have embarked on the full implementation of the CJTF concept, giving us an important new tool for crisis management in the next century. Allies also welcome the full integration of Spain into NATO's military structure from January this year, another significant milestone for the Alliance.

42. Terrorism constitutes a serious threat to peace, security and stability that can threaten the territorial integrity of States. We

reiterate our condemnation of terrorism and reaffirm our determination to combat it in accordance with our international commitments and national legislation. The terrorist threat against deployed NATO forces and NATO installations requires the consideration and development of appropriate measures for their continued protection, taking full account of host nation responsibilities.

43. NATO Heads of State and Government believe that a key to the future success of the North Atlantic Alliance is the efficient production and availability of advanced weapons and technology in support of security for all its members. We also believe that viable defence industries on both sides of the Atlantic are critical to the efficient functioning of NATO military forces. To that end, we welcome continued transatlantic defence industrial co-operation to help ensure interoperability, economies of scale, competition and innovation. We will seek to ensure that NATO's armament activities meet the Alliance's evolving military needs.

44. We welcome the presence in Washington of the President and other representatives of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly (NPA). The NPA plays a significant role in complementing NATO's efforts to project stability throughout Europe. We therefore attach great importance to enhancing our relations with the NPA in areas of common concern. We also appreciate the contribution made by the Atlantic Treaty Association in promoting better understanding of the Alliance and its objectives among our publics.

45. We express our deep appreciation for the gracious hospitality extended to us by the Government of the United States on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the North Atlantic Treaty.

NOTE: The joint statement was issued by the heads of state and government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Washington, DC, April 24. It was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary but was not issued as a White House press release. An original was not available for verification of the content of this joint statement.

The President's News Conference

April 24, 1999

The President. Thank you. Ladies and gentlemen, I would like to read a brief statement after which we will entertain questions, alternating from the American press corps and the international press corps here.

We have just about completed the first two days of our NATO meeting—welcoming new members, adopting very important changes to make NATO operations more relevant and more effective in meeting the new challenges of the 21st century.

We have also reaffirmed our determination on Kosovo to get the Serb forces out, to get the refugees back home under the protection of an international security force moving toward self-government.

Yesterday we sent a strong message of support to the frontline states who have risked and sacrificed so very much in this crisis. NATO will respond to any actions by Serbia against its neighbors as a result of NATO presence on their territory during this crisis or to any move to undermine the democratically elected government of Montenegro. We also expressed our support for a genuine democratic transition in Serbia.

For 5 years now, we have been working to build a new NATO, prepared to deal with the security challenges of the new century. Today we have reaffirmed our readiness in appropriate circumstances to address regional and ethnic conflicts beyond the territory of NATO members. I am pleased that our strategic concept specifically endorses the actions such as those we are now undertaking in Kosovo.

Now, this afternoon we will meet with President Kuchma to advance our cooperation with Ukraine. Tonight and tomorrow we will gather with 23 of NATO's partner nations. The Partnership for Peace launched in 1994, the Euro-Atlantic Partnership started in 1997, have clearly exceeded expectations. Sixteen partner nations are now serving with NATO in Bosnia. Our forces have conducted literally hundreds of exercises with forces from partner countries. These are the nations of central and eastern Europe, of the Caucasus, and central Asia, whose futures are clearly intertwined with ours.

Our Alliance also recognizes the tremendous importance of Russia to Europe's future, and we are determined to support Russia's transition to stronger democracy and more effective free markets and to strengthen our partnership with Russia.

We worked closely with Russia for a peaceful solution for Kosovo at Rambouillet. While our allied nations all agree that the offer Mr. Milosevic has apparently made to former Prime Minister Chernomyrdin on Thursday was inadequate, nevertheless, we welcome Russia's efforts and hope they will continue and ultimately result in Serb agreement to our conditions so that we can reverse the ethnic cleansing in Kosovo.

That concludes my statement. Go ahead, Sandra [Sandra Sobieraj, Associated Press].

Effectiveness of Policy in the Balkans

Q. [Inaudible]—the Pentagon will be sending more tanks and more troops to the Balkans, American Reserves will be called up, NATO may well end up searching ships as part of an oil embargo, and still, Milosevic is not backing down. What specific assurances can you give the American people that we are not drifting into a long and endless conflict with no end in sight?

The President. Well, we're not drifting. We are moving forward with a strategy that I believe strongly will succeed, one that we have reaffirmed here and intensified. I think the important thing for everyone to understand is that in order for this strategy to succeed, we need two things: one, vigorous execution, and two, patience.

Keep in mind, we now know from the evidence that has come out that the campaign Mr. Milosevic and the Serb leaders have carried out against the people of Kosovo was planned in detail last year. It was not executed in October in no small measure because of the threat of action by NATO. It was executed when we began our air campaign.

They had 40,000 troops in and around Kosovo, and almost 300 tanks. It takes time to reverse that. But we are working on it, and we will prevail if we execute well with real determination and if we have the patience.

I would remind all of you that it may seem like a long time—I don't think this air campaign has been going on a particularly long time. In the Persian Gulf, there were 44 days of bombing before there was any kind of land action. And the land was flatter, the targets were clearer, the weather was better. We are doing what needs to be done here with great vigor, and I am convinced we will prevail if we have the patience. We have to be prepared not only to execute with determination but to pay the price of time.

Yes?

European Security

Q. [*Inaudible*—European pillar in NATO. Are you satisfied that the outcome in the statement will not allow a split to occur between the European forces and the American forces? And specifically, what role will the Western European Union play in the UK?

The President. Well, first of all, I think the language speaks for itself. Europe will have to decide exactly how to constitute this force and also how to make it effective. One of the things that I think that will receive nearly no publicity during this meeting, obviously because of the dominance—appropriate dominance of Kosovo in the news—is the document we adopted today that deals with the European security initiative but also deals with what we can do to make all of our efforts more effective, including enhancing the defense capabilities of all of our allies.

As long as this operation—however it's constituted by the Europeans—operates within and in cooperation with NATO, I think it will strengthen the capability of the Alliance, and I think it will actually help to maintain America's involvement with NATO.

We have Members of the Congress here today—Senator Roth sitting here on the front row, has been one of the strongest supporters of our partnership with NATO and with our European allies. But I believe this is a very, very positive thing. The details are for the Europeans to decide, and you should ask them that. But as long as it's consistent with the Berlin principle—that is, separable but not separate from NATO—I think it will work very well.

Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International].

NATO Ground Troops

Q. Mr. President, the buildup of American troops and allied troops in Macedonia and Albania seem to smack of potential intervention, military intervention, despite ground troops, all your protestations.

The President. Is that a question?

Q. That's a question. I mean, is that true? [*Laughter*]

The President. The short answer is, no. Let me remind you, we are in Macedonia and Albania to try to help them, two very brave countries with very strong-willed leaders, operating under extreme duress. We're trying to help them manage a massive refugee problem. And in Albania, we have troops there, also, to secure the helicopter operation we have put in there and to make sure that we can secure it not only as it's moved in, but as it becomes operational.

Yes, ma'am?

Future of Southeast Europe

Q. How much of a guarantee can countries in the southeast Europe region get that they will actually be an important part of the reconstruction once the Kosovo conflict is over?

The President. Well, that is what we will deal with tomorrow when we meet with the leaders of all those nations. Last week I went to San Francisco to speak to the American newspaper editors to outline what I believe is an essential part of the long-term solution to the problems of the Balkans and southeast Europe generally. They are not yet sufficiently a part of the future we all imagine for Europe in the 21st century, which is not only peace and stability but also prosperity and shared decisionmaking.

So my view is that we should do more to draw those nations closer to one another, to give them a positive reason to work together and to properly treat the ethnic minorities within their borders and work out ways for them to participate in the life of their country, as well as to maintain their own religious and cultural traditions. And we should work

out ways for the nations of that region to relate more closely to all the European institutions and to Canada and the United States in North America.

So, to me, this will not work over the long run—if you don't want to see this repeated, what we're doing now, it is not enough to defeat this moment of aggression and to reverse it and to send the Kosovars back home. We are going to have to create an alternative positive future. We know what the history of ethnic animosity in the Balkans is. We know that there is not a single ethnic group, even the Serbs, who cannot cite some historic example of legitimate grievance that can be manipulated by an unscrupulous politician.

So what we need, with all these magnets pulling the people apart, we need a powerful set of magnets pulling the people together. And those have to be economic, as well as political and security. So the NATO open-door policy, the European Union's open-door policy, the prospect of new cooperation with all the states of southeastern Europe among themselves and with Europe and the United States and Canada—I think this is a very, very important thing.

Over the long run, we have to do this: We have to create a positive future for this part of Europe if we want to avoid being in the very position we're in today again in a few years, in another place.

Yes, Larry [Larry McQuillan, Reuters].

Oil Embargo

Q. Mr. President, there seems to be a great deal of concern about the oil embargo that NATO has endorsed. The French are expressing concern that if military force is used to enforce it, that it would amount to an act of war. I'm wondering, do you agree with that assessment? And are you concerned that, on one hand, you're encouraging the Russians to negotiate a settlement, and on the other hand, they may be caught in the middle of an oil embargo clash?

The President. Well, of course, I hope that won't happen. But let me tell you where we're coming from. We sent our pilots into the air to destroy the oil refinery and supply systems of Serbia, and they did so successfully. They risked their lives to do it. How can we justify risking the lives of the pilots

to go up and destroy the refinery and the supply capacity of Serbia and then say, "but it's okay with us if people want to continue to supply this nation and its outlaw actions in Kosovo in another way?"

So what we have done is we've asked our ministers of defense to come up with a plan that will apply in an even-handed way. Obviously, we don't expect it to and we will not do anything to try to see that it leads to violence. But we have to be firm about it. And if we want this campaign to succeed with economic and political pressure and with the air action, then we have to take every reasonable means to give it the chance to succeed. And that's what we intend to do.

Yes, sir?

Proposed United Nations Peace Mission

Q. Mr. President, the Austrian former Prime Minister, Franz Vranitzky, was proposed by Secretary-General Kofi Annan as a possible candidate for a peace mission to Kosovo. Would you kindly explain to us whether this has your approval and what you would expect from such a mission?

The President. Well, I can't respond to your specific question for a very simple reason; I did not know which individuals were being considered by the Secretary-General until, oh, a couple of hours ago. So I've had no direct communication with the Secretary-General, nor have I even discussed it with the members of my staff.

I have, as it happens, known Mr. Vranitzky for many years; I knew him before I was President, before I was a candidate for President. I have an enormously high regard for him, personally. But in order to make a judgment about that, I would have to have a clear idea about exactly what it is—what is the mission and what would be the parameters of it. So I can't really comment on the specifics. But I do have a very high regard for him, personally. I think he's an excellent man.

Wolf [Wolf Blitzer, Cable News Network].

Bombing of Serb Television

Q. Thank you, Mr. President. Mr. President, a lot of people have a clear understanding when you authorize bombing missions against military targets, tanks, armor, military headquarters. But they have a little

bit more difficulty understanding why you would authorize bombing Serb television in the middle of the night, knowing there are journalists working there, knowing there are cleaning crews there, knowing these people have no choice but to work there, and also know that within a matter of hours Serb TV would be back on the air from other locations.

So the question is, what goes through your mind, knowing you're going to, in effect, authorize the killing of these people for questionable military gains?

The President. Our military leaders at NATO believe, based on what they have seen and what others in the area have told them, that the Serb television is an essential instrument of Mr. Milosevic's command and control. He uses it to spew hatred and to basically spread disinformation. He does not use it to show all the Kosovar villages he's burned, to show the mass graves, to show the children that have been raped by the soldiers that he sent there.

It is not, in a conventional sense, therefore, a media outlet. That was a decision they made, and I did not reverse it, and I believe that I did the right thing in not reversing that decision.

Yes, sir?

NATO New Strategic Concept

Q. Mr. President, the new strategic concept practically legitimates NATO action beyond the borders. How far geographically will NATO go?

The President. I don't think it's a geographical issue. I think that what we tried to do was to say that there are some things which can occur in Europe, in non-member nations, that can affect the security and stability of all of Europe, including NATO members. And I think the language should speak for itself.

Sam [Sam Donaldson, ABC News].

Effectiveness of Airstrikes

Q. Mr. President, before the air campaign began, Pentagon planners advised you, according to reports that have not been denied, that the air campaign could degrade, it could damage, it could diminish, but it could not by itself stop the killing on the ground in

Kosovo if Milosevic intended to persevere. You have said again today that you will continue the air campaign and that you believe it will prevail. Have the Pentagon planners given you new advice? Have they changed their mind? And if not, sir, on what do you base your optimism?

The President. Well, first of all, I believe, first, the report that you have from the Pentagon planners is an accurate one and is what I believed to be the case at the time.

Keep in mind—and I think I made this clear at the time—the reason we went forward with the air actions is because we thought there was some chance it would deter Mr. Milosevic based on two previous examples: number one, last October in Kosovo, when he was well poised to do the same thing; and number two, in Bosnia, where there were 12 days of NATO attacks over a 20-day period. However, I also well understood that the underlying facts were somewhat different. I still believe we did the right thing. And I believe, as one of the area's leaders said in the last couple of days, it would have been much worse had we not taken action.

Now, there is a literal sense, Sam, in which, from the air, you cannot take every Serbian body in a uniform on the ground in Kosovo and extract them from Kosovo and put them back in Serbia. That, I think, is self-evident to everyone. So when I tell you that I think this will work, what I mean by that is I think if we execute well, if we are determined and if we spend enough time doing it, we will either break down his military capacity to retain control over Kosovo or the price of staying there will be far greater than the perceived benefits.

That is the logic behind the campaign, not that it will physically extract every person and put them back across the border. Everyone knows that's not true. And I'm glad you asked the question because I think it's very important that everyone be clear on this.

This is—my belief is that if we vigorously, comprehensively execute the air campaign and if we are prepared to take the time and do our very best to care for the refugees as best we can in the meanwhile and to provide stability and support to the frontline states, and especially to Albania and Macedonia,

that we will prevail. That is what I believe. And I believe we will do it because we have the capacity to dramatically degrade his military operation which is the instrument of his control and because we have the capacity to make this policy very, very expensive for him militarily and economically and in other ways.

Yes, sir, in the back.

Effectiveness of Policy

Q. Mr. President, under the scenario that you've just laid out doesn't mean that he would necessarily comply with the five conditions, which would also mean that it might be too high to keep his forces there, the cost, but then you would have to be willing to move some forces in to take the ground that they could no longer hold. And it seems at the moment there's no willingness to do that.

The President. Our position on that I think is the correct one. The Secretary General has recommended a reassessment of what would be required. I think that everybody in the Alliance agrees with his decision; that is the correct decision. But we have not weakened our conditions, nor will we. If anything, I think this meeting has seen not only a reaffirmation but an intensification of our determination to see the refugees back in, the Serb forces out, an international force to protect them, and the movement toward self-government for the Kosovars.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President's 173d news conference began at 3:50 p.m. in the amphitheater at the Ronald Reagan International Trade Center. In his remarks, he referred to President Slobodan Milosevic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro); former Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin of Russia; former Chancellor Franz Vranitzky of Austria; U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan; and Secretary General Javier Solana of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Remarks at the Meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization-Ukraine Commission

April 24, 1999

Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary General. Like all the NATO leaders, I am very pleased to welcome President Kuchma to

this first summit meeting of the NATO-Ukraine Commission.

When we launched this commission 2 years ago in Madrid, we hoped it would lead to a pragmatic and truly distinctive working partnership. Ukraine is a nation critical to our vision of an undivided, peaceful, democratic Europe.

The experience of the last 2 years has vindicated our hopes. Our Armed Forces are working together well in Bosnia. Ukraine played a vital role in Kosovo in the verification mission until it was driven out by the regime in Belgrade.

I appreciate President Kuchma's efforts to persuade Mr. Milosevic to end his campaign against the Kosovar Albanians so that the Kosovar people can come home with security and self-government.

Ukraine has also proposed an ambitious program of cooperation with NATO, and the Alliance has agreed to establish our very first Partnership for Peace training center in the Ukrainian town of Yavorov. Our nations also will support Ukraine's efforts to reform its economy, deepen its democracy, and advance the rule of law, all vital to Ukraine's security and the success of our partnership.

When we act to maintain peace and security in Europe we will strive to do so with our partners, including Ukraine. That is what we hope to do with Ukraine and other nations in Kosovo once peace is restored there.

We have taken many practical, good steps toward realizing the promise of our partnership. But we should also not lose sight of the larger significance of what we are trying to do here, in light of the history of Ukraine and the history of Europe. For the people of Ukraine have felt the horrors of communism and fascism and famine. At different points in this century, the flags of five outside powers have flown over Ukrainian territory. Now Ukraine flies its own flag, and it is incumbent upon all of us to support Ukraine's transition and what its people have called their European choice.

Ukraine still faces large challenges: political, economic, environmental. But now it is free to choose its destiny. And it has used that freedom to choose democracy and tolerance and free markets, integration, and the choice to dismantle its nuclear arsenal.

President Kuchma's presence here is a reminder that most of Europe is coming together today; most of Europe has rejected the idea that the quest for security is a zero-sum game in which one nation's gain is another's loss. So most of all, I want to take this opportunity on behalf of the people of the United States to express my respect and gratitude to President Kuchma and the people of Ukraine for the choices they are making, and to ensure them that all of us and our partners will stand with them as they work for a better future.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:25 p.m. at the Mellon Auditorium. In his remarks, he referred to Secretary General Javier Solana of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; President Leonid Kuchma of Ukraine; and President Slobodan Milosevic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). The transcript made available by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the remarks of Secretary General Solana and President Kuchma.

Remarks at a Dinner Honoring the Leaders of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council

April 24, 1999

Thank you very much. Please be seated. Mr. Secretary General, Mrs. Solana; allies and friends: It's a great honor for Hillary and for me to welcome the largest group of world leaders ever to assemble in Washington here to the White House on this beautiful spring evening.

Just a few years ago, a gathering of all the nations here in partnership would have been unthinkable. But we are all here tonight because we are thinking—we are thinking of a future brighter than the past; a future of shared values and shared visions; a future in which we define national greatness by its commitment to human rights and mutual respect, not to ethnic and religious bigotry; in which we measure the success of nations by how well we lift people up, not by how much we tear them down.

In a world full of both promise and peril, where for good or ill our destinies are more and more linked, we have chosen to be allies,

partners, and friends. In an age most observers define by the rise of modern technology, modern scientific breakthroughs, a modern global economy, it is ironic and painful that all over the world and, of course, especially in Kosovo, the peace is threatened by the oldest demon of society: the fear and hatred of the other, those who are of a different race or ethnic background or religion.

Just a few days ago, a voice from the age we honor at this 50th anniversary summit spoke to us from his home in Poland. Marek Edelman, a hero of the Warsaw ghetto uprising, published a letter here in an American newspaper urging all of us to persevere in Kosovo. "I know," he wrote, "like all of my generation, that freedom has and must have its price."

Tonight we remember that the burden of defending freedom and peace is lighter when it is shouldered by so many. And we remember that the cause of freedom and peace is stronger when it is embraced by a group of nations as great and diverse as those who are joined together in this Council.

And so I ask all of you to join me now in a toast to the leaders and the people of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council. And thank you very much.

[At this point, a toast was offered.]

Mr. Secretary General.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:27 p.m. in the pavilion on the South Lawn at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Secretary General Javier Solana of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and his wife, Concepcion. The transcript made available by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the remarks of Secretary General Solana.

Remarks at the Opening of North Atlantic Council Meeting With the Frontline States

April 25, 1999

Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary General. We want to welcome the leaders of all the frontline states here and say that we are very grateful for what you have done. The people of Albania and Macedonia have welcomed almost half a million refugees to their

countries, often, literally, into their homes. You have shared what you have, though the strains are immense. NATO is working to relieve your burden with the United Nations by building camps, providing supplies, helping to bring more refugees to other countries until they can return to Kosovo. We must do more, intensifying our relief operations, taking our share of refugees.

The nations of the region have risked and even faced armed confrontation with Serbia, by facilitating and supporting our campaign to end the bloodshed in Kosovo. Yesterday—or Friday, NATO made its position very clear. We said, unambiguously, if Belgrade challenges its neighbors as a result of the presence of NATO, we will respond.

The nations of the region have faced enormous economic dislocation and losses. We are committed to working with you and with multilateral institutions to ease your emergency needs and help you with your debts. You want a better future for your nations and your region, and there, as well, we are committed to help.

Many of us have tried to lay out a vision for the region, a positive alternative to the violence and ethnic hatred, a vision of people and nations working together, bridging old divides, forging a common future of peace, freedom, and prosperity. How do we get there?

First of all, we must prevail in Kosovo. A just end to the conflict is essential to putting the entire region on the path to stability. Second, we must strengthen our efforts to support economic development and deeper democracy, ethnic and religious tolerance, and regional integration in southeastern Europe. We must build on the many positive ways in which the nations of the region, often with our support, already are bringing change at home, in cooperation across borders.

In that regard, I want to especially commend Slovenia's strong efforts in recent years to reach out to its neighbors. We will work toward the day when all the people of the region, including the Serbs now suffering under reckless tyranny, enjoy freedom and live together.

This will require a commitment by nations of the region to continue political and economic reforms. And I particularly respect the

efforts of Bulgaria and Romania in this regard, to stick with their programs under very difficult circumstances. It will require that we sustain our engagement. I welcome the suggestion of the German-EU Presidency to hold a conference in Bonn next month to advance these common efforts. I hope our finance ministers, when they meet here next week with international financial institutions, will explore imaginative and aggressive ways for us to help.

Finally, we must continue to strengthen the security bonds between your countries and NATO. Five of the nations here are NATO partners. Yesterday NATO and its partners agreed to deepen our security engagement. We will continue to work with Bosnia and Croatia on implementation of the Dayton accords, looking toward eventual partnership. And yesterday NATO adopted a robust membership action plan to help aspiring nations strengthen their candidacy so they can enter NATO. New members will bolster our Alliance and Europe's security.

In all the countries present here today, leaders and citizens are working to realize a vision just the opposite of Mr. Milosevic's, reaching across the divides to pursue shared dreams of a better life. All of them are on the right road, and we must travel it with them to ensure that they succeed.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:14 a.m. at the Mellon Auditorium. In his remarks, he referred to Secretary General Javier Solana of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; and President Slobodan Milosevic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). The transcript made available by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the remarks of Secretary General Solana.

Remarks at the Opening Session of the Summit of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council

April 25, 1999

Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary General. First of all, I would like to join you in welcoming all the members of our Partnership Council. From Central Asia to North

America, from the Mediterranean to the Baltic, this Council and the Partnership for Peace are building a region of shared values and shared endeavors.

Many nations in this room, indeed, are accepting risks and hardships to support the peace in southeastern Europe. To be sure, there are challenges to our common vision of a Europe undivided, democratic, and at peace: the challenge of overcoming instability and economic hardship in the Balkans; of defeating those who employ ethnic hatred in the service of power; the challenge of integrating a democratic Russia into the European mainstream; the challenge of averting a gulf between Europe and the Islamic world; the challenge of resolving tensions in the Aegean.

We must see reducing conflict and tensions and increasing prosperity and integration as two sides of the same coin. Therefore, as we fight against ethnic hatred in Kosovo, we must fight for the rebuilding of southeastern Europe and the integration of the region into the larger European community.

We must continue to strengthen the Partnership for Peace and deepen the role that our partner countries play in the planning and execution of the missions we undertake together. We must continue to build on our cooperation with Russia, with Ukraine, with all the members of this Council, to advance the interests and ideals we share.

We must continue the enlargement of NATO, the Partnership for Peace, and the Partnership Council. All of these things, I am convinced, will make Europe stronger and freer and more stable. And I think that I can speak for my friend Mr. Chretien, when I say that those of us in North America strongly support it.

As I said last night at our dinner, if you look around this room, the idea that all of us could be sitting here together around one table would have been unthinkable just a few years ago. We are here around this table together because we are thinking about our common future. And that is the best thing to say about this meeting today.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:08 p.m. at the Mellon Auditorium. In his remarks, he referred to Secretary General Javier Solana of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; and Prime Minister

Jean Chretien of Canada. The transcript made available by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the remarks of Secretary General Solana.

Remarks at the Close of the NATO 50th Anniversary Summit

April 25, 1999

Hello. I am going to read a statement, and then I have to go, unfortunately, to another appointment. But Secretary Albright, Secretary Cohen, Mr. Berger, General Shelton are going to be available to answer questions.

We came to this summit committed to chart a course for the NATO Alliance for the 21st century, one that embraces new members, new partners, and new missions. Here we committed NATO first to fulfill its mission of collective defense with the ability to meet new security threats; second, to remain open to new allies and to seek stronger partnership with nations all across Europe, central Asia, and obviously including Ukraine and Russia.

We've also reaffirmed our determination repeatedly to intensify our actions, military and economic, until we achieve our objectives in Kosovo. On this, the Alliance leaves Washington more united even than it was when we came here.

Meanwhile, we will stand by the neighboring countries that have accepted risks and hardship in support of this effort. If Mr. Milosevic threatens them for helping us, we will respond. And we will work to support democracy and development in the region, so that the forces pulling people together will be stronger than those pulling them apart, and all nations—including, someday, a democratic Serbia—can join the European mainstream.

What NATO did here this weekend was to reaffirm our commitment to a common future, rooted in common humanity. Standing against ethnic cleansing is both a moral imperative and a practical necessity, as the leaders of the frontline states, who have so much at stake in the outcome, made so clear to us.

Our vision of a Europe undivided, democratic, free, and at peace, depends upon our constructive commitment to the hundreds of thousands of poor refugees, so many men,

women, and children, with no place else to turn, who have been made pawns in a power struggle. It depends upon our ability and our collective commitment after this crisis has past to help all the people of southeastern Europe build a better future.

In our last luncheon, just a few moments ago, when we had all the members of our Partnership Council there, someone made a joke. He said, "Look around this room. We have several members of the last Politburo here that the Soviet Union had." And then they were counting up. And then others said, "Well, we weren't on the Politburo, but we should have been." [*Laughter*] And they were laughing.

But they made an important point. There has been this breathtaking explosion of freedom. But the old order has not yet been replaced by a new one that answers all the legitimate needs of people, not just for freedom but also for security and prosperity.

We must be committed to building that kind of future for the people of central Europe, for the people of southeastern Europe, and for our other partners, going all the way to the central Asian states. We cannot expect for people to stop being drawn back to old ways of organizing themselves, even profoundly destructive ways resting on ethnic and religious divisions, unless there is a far more powerful magnate out there before them.

And so we committed ourselves to building that kind of future for all of our allies in the 21st century. When all is said and done, I think people will look back on this summit, perhaps many years from now, and say, that was its lasting value. We looked to the future with a clear vision and made a commitment to build it.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:25 p.m. in the amphitheater at the Ronald Reagan International Trade Center. In his remarks, he referred to President Slobodan Milosevic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro).

Remarks in a Discussion Entitled "The Third Way: Progressive Governance for the 21st Century"

April 25, 1999

[Moderator Al From, president of the Democratic Leadership Council, opened the discussion.]

President Clinton. Thank you very much. I'd like to begin just by expressing my profound gratitude to Al From, and to all the people at the Democratic Leadership Council for having the passion and the patience to work at this for years and years and years.

I, too, want to thank Hillary and the hearty band within the White House who keep us focused on the big ideas and values that got us here in the first place. And I'd like to say a special word of thanks to my friend and aide Sidney Blumenthal, for the work that he's done in trying to put this meeting together.

I would also like to just very briefly say how very much I admire the people who are here with me at this table today, how much I have learned from them, how much I look forward to working with them at every opportunity.

Wim Kok, from The Netherlands, actually was doing all this before we were. He just didn't know that—he didn't have anybody like Al From who could put a good label on it. [*Laughter*] But he was doing it, for years and years and years. Tony Blair has made me long for a parliamentary system. [*Laughter*] Gerhard Schroeder had to wait even longer than I did—[*laughter*—and was also a distinguished Governor. And Massimo D'Alema has proved that you—I think—I'll make you a prediction here—I think he is already proving that even in Italy, where governments tend to be like the flavor of the month for ice cream, that the right sort of politics can have a sustained long-term impact on some of the most wonderful people in the world. So I'm honored to be here with all of them.

I'd like to thank my friend and ally, Congressman Cal Dooley, who is out there; the

Secretary of Transportation, Rodney Slater; the Secretary of the Army, Louis Caldera, who helped me in so many ways. And we're going to hear afterward from Lt. Gov. Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, former Governor and Democratic Party Chairman Roy Romer; Mayor Wellington Webb of Denver; and Commissioner Michael Thurmond. I thank them.

All of you know we've just finished a 3-day NATO conference, celebrating the 50th anniversary of NATO, bringing in new members, celebrating an astonishing partnership with over 40 countries, including the countries of southeastern Europe, all except for Serbia, and the countries of central Asia in this amazing new group which, itself, is full of Third Way questions.

At our last luncheon, one of the members made a crack that we had five members of the last Politburo of the Soviet Union sitting around our table today. And another one said, "Yes, and a lot of the rest of us should have been on the Politburo, but we weren't." [Laughter] And it was a picture of how much the world has changed.

What gives rise to this kind of politics, when the old order is destroyed or when the realities of daily life or popular dreams can no longer be accommodated by a given set of political arrangements through a political debate? We see that in southeastern Europe today, with the crisis in Kosovo, where the old choices between state stability and being consumed by ethnic hatreds, and what we're arguing for is a new integration based on the embrace of difference, not the oppression of it.

I would like to just pose a couple of questions and then let our panelists take off. You heard Al From say that basically our lodestars have always been in the United States the concept of opportunity, responsibility, and community. We've worked on this for years. We tried to think of simpler and more complex ways to say what we stand for, but we've never done any better than that.

So I think I will just leave it there. But let me say, what could that mean in the present time? What is giving rise to all these people's elections? Why is this happening everywhere? It's not some blind coincidence. I believe it is because the social arrange-

ments, which were developed within countries, and the international arrangements among them, which grew up from the Great Depression through the Second World War and then the cold war, are no longer adequate to meet the challenges of the day.

And most of the parties of the right made a living by beating us in elections by saying how bad we were. And whatever—we were always for more Government, and they were for less of it. And if you thought it was, by definition, bad, then less is always better than more.

So they had quite a run in the 1980's. And then it became readily apparent that that didn't really solve any problems. And that there were serious questions that demanded serious answers. So I will just pose three, and then let our panelists go in whatever order they would like.

It seems to me that the great question that any political party that purports to represent ordinary citizens must answer is: How do you make the most of the economic possibilities of the global information economy and still preserve the social contract? What can governments do to help make sure that every responsible citizen has a chance to succeed in the global economy? And how can we discharge our responsibilities, as the leaders of wealthy countries, to put a human face on the global economy so that in other countries, as well, no one who's willing to work is left behind?

The second question I'd like to ask is, what is the nature of the social contract now, and how is it different from what it used to be? What does it mean? Are there entitlements that we should still have? Beyond entitlements, what are the empowerment issues of the social contract? What is the role of the private sector and the relationship of the government to it?

And finally, what do we mean by the concept of community? Who's in, who's out? And how can we create a concept of both national and international community that is a more powerful magnet drawing people together than the awful magnets pulling them apart, rooted in racial and ethnic and religious difference throughout the world?

And I will leave with that. It is a cruel irony that in this world we're entering, that

we have always celebrated in our dreams as a place of unbelievable technological explosion, unbelievable scientific advance, unbelievable advances in health care, and using computer technology to empower people in small African and Latin American villages, for example, to learn things—would be dominated by the most primitive hatreds in all of human history, those rooted in our basic fear of people who are different from us. How can we construct a community in which those forces pulling us together are more powerful than those tearing us apart?

There are hundreds of questions we debate all the time, but just about every question we debate falls within one of those three categories. And so having set it up like that, we have no agenda, and I'll just turn it over to our friends.

Mr. Blair, would you like to go first?

[At this point, Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom, Prime Minister Wim Kok of The Netherlands, Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder of Germany, and Prime Minister Massimo D'Alema of Italy presented their opening remarks.]

President Clinton. I should say that the Prime Minister is a good friend of the man who is now the most famous Italian in America, Roberto Benigni. And after his performance at the Academy Awards, you have both affection and respect. *[Laughter]*

I would just like to try to comment on a couple of things, to maybe make the conversation somewhat more specific and sort of segue into the participation of our other American leaders here.

If you look at this whole Third Way challenge, in America, for the Democratic Party it meant we had to prove we could manage the economy in an intelligent way and then deal with the whole question of social justice. And in our country those questions basically meant three things. One is what to do about the poor and how to have a welfare system that empowered people who could take care of themselves but also took care of people who could not take care of themselves—first question.

The second question, how to deal with the fact that we had phenomenal economic growth but increasing inequality. That in-

equality had been increasing for quite a long time, partly because of Government policies, partly because the new economy gives such a wage premium to education and skills.

And the third question, to my mind, in many ways the most important, how can this country with all of its phenomenal success and low unemployment—the lowest unemployment in 30 years—and now, finally, rising wages again, how can we strike the right balance, a better balance between work and family—give families the support they need to raise their children, take care of their parents, have the time they need, have the child care, the health care they need, and still maintain the economic dynamism? What is the right balance?

Now, for Europe, it goes the other way. I wish Prime Minister Jospin were here from France. Very interesting—France has had economic growth averaging over 3 percent for the last 3 or 4 years, but their unemployment rate hasn't gone below 11 percent, I think—something like that. Any way, still in double digits. And we know from our own experience that when unemployment—I mean, when growth can be sustained above 2½ percent in an industrial society, normally the unemployment will go down until it bottoms out at around, at least around 6 percent, even without going over 3 percent.

So the European question is, how do you get growth manifested in jobs and not give up your social solidarity? In America the question is, how do we keep all this growth—we love it—and get a little more stability for families and make sure we have done what we should for the poorest of our communities and our people and try to make sure that Americans who do work and carry the load in this country have a chance to have more of the growth in terms of their personal wealth and well-being. So to some extent we are crossing.

Now, I mention that to just give you a couple of specific examples. Gerhard Schroeder mentioned the German job training system. We sort of copied a lot of elements of that and tried to amend it for America in setting up our school-to-work program in 1993, because the Germans do the best job of moving people from—who do not go on to university for 4 years—moving most people into the

workplace with modern skills so they can claim a higher wage.

And in our country, we have—John Sweeney, the head of the American labor movement—the labor apprenticeship programs. A lot of the labor training programs do a good job of that, but as a society, we don't do as good a job of that. So we're trying to improve that.

Another interesting example—how do you deal with the fact that more and more people are working at home, more and more people are working in flexible work environments? You're going to have more and more part-time jobs. How is that consistent with maintaining a kind of social safety net? I would argue that The Netherlands have done the best job of that. Wim Kok's country has the highest percentage of voluntary part-time workers in all of Europe; that is they choose to do so. And they've worked out an agreement, which maybe he would like to talk about, so that even the part-time workers earn, on a pro rata basis, their vacation—annual vacation rights, and have retirement and health care and other things. They have the social protections. And there it makes them more willing when necessary to take part-time work. This is a big deal.

When I became President in America, there were 3 million people making a living primarily out of their own home, for example. When I was reelected, there were 12 million. Now there are 20 million, in only 2 years. So this economy is going to, if you will, atomize a lot. It's going to get a lot more diverse, and kaleidoscopic. So we'll have a lot of challenges to face in having the proper sense of social safety net.

And then, as I said, the most important thing is getting it right between work and family, since I think we would all admit that the most important job of any society is raising children as well as possible, something we are even more burdened with in the moment, that conviction.

So I just throw those ideas out. These are things that are going on in other countries, something that we're battling with here constantly. And I wonder if any of you would like to comment on that.

[Prime Minister Kok and Chancellor Schroeder offered comments.]

President Clinton. Let me just say very briefly, I think when we meet in Germany in the next few weeks with the G-8, I hope we will ratify a number of changes to the global financial system that I believe will be adopted by the international financial institutions and other bodies that will avoid having another financial crisis like the one we saw in Asia that we have all worked so hard to keep from spreading to Latin America and elsewhere.

And it really is a classic Third Way problem, because what happened was, in the last 50 years after World War II when the so-called Bretton Woods instruments were developed, the IMF, the World Bank, and others designed to promote global trade and global investment, with the explosion of technology and the explosion of trade, more and more money had to move around the world.

And then as always happens, there came an independent market in money, unrelated to the trade and investment. So that now every year, every day, there will be about \$1.5 trillion in trade per day in goods and services, and the amount of money that moves—excuse me, \$1.5 trillion a day in trade and money, which is roughly 15 times the daily volume of trade in goods and services. And that's the basic problem. So we don't have a framework that has the right incentives to keep that from getting out of hand and collapsing economies, protecting people from their own foolishness, as well as from the foolishness of investors.

But I think we can make some changes and keep the growth going, and get rid of the problems, which is obviously the kind of balance we've been striving for.

Anybody else?

[Prime Minister D'Alema and Prime Minister Blair made remarks. Mr. From then introduced Lt. Gov. Kathleen Kennedy Townsend of Maryland; former Governor Roy Romer of Colorado; Mayor Wellington Webb of Denver, CO; and Labor Commissioner Michael L. Thurmond of Georgia, who each made brief remarks.]

President Clinton. Well, let me say, first of all, I want to thank all four of them for speaking here today and for the work they do. And they're all friends of mine and I was

sitting here feeling like—sort of like a proud father or something. I'm so proud of my friendship of many years with Governor Romer; and Mayor Webb, who did so much to help me become President; Kathleen Kennedy Townsend. We're glad your mother is here. Ethel, welcome. There is no Lieutenant Governor in America who has had remotely the impact that she has had on the lives of her constituents. It's a stunning thing in many ways. And I think Mr. Thurmond can speak for himself. *[Laughter]* But I'm really proud of him, as well.

You see—the reason—let me just say, one of the reasons that I so much love the DLC and I was so proud of hearing them talk is that for most of us, including those of us at this table, the stories you just heard—that's why we got in politics. And then when you become a leader of a country and you're arguing about what's in some bill or what is the debate before the Parliament or the Congress or—if you're not careful, the debate gets very abstract and very frozen and very wooden and very meaningless to the people that put you in this position in the first place.

And the further you get away from your constituency—and I think sometimes our friends in the press almost contribute to this in a way, because they have difficulties, too. You know, they have to write a complicated subject, and they've got to get a headline out of it. Or they have to figure out how to take an issue that's going on, and how to put it into 15 seconds on the evening news.

But what you just heard is the ultimate test of whether ideas and our values and our work amount to a hill of beans. It's whether it changes the lives of people in concrete, positive ways. And so, I just want to thank them and those whom they represent. And I'd like to give my fellow panelists here the chance to make any comments or ask questions they'd like of those who just spoke.

Tony, do you want to start?

[Prime Minister Blair and Prime Minister Kok made remarks.]

President Clinton. I just want to comment on one thing, because a lot of you talked about at what level something should be done. We're having a huge Third Way debate here in this country that has many

different manifestations related to how the Federal Government should give money to local governments in various areas. And it's very interesting. By and large, the Republicans will say—and they really believe this—that since we can't run law enforcement, for example, we should just set aside how much money we want to give and give it to local government and say, "Go enforce the law. They'll lower crime." And the old motto would have been we would have passed a law which would have had 15 different programs, each with a different subcommittee chairman's name on it and said, "Go spend the money in this way."

Now, what I'm trying to do is to say, "Okay, we shouldn't tell you how to do things, but you have told us what works." Therefore, we should stop giving money for things that don't work and start giving money for things that do. So we say, "If community police works, that's what we should do." If Kathleen's program works on testing parolees, which by the way, I'm trying to get enough money out of Congress to do that nationwide, just what she said. She's proved it's worked, right? So we don't tell them whether they should contract with people to do the drug testing or what they should do or exactly how they should do it. But I think we should say, "Look, in Maryland, this works. Therefore, we'll give you the money if you do this. But we're not going to just give you the money, and you decide whether you want to waste it or not."

And that's the debate we're having. You know, because we're not trying to micro-manage local government, but we are trying to take things that work and say, "Okay, if they work in Denver, or if they work in Georgia, if they work someplace else, we need to stop funding things that don't work, start funding things that do. But we're not going to tell you how to do it. You figure out how, but this is a thing that works, and so do it."

And it's a big debate. And I urge you all to watch it this year. It'll play itself out in three or four different areas. And we may not win them all. But I think it's a very important debate to have, because it will be about the nature of the Federal responsibility in a lot of areas in the years ahead.

Would anyone else like to talk before we adjourn? Gerhard, do you want to say anything else? Massimo?

[Chancellor Schroeder and Prime Minister D'Alema made remarks.]

President Clinton. Thank you. Yes, I'm not sure I would even have you here, Massimo, if I were running for reelection. [Laughter]

No, no, I'll tell you a serious story. Hillary and I went to Italy over a decade ago, and we were in northern Italy, and I met these Italian Communists who were anti-Soviet Union, pro-NATO, and pro-free enterprise. And I thought to myself, I've got to be very careful about what words mean, anymore. It was amazing. [Laughter]

Let me introduce three more people who came here and are just as tired as our panelists are, and they sat through this whole thing. I'd like to thank Cherie Blair, Rita Kok, and Doris Schroeder Koepf for being here. Thank you all for coming, and being a part of this.

And let me say, I'm sure you all know that this was a very difficult but profoundly important 3-day meeting we had of NATO. And all these leaders, I think, must be quite exhausted. We have worked very hard and tried to do the right thing on every front. But they cared enough about these ideas and the worldwide movement to try to achieve what we have worked on and believe in, in common, that they came here to be with us. And I think we owe them all a very great debt of gratitude, and we thank them.

[Mr. From thanked the participants and closed the discussion.]

NOTE: The discussion entitled "The Third Way: Progressive Governance for the 21st Century," began at 5:21 p.m. at the National Press Club Building. In his remarks, he referred to former Assistant to the President Sidney Blumenthal; Prime Minister Lionel Jospin of France; John J. Sweeney, president, AFL-CIO; Ethel Kennedy, mother of Lt. Gov. Kathleen Kennedy Townsend; Cherie Blair, wife of Prime Minister Blair; Rita Kok, wife of Prime Minister Kok; and Doris Schroeder, wife of Chancellor Schroeder. The transcript made available by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the remarks of the other participants.

Letter to Congressional Leaders Transmitting the Report on Certification of the Nuclear Weapons Stockpile

April 23, 1999

Dear _____:

In my September 22, 1997, message transmitting the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty to the Senate for advice and consent to ratification, I announced that I would provide to the appropriate committees of Congress the annual certification of the nuclear weapons stockpile by the Secretaries of Defense and Energy and accompanying report. Enclosed is a copy of that certification and report.

I am pleased to note the Secretaries' conclusion that the nuclear stockpile has no safety or reliability concerns that require underground testing at this time. Problems that have arisen in the stockpile are being addressed and resolved without underground nuclear testing to ensure the stockpile remains safe and reliable. In reaching this conclusion, the Secretaries obtained the advice of the Directors of the National Weapons Laboratories, the Commander in Chief, United States Strategic Command, and the Nuclear Weapons Council.

Sincerely,

William J. Clinton

NOTE: Letters were sent to the congressional leadership and selected Representatives and Senators. This letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on April 26. An original was not available for verification of the content of this letter.

Statement on the Supreme Court's Decision To Consider the Food and Drug Administration's Regulation of Tobacco Products

April 26, 1999

I am very pleased that the Supreme Court has agreed to take up the case regarding the Food and Drug Administration's regulation of tobacco products. Almost 3 years ago, the FDA put in place a regulation to protect our children from tobacco, which the tobacco

companies challenged in court. Every day 3,000 young people become regular smokers, and 1,000 will have their lives cut short as a result. I remain firmly committed to the FDA rule, which will help stop young people from smoking before they start by eliminating advertising aimed at children and curbing minors' access to tobacco products.

Remarks at a Union of American Hebrew Congregations Dinner Honoring Rabbi David Saperstein

April 26, 1999

Thank you very much. Rabbi Yoffie—or Mr. President, should I say? *[Laughter]* My good friend Barney Frank—I would like to be furnished with a copy of the jokes he told before I got here. *[Laughter]* I want to thank Richard Ben-Veniste, Marian Edelman, Senator Metzenbaum and others who organized this great dinner, and thank at least the Members of Congress I have been told are here, Senator Wellstone, Representative Shelley Berkley, and Representative Tom Udall.

And like David, I would like to say to you, Mr. Landsburg, our prayers are with your daughter, and we're pulling for her, and we're proud that she's making the progress she is.

As David said, sort of in passing, we first met, oh, about somewhere between 12 and 15 years ago at a weekend retreat, courtesy of Marian and Peter Edelman. It was one of these deals where you get really smart people, and they talk all weekend. And they solve every problem, and then they can't imagine why it doesn't happen afterward, you know? It's a fabulous thing. *[Laughter]*

And I met that guy, and I thought: Now, this guy is some talker. *[Laughter]* And then, it is true, he stayed with Hillary and me when he came to Little Rock for the 30th anniversary of the integration of Little Rock Central High School, and we did stay up half the night. And Hillary sends her love.

I know, David, that over the years you've often been willing to stand against the tide and take a minority viewpoint and be very brave. But when you said that most people think we married wives that were smarter

than we are, in this case, the majority is right. *[Laughter]*

Even by the high standards of rabbis, David can talk. I mean, he is a good talker. *[Laughter]* But he talks so fast. *[Laughter]* You know, tonight he was clipping along at a pretty good pace, and it's the slowest I ever heard him speak. *[Laughter]* One night I saw him on television debating Jerry Falwell. And he was unbelievable. He just waxed him. He leveled him, you know? *[Laughter]* But unfortunately, no one who lived below the Mason-Dixon line could understand a word he said. *[Laughter]*

I want you to know where I was tonight. While you were listening to all these people heap praise on David, I was home praying that God would forgive them for the lies they were telling. *[Laughter]* Then I decided, what the heck, I'll come tell a few, too. *[Laughter]*

Let me say, like all of you, I love this man. And whether he's speaking fast or slow, the most important thing about him is that whatever it is he says, he does his dead-level best to do. And that is really the difference between David and most of the rest of the world, including most of the rest of us, from time to time. If we are all completely honest we would have to admit that there are very few people who are as absolutely certain, day-in and day-out, year-in and year-out to say something and then follow it up by acting in a way that is completely consistent with what they say. He is such a person, and that is why he is such a great treasure.

As he says, since I've been President I've often sought his wise advice, and his energy I have tried to tap. I've done it so often it's almost to the point of abusing our friendship. And it's hard for a man in his position to be friends with the President. You know, he was so gracious tonight—so were you, Rabbi you never mentioned any of the things that I've done that you disagreed with. *[Laughter]* Barney would have, but I wasn't here to say it—just to hear it. *[Laughter]* And what all they said before amounts to, "He's not so bad for a President, but we know they're never completely perfect."

I want you to know that David talked about religious liberty. It means a lot to me. And if you look around the world today, we'd be

a lot better off if it meant a lot to other people, too. He played a major role in the guidelines we issued in 1995 to help protect the right of students in public schools to express their religious convictions within the Constitution and without a need to amend the Constitution. And I don't know if anybody has noticed, but that's one issue you don't have to fight now.

When I became President, everybody was convinced we were going to have this huge battle over this constitutional amendment, prayer in the schools and all that. And I told the Secretary of Education, I said, "I don't believe anybody has read the decisions. I think this is a bogus political battle." And so we got David and a few other people and some scholars together, and we put out a booklet. And we sent it to all the schools and said, "Look, here are your rights now. Here's what you have to do. Here's how you can avoid problems. Give this to everybody." And I mean, within 6 months the whole issue of the constitutional amendment died.

So David did two good things: He increased people's sense that they were actually free to practice their faith, whatever it is, within the Constitution, wherever they wish, and he did it; and at the same time, totally diminished the sense that it was somehow needed to amend the Constitution in a way that I'm convinced would have raised a whole lot more problems than it solved.

And it's the kind of thing that he did that he got almost no notice for. And most of the rest of us didn't either, because it wound up being a dog that doesn't bark. But in the end, that's sometimes the highest measure of our success in public life. He played a major role in the dialog we had on race. And therefore, his influence is still felt in a lot of what we are trying to do in the White House in that regard.

I do believe that, as David said better than I in his wonderful, wonderful speech, you must believe that we are not only all created in God's image but that we have a little bit of God within us, and so does everyone else. That is very important to his faith and to his action. The Talmud says whoever is able to protest against the transgressions of the world and does not, is liable for the transgression of the entire world.

I think David wakes up thinking about that every morning. He's probably taken some of our transgressions away along with his because he's done way more than his share. [Laughter] But I say that because we have all been sort of sobered in these last days by what is going on in Kosovo and by this terrible tragedy in Littleton, Colorado.

And when we think about it, we think we know, too, that beneath all the prosperity our country enjoys there are still plenty of people who have not participated in it here and, in more subtle, less visible ways, are also suffering. He thinks about that.

And I would just like to take a few moments tonight to ask you, in David's honor, to think about this new millennium we're about to enter; how fortunate we are to go into it with many, if not all, but many of our social conditions improving and our economy booming and our country able to play a very privileged role to advance the cause of peace and humanity around the world but we know that this future—[inaudible]—that most people think of as dominated by technology and global information sharing and a global economy and people drawing together, that the good parts of that future are far from assured because a lot of the modern things that we think are inherently good are just like all the old things that happen in all previous times; they have a dark underside that must be struggled against.

The same explosion of technologies, for example, that fuels the prosperity of people all across the world really helps a lot of those who want to exploit today the oldest weakness of human society: fear and hatred of the other. I mean, think about it. The Internet offers scientists the way to exchange information and fight disease, offers poor children the way to access libraries. It's amazing how many kids in high school now are filing research papers, and they don't have a—every single source they got, they got off the Internet. But the Internet also offers websites that glorify death, lionize Hitler, and tell teenagers to make pipe bombs. It is not a thing in and of itself that is good.

Now, what's all that got to do with what we're talking about here? What has Littleton to do with Kosovo? I think it has a lot to do with the whole way we think about life

and the way we define ourselves and the way we use categories. None of us could function without categories. Categories help us to organize our days, to understand the outside world, to even organize our inner lives and our search for truth. Some of us are black; some of us are white. Some of us are Jewish; some of us are Muslim; some of us are Christian. Some are straight; some are gay. Some are Arab; some are Israeli. We categorize them. You've got to have them. You couldn't function without them.

The problem comes when people believe the categories are the truths, instead of helpful ways of helping us organize our search for the truth. Because when you believe that, then if you're an insecure kid in school and somebody says there's something wrong with you because you're not in the "in" crowd, you think it means something, instead of just a way of characterizing, "Here's what this group of kids thinks is important, and I'm not one of them. I'm something else, but really I'm just as good as they are." You think about it.

Somebody says, "I want to build Greater Serbia." What the heck does that mean? Nothing to you, but if you were Serb and you had a sense of historic grievance, it might mean quite a lot to you. Unless you had enough wisdom to know that the concept of being a Serb could only mean something if it were consistent with your search for the ultimate human truth and what connects you to the Albanians or the Macedonians or the Montenegrans or whatever.

Tougher for you in the Holy Land. And I applaud your search for peace, because even in the place where your faith was born you know that the exclusive occupation of a given acre of land is not as important as the ability to relate to the common humanity of others who are your neighbors.

But if you think about it—we all ought to think about this—I have been plagued by this thing in Littleton. I thought about—I've relived my life as a parent. My heart goes out to the parents who lost their children, including the parents of the two boys who did the killing. Because how many people are living in homes with people they love but are really strangers? How many times, even in our own homes, have we felt that? Maybe in non-

violent circumstances, but we all feel it. In a certain way we're all strangers on our journey through life.

And the only thing that enables us to hang together is somehow we know that there is this thing that we share, that was given to us by God, that makes us in God's image, that gives us a piece of immortality. It is our common humanity.

If a child has a sense of that, then if somebody looks down on the child, the child can say, "That's their problem, not mine. They're not better than I am." The child can almost feel sympathy for them and certainly feel sympathy for others who are far more discriminated against. But if someone believes that categories are reality, are truth, then when someone looks down on the child, the child is not only angry at that person, but the child then looks around for someone to look down on.

I saw this happen when I was a kid in the South—why were the poor whites the worst racists? Because the rich whites were looking down on them all the time. They knew they didn't have very much education. They knew they didn't have great jobs, and their lives were kind of a drag, and they felt like nobody respected them. But thank God, they had somebody they could look down on.

This is a huge problem in every society. And when you have a society like ours, where we refuse to take even the most elemental steps to control access to weapons that kids should not have access to and when we fought for the Brady bill and the assault weapons ban and the things that I'm trying to pass now—that I hope all of you support, and I know you will—they actively decide we're threatening the American way of life. Why? Because people believe that categories are realities. The gang they're in is the real gang with the whole truth and opposed to the others. It's the real difference in Mr. Saperstein and his debating partner, Mr. Falwell.

And in the end, you know, when this thing is over in Kosovo—and it will be over and they will go home, because we will not quit—but when it's over, what's going to happen? The Kosovar Albanians who were uprooted from their homes and their schools, saw their villages burned—what should they do? Go

home and see their Serbian neighbors, who turned the other way and were silent, because either they were afraid, maybe they were even secretly glad, maybe they even secretly believed in the Greater Serbia, maybe they openly believed in it—so what are they going to do, go in and get even with them?

We cannot stop when the war is over and the refugees go home. We have to give the people in the Balkans a way to be proud of their ethnic heritage, acknowledge that they all have legitimate historical grievances and then recognize that no one ever gets even. That is God's work; we don't do that. And the more we try to get even, the more we remain the prisoners of those against whom our anger is directed.

Now, somehow, we have got to drive that home to our children. And it's hard. But we ought to start here. You know, we're all raised in this old child's adage, "sticks and stones will break my bones, but words will never hurt me." It's just not true. Hardly anybody believes that anymore. There are a few people, like me, who have had more practice living with it than others. *[Laughter]* But it's a huge deal.

I can still remember when I was in second grade and I was the only kid that wasn't picked to play on a softball team. Nobody wanted me because I was too fat and slow. I can still remember it like it was yesterday. So that happens to kids. You know, our children need to know that they're still God's children, and they're just as good as anybody else. And they should feel sympathy for people who are disrespecting and enormous pain for people who really suffer far greater than they do. They shouldn't get into this thing where they want to get even with the people that dissed them, and they've got to have somebody to look down on. But this is human nature out of direction, people who believe that categories matter, that they're reality.

And I know I'm, as the Baptists say, preaching to the choir tonight. But this is a very important thing. Why are people so hung up on a lot of the issues that Barney has worked to get me to work with him on? Why are people afraid to pass the employment and nondiscrimination act? Why are they afraid of that?

I don't mean that categories don't matter. It really matters if you're Jewish or if you're Muslim, you have a different way of worshiping God, and they matter. All these things matter. But they do not define the whole truth. And that is the point that needs to be made.

Categories are things made up by imperfect people to help us organize reality so we can get through the day and try to search inside to get closer to the truth. They will never define the whole truth. We cannot do that. We cannot do that; that is not for us to do.

This sounds so basic, but after all this time I've spent as President, the most vivid memories I have—sitting in Kigali and Rwanda with a woman who woke up, having been cut by machetes, to find that her husband and six children had been slaughtered and somehow a miracle had let her survive. And instead of being full of hatred for losing everything, she was spending her life trying to figure out how to get people to live together again. And all the other examples like that I've seen. Every single time it was somebody in excruciating pain having suffered enormous abuse who somehow said, "All these things that we used to think matter so much; they don't matter as much as our common humanity."

It is that which allows people to have sufficient self-respect, to endure the normal slings and arrows of life and sometimes the extraordinary unfairness that life brings. It is that which enables people to have the empathy and the sympathy necessary to be fully alive. And with all the modern world and all the fancy gizmos we have and all the growth of the economy we have and the stock market at 10,000—when you strip it all away, if we could learn that one lesson most of the world's problems would go away. We would have peace in the Middle East in the month, if we could do that.

And so I ask you to think about that. I ask you to think about it especially in the Middle East. We said after this national election is over and the Israelis organize a new government, we'd like to bring the parties together within 6 months to pursue a final agreement. And we are committed to doing that, and I know you will support that. But

in the end, to make it work, both sides will have to remember that the categories are important, but they can't be the whole truth. Otherwise it will become a zero-sum game.

And you know, everybody has got a beef in life. You've got a beef, every one of you. But most of us get out ahead of where we would if all we got was simply justice and no mercy. And we have—somehow we have got to just bang this message home in the Middle East, in the Balkans, and in our own homes, in our communities, in our schools.

Yes, we must do more to deal with the problems of violence in the society. And I am proud of the fact that one of the legacies of this administration will be that we did contest with the NRA what kind of future we were going to have in America and whether we were going to be just totally irresponsible on the gun issue. I'm glad of that.

Yes, parents should have more control and have all these blockers and all this stuff on the Internet to keep some of the madness away from their kids. Yes, that's true, too. But in the end, most kids come out all right because most kids have the barriers and the self-respect and the guidance necessary and the humility necessary to find their humanity, instead of drifting into madness. And we have to find that for the Serbs and for the brutally injured Kosovars. We have to find that for the people who will make the hard decisions in the Israeli Government and among the Palestinians. We have to find that everywhere.

And I have found that, from the first day I met him, in the man we honor tonight. And I love him for it.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:50 p.m. in the Presidential Ballroom at the Capitol Hilton Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Rabbi Eric H. Yoffie, president, Union of American Hebrews Congregations; Richard Ben-Veniste, former Watergate prosecutor; Marian Wright Edelman, founder and president, Children's Defense Fund, and her husband, Peter, professor, Georgetown Law School; former Senator Howard M. Metzenbaum; Jerry Falwell, pastor, Thomas Road Baptist Church, Lynchburg, VA; and Gilead Landsburg, father of Rabbi Lynne Landsburg.

Remarks Announcing Proposed Gun Control Legislation

April 27, 1999

Thank you very much, Carolyn, John Conyers, Senator Chafee, Senator Feinstein, all the many Members of Congress who are here. I thank the Attorney General, the Secretary of the Treasury, and Secretary of Education. I'm glad to see our old friend Mayor Helmke, and Bob Walker, and others here. We have, I think, over 40 Members of Congress here and two Senators who went back to the floor to fight for this issue to be put on the floor today.

I would like to do two things. First, I want to tell you specifically what we are proposing, and I'll do that. But secondly, I would like to tie what we are proposing to all these culture arguments, and talk about, if you will, at least two cultures that exist in America, and say that I think this, in the end, is going to come down to what our conception of America as a community is and what our responsibilities to one another are.

I want to begin by saying a lot of people have made remarkable contributions, I think, to this effort to get us to look at the violence of our culture and how it makes the most vulnerable of our children, without regard to their income or their social status, closer to the line of taking violent action, and how it complicates family life for everyone.

I want to thank Hillary for what she's done. I also want to thank Al and Tipper Gore, who have done enormously important work on this for years, to try to help us deal with the TV issues, the ratings, the V-chips, and now, the new efforts we've been making with the Internet community to give parents some more control over that and the efforts we have to make to train the parents to figure out how to do it, since their kids all know more about it than they do.

But this is very important stuff. In June, Tipper Gore's going to host our White House Conference on Mental Health. And the Attorney General and Hillary and I were just talking about some of the things we can do to help to make sure all of our schools have the adequate mentoring and mediation and even mental health services our kids need.

All this is very important. And we have to deal with that.

But if you believe that we have special cultural challenges, it seems to me that that's an argument that we ought to bend over backwards to try to remove the opportunities for bad things happening, if we have more kids that are vulnerable to doing those things, not an argument that we ought to say, "Well, we should walk away from that and just try to make sure everybody, individually, in the whole country, never does anything wrong."

And what's the real problem here? The problem is, we have another culture in our country that I think has gotten confused about its objectives. We have a huge hunting and sport shooting culture in America, and unlike many of you, I grew up in it. I was 12 years old the first time I took a .22 and shot it at a can on a fencepost in the country. I know about this.

We always talk about the NRA; the NRA has been powerful not only because they have a lot of money but because they can influence people who vote. And in that culture, people believe everybody should be personally responsible for their actions; if you just punish people who do wrong more harshly, fewer people will do wrong; and everybody tells me I've got a constitutional right to keep and bear arms, so don't fool with me; and every reasonable restriction is just the camel's nose in the tent, and pretty soon they'll come after my shotgun, and I'll miss the next duck hunting season.

And we smile about that, but there are some people who would be on this platform today who lost their seats in 1994 because they voted for the Brady bill, and they voted for the assault weapons ban, and they did it in areas where people could be frightened. And the voters had not had enough time, which they did have within 2 more years, to see that nobody was going to take their gun away.

So we have more than one cultural problem here. And I want to make a plea to everybody who is waiting for the next deer season in my home State to think about this in terms of what our reasonable obligations to the larger community of America are.

Do we know for absolutely certain that if we had every reasonable law and the ones

I'm going to propose here that none of these school violence things would have happened? No. But we do know one thing for certain. We know there would have been fewer of them, and there would have been fewer kids killed in the last several years in America. We know that for certain. We know that.

Cultures are hard to change. And cultures should never be used to avoid individual responsibility. But we—when we get to where we change, then we wonder. We look back and we say, "How could we have ever done it otherwise?"

Let me ask you something. Next time you get on an airplane, think about how you'd feel if the headline in the morning paper right before you got on the airplane was "Airport Metal Detectors and X-Ray Machines Abolished as Infringement on Americans' Constitutional Right To Travel." Think about it. That's the headline in the morning paper. And right next to it there is another headline, "Terrorist Groups Expanding Operations in the United States." And you read the two headlines, and you're getting on the airplane, exercising your constitutional right to travel, which is now no longer infringed by the fact that you might have to go through the metal detector twice and take out your money clip or take off your heavily metaled belt and that somebody is x raying your luggage as it gets on the airplane. It's unthinkable now, isn't it? This will become unthinkable, too, that we should ever reverse these things if we ever have enough sense to do them.

But we still have a cultural and a political argument that says to defend Americans' rights to reasonable hunting and sport shooting, you have to defend the indefensible, as well. This is—it doesn't make any sense at all, unless you're caught up in this sort of web of distorted logic and denial.

But Carolyn McCarthy may have made the most important point here. We're all in here preaching to the saved. You wouldn't be here if you didn't agree. But somebody needs to call these Members that grew up where I grew up, that lived in the same culture I did, that belong to both parties, and say, "Hey, we've got to make this like airport metal detectors and x-ray machines. This is about our community. This is about our responsibility to our children. This is about protecting our

children and—the vulnerable children themselves—from people who are about to go over the line here. And this is crazy that we're living in a society that takes no reasonable steps to protect the larger community."

So it's not just a culture of violence that has to change; it's the culture of hunting and sport shooting that has to stop financing efforts to frighten their members, who are good, God-fearing, law-abiding, taxpaying citizens out there, into believing that every time we try to save a kid's life, it's a camel's nose in the tent.

I have had to go through those metal detectors as many as 3 times, back when I had a real life and I was traveling around, because I had all kinds of stuff in there—[laughter]—and every time I start to get a little aggravated, I think, "Boy, I don't want that plane to blow up." [Laughter] You know, make me go through a dozen times if you want to. And the person behind me.

Now, we've got to think about this in that way. These are the folks we have to reach. When there are no constituents for this movement, the movement will evaporate. When people from rural Pennsylvania and rural West Virginia and rural Colorado and Idaho start calling their Congressmen and saying, "Hey, man, we can live with this. We can live with this. This is no big deal, you know? I mean, we're just out there doing what we do. We'll gladly put up with an extra hassle, a little wait, a little this, a little that, because we want to save several thousand kids a year."

That is my challenge to you. That is what is going on.

Now, here are the things we want to do. A lot of you won't think they're enough, but you remember the culture. You change the culture; we'll change the laws. You change the message; we'll do it. And none of them have anything to do with anybody's legitimate right to hunt.

First of all, we ought to strengthen the Brady law. It's kept 250,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers—the States now have the instant-check system, which is good. The mandatory waiting period has expired, that's bad because we need it in addition to the instant-check system to give a cooling-off period to people who are in a fit of rage. It's important.

The law that we would present, the act, will also prevent juveniles who commit violent crimes from ever buying a gun. It would apply the Brady law's prohibition to juvenile violence. It would require Brady background checks on anyone who wants to buy explosives. Very important. And it would abolish, at long last, as Senator Feinstein said, a dangerous loophole that was likely exploited in Littleton, which allows people to buy weapons at gun shows without any background checks at all.

Now, you need to go make this case on this gun show deal. I don't know how many of you have ever been to one of these gun shows. I've been to gun shows in rural America. People walk around, and they've got their cars, and they've got their trunk open, and people walk in and say, "This is nice, and that's nice," and "This is a 100-year-old rifle," and blah, blah, blah. And then they say, "This is just too much hassle, you know. People pay cash, and nobody, you know"—so, it's going to be a hassle for them. It's worth it. It's worth it. We're sorry. It's worth it.

You don't have to pretend it won't be a hassle. Tell them you know it will be a hassle. It's worth it. People's lives are at stake here. What these shows started out doing, which was a good way for people who live in rural areas—it started out primarily in rural areas—who enjoy hunting and interested in different kinds of weapons, to have an interesting experience on a weekend afternoon—has turned out to be a gaping loophole through which criminals and deranged people and other people get guns they could not otherwise get.

And so we have to say, "We haven't asked you to abolish your gun shows, but we've asked you to undergo the inconvenience necessary to save more lives." We don't have to be insensitive; we just have to be determined. But I'm telling you, if we don't do something about this gun show loophole, we're going to continue to have serious, serious problems. And it's very important.

The second thing we've got to do is to strengthen the assault weapons ban, to close the loophole that allows dealers to sell older, high-capacity ammunition magazines manufactured abroad. Now, I bet you—when Senator Feinstein was talking about this, you

thought, now, who in the world could be against this? I actually had a conversation with a Member of Congress who said to me—serious, a good person, it was a really good person, when we were doing this back in a '94, a really good person, this person I was talking to—who told me—[laughter]—let me tell you, I just want you to understand what the argument was. He said, “But you’ve got to understand, we’ve got people who use these bigger magazines for certain kinds of sport contests.” And I said, “Well, so what?” [Laughter] But he said, “They’ll beat me if I vote for this.” I said, “They’ll beat you if they think all you’re doing is making their lives miserable because some Washington bureaucrat asked you to do it. If you can explain to them that it’s worth a minor alteration in their sporting habits to save people’s lives, they won’t beat you.”

But my point is, you’ve got to help these people. You hear this, and you think, “God, this is a no-brainer. This is a hundred-to-nothing deal. Who in the wide world could ever be”—you have to understand, there is another culture out there. And almost everybody in it is God-fearing, law-abiding, tax-paying; and they show up when they’re needed; and they don’t like this because they don’t understand that if they do what you’re asking them to do, they can save a lot of lives. And we have got to fix this. This is just pure mathematics; you’re going to have fewer people die if you get rid of these magazines. So you need to go out there where the problem is and debate your fellow citizens and discuss it with them. It’s important.

The third thing the legislation would do is to raise the legal age of handgun possession from 18 to 21 years. It would also strengthen our zero tolerance for guns in schools, which, as one of the previous Members said, had led us to 6,000 suspensions or expulsions last year, by requiring schools to report to the police any student who brings a gun to school and requiring that the student get counseling. That, I think, is very important.

The provision holding adults criminally responsible would only apply, but—this is quite important—but it would apply if they recklessly failed to keep firearms out of the reach of young people. This would mandate a steep increase in penalties for adults who transfer

guns illegally to juveniles. It would require child safety locks to be sold with all new guns.

Finally, it would crack down on illegal gun trafficking, doubling the number of cities now working with the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms to trace every gun seized by the police. I know this is very important to Congresswoman McCarthy.

It would require that dealers submit information not only on the guns they sell but on used guns, which are often very hard for law enforcement agencies to trace. It would significantly increase penalties for gun runners caught trafficking large numbers of firearms. It would establish a national system, as soon as it’s feasible, to limit handgun purchases to one a month, following the lead of Virginia.

You know, I’ve got to say—this is very interesting. When we were going over the list of things we wanted to propose, some people said, “Well, that might be a loser because it sounds to people who care about this like that’s too many, and what is this?” You know, the States that have had big problems in the past, with lots of illegal gun purchases and guns then being used for illegal purposes—Virginia did this, and it really helped them. This was a big deal. And I just talked to Senator Robb about this a couple days ago, and he said, “You know, all I can tell you is it’s working in our State.” So I would ask you to seriously consider what this might mean for our efforts to control the law enforcement aspects of this.

So these are the things that I wanted to say. But I hope you’ll remember what I said to you about the culture. We do have to keep working on the culture. Hillary’s right about it. Al and Tipper Gore are right about it. We’ve got a lot of responsibilities. We’ve got to keep working on the services for kids. We’ve even got to work on helping parents actually communicate with their children.

One Senator called me the night before last and said he’d had a town meeting in his State with children. And he asked how many of the schoolchildren had actually talked to their parents about what happened in Littleton. And only 10 percent of the kids raised their hands. And one child said, “I had to go and turn off the television and tell my parents we were going to talk about it.” She

said, "They're just scared. They're scared. They didn't know how to talk about it."

So there are all these cultural issues. And then there's this big cultural issue of the gun and sport hunting culture. And I hope that—a lot of my folks at home might take offense at what I said today, but I'm trying to help explain them to you. And I felt comfortable taking on these issues, and I thought maybe I was in a unique position to take on all these gun issues all these years because of where I grew up and because I understand how people think who don't agree with this.

But I'm telling you, we've got to keep working until people start thinking about this stuff the same way they think about x rays and metal detectors at airports. That's the goal. We have to redefine the national community so that we have a shared obligation to save children's lives. And we've got to get out of this crazy denial that this won't make a difference. It's crazy; it won't make—just because it won't make all the difference doesn't mean it won't make a difference. It will make a difference.

I implore you to remember what these Members have said. I implore you to go out and get people going at the grassroots, as Carolyn McCarthy said. We need help. We can pass all this if the American people want it bad enough. We can pass it all if the American people want it badly enough. And we don't need to go through another Littleton for the American people to want it badly enough. You can help make sure that happens.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:15 p.m. in Presidential Hall (formerly Room 450) in the Old Executive Office Building. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Paul Helmke of Fort Wayne, IN; and Bob Walker, president, Handgun Control, Inc., and the Center to Prevent Handgun Violence. The transcript made available by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the remarks of First Lady Hillary Clinton.

Remarks on Presenting the National Medals of Science and Technology

April 27, 1999

The President. Thank you very much. I want to begin by thanking Neal Lane and Secretary Daley for the terrific job they do for our administration every day and for the American people. I also want to welcome the two eminently qualified Members of Congress to be here, Senator Bill Frist, a distinguished physician, and Representative Rush Holt, our only bona fide scientist in the United States Congress, and it's about time we had one, and I'm glad they're both here. [Laughter]

Each year, I look forward to presenting these medals because they show again that America's future is flowering as a result of the work of the honorees and people like them all over our country. I suppose I am living proof, when I come here every year, that it is possible for a person to love and support those things which he does not fully understand. [Laughter] Indeed, one of the reasons that I asked Al Gore to join the ticket with me in 1992 was that I felt that the work you do would shape the future of America, and I thought there ought to be somebody here in the White House who knew more about it than I did. In the years since, I've done my best to be a good student.

One of the things that impresses me is the nature of the work that all of you do, although it is very different. I was deeply moved when I read as a young man what Albert Einstein said when he said, "I think and think for months and years. Ninety-nine times, the conclusion is false. The hundredth time, I am right." I wonder how many of you, day and night, perhaps fueled by lukewarm coffee or kept awake by stubborn puzzles, have waited for that hundredth time. We are very glad that you made the effort.

You have sought answers to questions that few Americans can even begin to understand,

or others people ask but can't answer, questions about neutrino physics and plant genetics, about polymer composites and urban poverty. Your success in illuminating the hows and whys of our world and raising the quality of human existence have helped make the time in which we live perhaps the most exciting in human history. I am humbled by your achievements and honored to present these medals to you.

I'd like to take just a moment to reaffirm something that is obvious to all of you but needs to be equally clear to your fellow Americans. In an age when the entire store of knowledge doubles every 5 years, where prosperity depends upon command of that ever-growing store, the United States is the strongest it has ever been, thanks in large measure to the remarkable pace and scope of American science and technology in the last 50 years.

Our scientific progress has been fueled by a unique partnership between government, academia, and the private sector. Our Constitution actually promotes the progress of what the Founders called "science and the useful arts." The partnership deepened with the founding of land grant universities in the 1860's. After World War II, President Roosevelt directed his science adviser, Vannevar Bush, to determine how the remarkable war-time research partnership between universities and the Government could be sustained in peace. "New frontiers of the mind are before us," Roosevelt said. "If they are pioneered with the same vision, boldness, and drive with which we have waged the war, we can create a fuller and more fruitful employment and a fuller and more fruitful life." Perhaps no Presidential prophecy has ever been more accurate.

Vannevar Bush helped to convince the American people that Government must support science, that the best way to do it would be to fund the work of independent university researchers. This ensured that, in our Nation, scientists would be in charge of science. And where before university science relied largely on philanthropic organizations for support, now the National Government would be a strong and steady partner.

This commitment has helped to transform our system of higher education into the

world's best. It has kindled a half-century of creativity and productivity in our university life. Well beyond the walls of academia, it has helped to shape the world in which we live and the world in which we work. Biotechnology, modern telecommunications, the Internet, all had their genesis in university labs, in recombinant DNA work, in laser and fiber optic research, in the development of the first web-browser.

It is shaping the way we see the universe. Just last week, astronomers at San Francisco State University, whose work was supported by the National Science Foundation, announced they had detected a solar system of three large planets orbiting the star Upsilon Andromedae. This suggests strongly that there are billions of planets in the universe, some of them, undoubtedly, very much like Earth. Now, on my bad days here, that's a very sobering thought—[laughter]—but quite an exciting one.

It is shaping the way we see ourselves, both in a literal and in an imaginative way. Brain imaging is revealing how we think and process knowledge. We are isolating the genes that cause disease from cystic fibrosis to breast cancer. Soon we will have mapped the entire human genome, unveiling the very blueprint of human life. Meanwhile, I want to compliment the committee on recognizing today the role of social science in honoring William Julius Wilson whose work has deeply influenced what I have tried to do as President, to bring the benefits of work to people too long denied them.

Today, because of this alliance between Government and the academy, we are, indeed, enjoying fuller and more fruitful lives. With only a few months left in the millennium, the time has come to renew the alliance between America and its universities, to modernize our partnership to be ready to meet the challenges of the next century.

Three years ago I directed my National Science and Technology Council to look into and report back to me on how to meet this challenge. Today I'm pleased to present their findings.

The report makes three major recommendations. First, we must move past today's patchwork of rules and regulations and

develop a new vision for the university-Federal Government partnership. Vice President Gore has proposed a new compact between our scientific community and our Government, one based on rigorous support for science and a shared responsibility to shape our breakthroughs into a force for progress. Today I ask the National Science and Technology Council to work with universities to write a statement of principles to guide this partnership into the future.

Next, we must recognize that Federal grants support not only scientists but also the university students with whom they work. The students are the foot soldiers of science. Though they are paid for their work, they are also learning and conducting research essential to their own degree programs. That is why we must ensure that Government regulations do not enforce artificial distinctions between students and employees. Our young people must be able to fulfill their dual roles as learners and research workers.

And I ask all of you to work with me, every one of you, to get more of our young people, especially our minorities and women students, to work in our research fields. Over the next decade, minorities will represent half of all of our school-age children. If we want to maintain our continued leadership in science and technology well into the next century, we simply must increase our ability to benefit from their talents, as well.

Finally, America's scientists should spend more time on research, not filling out forms in triplicate. Therefore, I direct the NSTC to redouble their efforts to cut down the red-tape, to streamline the administrative burden of our partnership. These steps will bring Federal support for science into the 21st century. But they will not substitute for the most basic commitment we need to make. We must continue to expand our support for basic research.

You know, one of Clinton's laws of politics—not science, mind you—is that whenever someone looks you in the eye and says, “This is not a money problem,” they are almost certainly talking about someone else's problem. *[Laughter]*

Half of all basic research, research not immediately transferable to commerce but essential to progress, is conducted in our uni-

versities. For the past 6 years we have consistently increased our investment in these areas. Last year, as a part of our millennial observation to honor the past and imagine the future, we launched the 21st century research fund, the largest investment in civilian research and development in our history. In my most recent balanced budget, I proposed new information technology initiative to help all disciplines take advantage of the latest advances in computing research.

Unfortunately, the resolution on the budget passed by Congress earlier this month shortchanges that proposal and undermines research partnerships with NASA, the National Science Foundation, and the Department of Energy. This is no time to step off the path to progress and scientific research. So I ask all of you, as leaders of your community, to build support for these essential initiatives. Let's make sure the last budget of this century prepares our Nation well for the century to come.

From its birth, we have been built by bold, restless, searching people. We have always sought new frontiers. The spirit of America is, in that sense, truly the spirit of scientific inquiry.

Vannevar Bush once wrote that “science has a simple faith which transcends utility . . . the faith that it is the privilege of man to learn to understand and that this is his mission . . . Knowledge for the sake of understanding, not merely to prevail, that is the essence of our being. None can define its limits or set its ultimate boundaries.”

I thank all of you for living that faith, for expanding our limits and broadening our boundaries. I thank you through both anonymity and acclaim, through times of stress and strain, as well as times of triumph, for carrying on this fundamental human mission.

Major Williams, please read the citations. *[At this point, Maj. Darryl Williams, USA, Army Aide to the President, read the citations, and the President presented the medals.]*

The President. Thank you, Major. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. Congratulations again. We're adjourned. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:08 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his remarks,

he referred to William Julius Wilson, recipient, 1998 National Medal of Science.

Memorandum on Renewing the Federal Government-University Research Partnership for the 21st Century

April 27, 1999

Memorandum for the National Science and Technology Council

Subject: Renewing the Federal Government-University Research Partnership for the 21st Century

Federal investments in university research are critically important to the Nation, helping foster the discovery of knowledge, stimulating technological innovation, improving the quality of life, and contributing to America's economic prosperity. Universities also have the unique role of educating and training the next generation of scientists and engineers. Indeed, the integration of research and education is the hallmark of the American university system, which many nations now seek to emulate. Beginning with the visionary establishment of the land grant universities by President Lincoln in 1862 and continuing with President Truman's effort to redouble our Nation's commitment to university-sponsored research and education by the establishment of the National Science Foundation, the partnership that has evolved between the Federal Government and our Nation's system of research universities has served us well by any measure of success.

However, with the end of the Cold War and the globalization of the world's economy, it became apparent that the future success of the partnership cannot be taken for granted. That is why I directed the National Science and Technology Council (NSTC) to assess the current state of the partnership and recommend ways to strengthen it. The resulting report on *Renewing the Federal Government-University Research Partnership for the 21st Century* finds that the partnership is fundamentally sound, but that it can still be improved. Therefore, I direct as follows:

1. The NSTC, in consultation with research universities and other stakeholders in

the Federal science and technology enterprise, shall develop a statement of principles that clearly articulates the roles, responsibilities, and expectations of each of the partners and establishes a framework for addressing future issues as they arise. Ultimately, this statement of principles will serve to shape future discussions and guide policy development and decision making.

2. The NSTC shall develop recommendations to better support the integration of research and education in Government policies and practice. The vital and dual roles of students (undergraduates as well as graduates), as both researchers who contribute to the national research enterprise and as students who gain research experience as part of their training, must be recognized and reflected in Government and university policies and practices.

3. The NSTC shall propose specific actions by member agencies to make the partnership more effective and efficient. These actions should be aimed at fostering a productive policy, regulatory, and administrative environment and promoting cost and administrative efficiencies while maintaining accountability for public funds.

These actions should be completed within 12 months of the date of this memorandum. The findings and recommendations contained in the NSTC report *Renewing the Federal Government-University Research Partnership for the 21st Century* should provide the basis for proceeding.

William J. Clinton

NOTE: An original was not available for verification of the content of this memorandum.

Statement on Ordering Reserves to Active Duty To Support Military Action in Kosovo

April 27, 1999

Today I authorized the Secretaries of Defense and Transportation to order to active duty up to 33,102 essential members of our Reserve component to support NATO and U.S. operations related to the conflict in Kosovo.

The Secretary of Defense has informed me that he intends to exercise that authority immediately to recall approximately 2,000 essential Air Force Reserve and Air National Guard crews from eight States. These reservists will support refueling operations for our intensifying air operations in Kosovo. I expect that over the coming days and weeks, Secretary Cohen and General Shelton will call upon additional personnel from all branches of the service to fill critical support positions in our humanitarian and combat operations in and around the former Yugoslavia. These Reserves are essential to America's military strength; they are part of the total force we bring to bear whenever our men and women in uniform are called to action.

All Americans are proud of the commitment these citizen soldiers make to their country. On behalf of all Americans, I thank each reservist, their families and loved ones, and their employers here at home for their service and sacrifice in support of our important mission in Kosovo.

Executive Order 13120—Ordering the Selected Reserve and Certain Individual Ready Reserve Members of the Armed Forces to Active Duty

April 27, 1999

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including sections 121 and 12304 of title 10, United States Code, I hereby determine that it is necessary to augment the active armed forces of the United States for the effective conduct of operations in and around the former Yugoslavia related to the conflict in Kosovo. Further, under the stated authority, I hereby authorize the Secretary of Defense, and the Secretary of Transportation with respect to the Coast Guard when it is not operating as a service in the Department of the Navy, under their respective jurisdictions, to order to active duty any units, and any individual members not assigned to a unit organized to serve as a unit, of the Selected Reserve, or any member in the Individual Ready Reserve

mobilization category and designated as essential under regulations prescribed by the Secretary concerned, and to terminate the service of those units and members ordered to active duty.

This order is intended only to improve the internal management of the executive branch and is not intended to create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable at law by a party against the United States, its agencies, its officers, or any person.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
April 27, 1999.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., April 28, 1999]

NOTE: This Executive order was published in the *Federal Register* on April 29.

Message to the Congress on Ordering the Selected and Individual Ready Reserves to Active Duty

April 27, 1999

To the Congress of the United States:

I have today, pursuant to section 12304 of title 10, United States Code, authorized the Secretary of Defense, and the Secretary of Transportation with respect to the Coast Guard, when it is not operating as a service within the Department of the Navy, under their respective jurisdictions, to order to active duty any units, and any individual members not assigned to a unit organized to serve as a unit, of the Selected Reserve, or any member in the Individual Ready Reserve mobilizations category and designated essential under regulations prescribed by the Secretary concerned. These reserves will augment the active components in support of operations in and around the former Yugoslavia related to the conflict in Kosovo.

A copy of the Executive order implementing this action is attached.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
April 27, 1999.

NOTE: An original was not available for verification of the content of this message.

Memorandum on Establishment of the Interagency Commission on Crime and Security in U.S. Seaports

April 27, 1999

Memorandum for the Vice President, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Defense, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, the Secretary of Transportation, Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, Director of the Office of Management and Budget, United States Trade Representative, Director of National Drug Control Policy, Chief of Staff to the President, Director of Central Intelligence, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

Subject: Establishment of the Interagency Commission on Crime and Security in U.S. Seaports

United States seaports are an integral part of our Nation's commerce. Too often, however, they tend to be a major locus of crime, including drug trafficking, cargo theft, and smuggling of contraband and aliens. Moreover, the criminal conspiracies often associated with these crimes can pose threats to the people and critical infrastructures of seaport cities.

Many government agencies at the Federal, State, and local level are addressing this significant problem, at times in partnership with the private sector. I have determined that the Nation needs a comprehensive review of the nature and extent of seaport crime and the overall state of security in seaports, as well as the ways in which governments at all levels are responding to this problem.

Therefore, I hereby direct as follows:

1. The Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General and the Secretary of Transportation, in cooperation with other heads of executive departments and agencies as appropriate, shall establish the Interagency

Commission on Crime and Security in U.S. Seaports (hereinafter, the Commission).

2. The Commission shall be comprised of not more than 25 members and shall be co-chaired by 3 Federal officials, one of whom shall be appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury, one of whom shall be appointed by the Attorney General, and one of whom shall be appointed by the Secretary of Transportation.

3. The Commission members shall include senior officials of: the Departments of State, the Treasury, Defense, Justice, Agriculture, Commerce, Labor, Health and Human Services, and Transportation; the Environmental Protection Agency, the Office of Management and Budget, the Office of National Drug Control Policy, the Central Intelligence Agency, the National Security Council, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. All members of the Commission shall be full-time Federal employees.

4. The Commission shall undertake a comprehensive study of the nature and extent of the problem of crime in our seaports, as well as the ways in which governments at all levels are responding. The study shall address all serious crime relating to the maritime context, including but not limited to drug trafficking, cargo theft, and the smuggling of contraband and aliens. Moreover, the study shall carefully examine the role of internal conspiracies often associated with such crime in seaports, including the potential threats posed by terrorists and others to the people and critical infrastructures of seaport cities.

5. In the course of its work, the Commission shall seek input from, and take full account of, the expertise and views of the many different State and local government agencies with relevant responsibilities, as well as the involved private sector interests.

6. The Commission shall complete its work within 1 year of the date of its establishment. On or before that date, the Commission shall submit a report to the Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General, and the Secretary of Transportation, including the following:

- An analysis of the nature and extent of serious crime and an assessment of the overall state of security in U.S. seaports;

- An overview of the specific missions and authorities of Federal agencies with relevant responsibilities, together with a description in general terms of the typical roles played by State and local agencies as well as by the private sector;
- An assessment of the nature and effectiveness of the ongoing coordination among the Federal, State, and local government agencies; and
- Recommendations for improving the response of Federal, State, and local governments to the problem of seaports crime.

7. Within 3 months of the submission of the Commission's report, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General, and the Secretary of Transportation shall forward the report, together with their joint recommendations, to the Chief of Staff to the President for final review and appropriate action.

8. The Secretary of the Treasury shall appoint an Executive Director who will oversee the support staff and a working group to be established to further the work of the Commission. The Executive Director shall report directly to the Co-Chairs of the Commission.

9. With the exception of the personnel costs (including the salaries and any necessary travel expenses) of the members of the Commission and the working group, which shall remain the responsibility of their parent agency, the Department of the Treasury shall fund the Commission, including all costs for support staff, office space, and logistics.

William J. Clinton

NOTE: An original was not available for verification of the content of this memorandum.

Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Dinner in Chevy Chase, Maryland

April 27, 1999

Thank you very much. Thank you. Ladies and gentlemen, this has been an atypical and thoroughly enjoyable fundraiser. *[Laughter]*

First of all, when I was introduced, Father, to you, I thought to myself, how did the conversation go, when Tommy Boggs asked you to come and pray over all these politicians,

lobbyists, and fundraisers? And I think it must have gone something like this: He asked you, and you said, "Well, if I can pray over you, Tom, I can pray over anybody." *[Laughter]*

Let me say—we were having a conversation here at the table, and I was telling Pat Kluge, Tom, how much I liked your whole family and how much I admired your late sister Barbara and treasured the brief occasions I had to be with her, how I will always cherish the fact that I was with your remarkable father on the last weekend of his life, in San Antonio, Texas, when I was a very young man—and I was completely enamored of him—and how your unbelievable mother took me under her wing and didn't shed me when a lot of other people were, in 1992. *[Laughter]* And now she represents me to the Pope—*[laughter]*—and is maybe the only person on the Earth—*[laughter]*—who could convince the Pope that I am worth dealing with. *[Laughter]* So, anyway—so I love the Boggs family. *[Laughter]*

And I understand that one of the things that Lindy's going to do before she leaves the Vatican is to nominate you for sainthood, Barbara. *[Laughter]*

But let me say to all of you, I appreciate, Tom, what you said in the introduction. But I would like to say that I hope all the people who came here, who are not rank-and-file Democrats, would just consider a few things.

We had a remarkable NATO summit here, over the weekend. The largest number of world leaders who had ever been gathered in Washington, heads of government and heads of state, at one time, not only to deal with the immediate crisis of Kosovo but to envision the world of the 21st century that we want to make. A world in which Europe, for the first time in history, is undivided, democratic, and free, and at peace. A world in which people are working together and cherishing both their diversity and their interdependence. A world which offers our children the promise of greater peace and prosperity than any age in human history.

And at the end of that summit, Al From and the Democrat Leadership Council sponsored a forum, in which Governor Romer spoke about his experiences as Governor, and the new labor commissioner in Georgia—the

first, along with the attorney general, the first two African-Americans ever elected to statewide office in Georgia—talked about the work he had done to move people from the welfare rolls to the work rolls.

The Mayor of Denver, an African-American in a city where African-Americans are decidedly in the minority, talked about the work he had done to get the unemployment rate in the city of Denver down to 3.9 percent and what they'd done to try to knit the community together and build support for the schools.

And the Lieutenant-Governor of Maryland, Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, talked about, among other things, the work they were doing to try to keep more people out of prison but to make people with drug-related offenses be drug tested twice a week as a condition of being out of prison, and how much it had reduced the growth of imprisonment, reduced the crime rate, and reduced the recidivism rate.

And it was a remarkable thing. But what really is interesting about it is, the discussion was not partisan in any conventional sense. And I brought to the discussion the Prime Minister of Great Britain, the Chancellor of Germany, the Prime Minister of Italy, and the Prime Minister of The Netherlands, all of whom represent the same sort of movement that came to our country when Al Gore and I were elected in 1992.

I say that to make this point: Every major country has to confront the challenges of creating as much opportunity as we can in the global economy and at the same time preserving the cohesion that any decent nation and any decent community has. How do you get the benefits of all this exploding technology and entrepreneurialism and global economics and retain and strengthen the benefits that come from supporting families and communities, raising children well?

And I believed in 1992, when I ran for President, and I believe it more strongly today, that we had to break the citizens of this country from the grip of an outdated political debate, that it would be possible, if you followed the right policies, to balance the budget and increase your investment in education and health care. It would be possible to preserve the environment and improve it

and grow the economy at a more rapid rate. It would be possible to move the world toward peace and still use force in a disciplined way to stand up for peace and to stand against the resurgence of ethnic and racial and religious hatred in the world.

And insofar as we have had any success, I am thankful that I could be the instrument of that in the White House for the 18 million new jobs and the lowest unemployment in 29 years and the first surplus since 1960, now, to the biggest peacetime surpluses ever. I'm grateful for that.

I'm grateful that we have over 90 percent of our children immunized against serious childhood diseases for the first time in the history of the country. I'm grateful for the tax credits and other advances, which have opened the doors of college virtually to every person in America.

I'm grateful that the air and water is cleaner and that we've set aside more land in perpetuity than any administration in history except those run by the two Roosevelts. I'm grateful for all that.

But it all started with a set of ideas, that we had to find a way to guarantee opportunity for every responsible citizen, to reinforce responsibility, and to build a genuine sense of community, so that we all felt not only that we had obligations to one another that crossed all the lines that divide us but that we would all actually be better off if our neighbors were better off.

And we are trying to carry that into the world, into working for peace, from the Middle East, in Northern Ireland, to the Balkans; trying to help our friends in Asia get over their financial crisis, and keep it from spreading to Latin America; in trying to make sure that the economic growth that has still escaped some of the inner cities and poor rural areas and Native American reservations in our country, can at long last be extended to them; in trying to guarantee that every child in this country has an excellent, world-class education; in trying to deal with the challenges of aging by reforming Social Security and Medicare for the 21st century and at the same time continuing to pay down our debt, so that we can liberate our children from excessive dependence on high borrowing at high interest rates and excessive reliance on

all the turbulence that may yet still engulf the global economy.

All of that started with a set of ideas, with a group of people who were prepared to think in a different way and to have values without having ideology, to have ideas that were tested not only by whether they were consistent with those values but by whether they in fact worked or not.

Today we had a truly astonishing meeting in the White House with 40 Members of Congress that included three Republicans—three brave Republicans—to talk about something I had planned to do for some time, before the terrible tragedy in Colorado, about what we had to do to strengthen our protection, that guns won't fall into the hands of children.

And I said then, and I will say again, I believe very strongly that there are things in our culture that have to be challenged and that there is too much ready violence in the culture. And between Hillary and Al and Tipper Gore, we have worked on this hard, now, for 6 years. We've got the TV rating system, and the V-chip that will soon be in all new televisions.

We've made a lot of headway even on the Internet, in giving parents the tools to screen out certain websites on the Internet. The technology is there. I have to say parenthetically, with the head of the National Education Association here, our biggest challenge is going to be trying to teach the parents of this country to be half as good on computers as their kids are. But if we can do that, the technology is there. We've worked on these things. There are cultural issues, all right. And we need to do more there.

But it is also true that there is another culture in America, made up of people who are overwhelmingly God-fearing citizens who pay their taxes and obey the law and show up when they're needed and who love to hunt, and they use their guns for sporting purposes and have been, I think, welded into a political force designed to stop us from dealing with the objective things we can do about guns to make our society safer.

They've been convinced that every little thing we do, no matter how small or modest, is the camel's nose in the tent, and some-

body's going to come get their hunting rifle. And as a result, our society has plainly failed to do what any great and sensible country would do.

And today I said I was going to go back and try to get the waiting period of the Brady bill back, even though we have the insta-check, that we were going to try to apply the Brady law and its prohibition on handgun ownership to juveniles who have been convicted of violent offenses, that we were going to try to plug some loopholes in the law that relates to assault weapons and gun shows, where there is no background check, and a lot of other things.

But I want to make a general point. I come from a culture, as do some of these—Tommy Boggs was, I thought I was going to see him a few weeks ago, and he was down at Beryl Anthony's hunting lodge instead of with me. So we come out of this culture. I was 12 years old the first time I ever shot a .22 at a can on top of a fencepost in the country.

But I promised myself, when I got elected President, that because of my background, I was in a position to try to take on the positions that the NRA had taken and at least have a halfway decent chance of explaining it to the American people. And I'm proud that we've done that. We've got the Brady bill and the assault weapons ban. And I hope we get some more things like that.

But the point I want to make to you is that took a decision, and I had to have a party that backed me up. And I lost some House Members. One of the reasons we're sitting here, worrying about whether we can pick up six more House Members is, more than six lost their seats in 1994 because they stood up and voted for the Brady bill, and they stood up and voted for the assault weapons ban. And there are children alive in America today because of it. And we were right about that.

So you don't have to be all attached to party labels to believe that ideas matter in politics and conventional wisdoms have to be challenged if the country is going to go forward and become what it ought to be.

And so, I just want all of you to know here that for those of you who have been with us all along, I am grateful. For those of you

who are here for the first time, I am very grateful.

I'm not running for anything. I'm here because I believe in what we've done, and I know there's a lot more to do, not only in the 2 years I have remaining on my term but in the years ahead. And this country needs to be led from a dynamic, vital center, rooted in a concern for these basic ideas, not the politics of left and right but how to get opportunity to every responsible citizen and how to build a genuine sense of community in which we care for other people because it is morally right to do, but we also are smart enough to understand that we'll all do better if other Americans do better. That unleashes a flood of good ideas. And if you can only get half of them done, the country is in a much better place.

So when I look back on the last 6 years, when I look to the next 2 years, when I look ahead to the next 10 years, I believe the philosophy we have brought to America is the right one. And I believe our country would be better served if we had more people who believed in it and worked for it every day. That's why I'm here supporting Joe and Beth and Loretta and Roy and Andy and all of our fine team because I believe that with all my heart.

And if you believe that this is a better country in the last 6 years, I appreciate it if you think that I had something to do with it. But I was the instrument of the ideas that, when implemented, made America a better place. And we need more people who can carry those ideas and have the ability to implement them.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:22 p.m. at a private residence. In his remarks, he referred to Father William L. George, assistant to the president of Georgetown University for Federal relations; dinner hosts Thomas Hale Boggs, Jr., and his wife, Barbara; Patricia Kluge, president, Kluge Investments; Corinne Claiborne (Lindy) Boggs, U.S. Ambassador to the Holy See; Commissioner of Labor Michael L. Thurmond and State Attorney General Thurbert E. Baker of Georgia; Al From, president, Democratic Leadership Council; Mayor Wellington E. Webb of Denver, CO; Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom; Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder of Germany; Prime Minister Massimo D'Alema of Italy; Prime

Minister Wim Kok of The Netherlands; Bob Chase, president, National Education Association; and Joseph J. Andrew, national chair, Beth Dozoretz, national finance chair, Representative Loretta Sanchez, general cochair, former Governor Roy Romer of Colorado, general chair, and Andy Tobias, treasurer, Democratic National Committee.

Remarks Following a Meeting With a Congressional Delegation and an Exchange With Reporters

April 28, 1999

Situation in the Balkans

The President. Good afternoon. I just had a good meeting with a large bipartisan delegation from both Houses of Congress on Kosovo. It was our fourth meeting since the airstrikes began. We spoke about the NATO Summit, its unity and determination to achieve our objectives in Kosovo; about the progress of our military campaign and the intensification of economic sanctions; about the humanitarian challenge that we face and the work that we and our Allies are doing to meet it.

Just on Monday, some 3,500 Kosovar refugees, in trains and buses, arrived in Montenegro. Yesterday about 5,000 entered Macedonia; almost 3,000 arrived in Albania, exhausted, hungry, shaken, all by the violence and abuse they experienced on the way. At one point, 1.8 million ethnic Albanians lived in Kosovo. Nearly 1½ million have been displaced since the start of the crisis.

Our humanitarian coordinator, Brian Atwood, who just returned from the region, has described an elderly Albanian woman he met in a camp outside Tirana. She saw all the male members of her family and most of the men in her village rounded up by Serbian authorities, tied up, doused with gasoline, and set on fire in front of their families.

It's the kind of story that would be too horrible to believe if it were not so consistent with what so many other refugees have been saying. What we need to remember is that this is the result of a meticulously planned campaign, not an isolated incident of out-of-control rage, a campaign organized by the

Government of Belgrade for a specific political purpose, to maintain its grip over Kosovo by ridding the land of its people.

This policy must be defeated, and it will be defeated. That was the clear message of the NATO Summit. Nineteen democratically elected NATO leaders came together to demonstrate their unity and determination to prevail. We agreed to intensify the air campaign, and that is what NATO is doing, both against military targets in Kosovo and against the infrastructure of political and military power in Belgrade.

Our partners in southeastern Europe, the frontline states, who are risking so much and who have borne such a heavy burden, have followed through on their pledges of support. We are also providing more funds to the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees and to NGO's to deliver food and supplies to the refugees. Our Defense Department has found a site for the facility it will build in Albania for up to 20,000 refugees. We hope it will begin taking in refugees in about 2 weeks.

I spoke to Members of Congress about all these efforts today. I told them that now is the time to pass the supplemental funding for Kosovo that I requested 9 days ago. We need it to maintain our military readiness. Just as important, we need to sustain humanitarian relief and support for the frontline nations that have absorbed the brunt of this emergency.

Let me stress that my request fully funds our military and humanitarian needs in Kosovo. Congress should resist the temptation to add unrelated expenditures, even important ones, which could delay the process, because that would undermine the very goals that this funding is intended to meet. We must get a Kosovo funding measure passed and to my desk now.

We also talked about other legislative initiatives pending on Kosovo in the Congress. I stressed that the 19 NATO Allies are speaking with a single voice. America must continue to speak with a single voice as well. I told them we would welcome the support of the Congress so that Mr. Milosevic will have no doubt that we had the determination and the patience to persevere until we prevail.

Each day our military campaign takes a toll on Serbia's machinery of repression. The Serbian leadership has failed to divide us and will not outlast us. The combined military might and moral determination of Europe and North America will endure.

We know what the final outcome will be: The Serbian forces will leave Kosovo; an international security force will deploy to protect all the people there, Serbs as well as Albanians; and the refugees will return with security and self-government.

Thank you.

Q. Did you say you promised Congress you would ask permission—

NATO Strategy/Serbian Occupation of Kosovo

Q. [*Inaudible*]*—*how can you say the strategy is working when 40,000 troops remain in Kosovo?

Q. Mr. President, do you see any signs that Milosevic is losing his grip, sir? Any signs at all?

The President. We have some indications that there are differences of opinion, obviously, developing in Belgrade, and we saw some of it public this week. There are some things that we know that I think I should not comment on. But the thing I want to tell the American people is, we know, objectively, what damage has been done. We know now we're going to be in a position to fly around the clock at lower altitudes from all directions in better weather.

Historically, the weather is better in May than in April, better in June than in May, better in July than in June. And I feel very strongly that we should stay with and be very strong in determination to pursue our strategy, as well as the very important decisions we made at the NATO conference to intensify the economic pressure. And I believe that if we do these things, we will be successful.

I am determined to do it. I believe our Allies are all determined to do it. I think when they left here they were more determined than when they came.

As to the question the gentleman asked about the troops, keep in mind, the fact that they have mobilized more troops is an indication of the trouble they're having. If they had

no problems, they wouldn't need the troops. The initial state of play on the ground was they had 40,000 troops in and around Kosovo and nearly 300 tanks. So we always knew that if they were willing to take the bombing in the beginning, they could do what they have done. Now, we have to stay with it to reverse that, and we can, and we will if we stay with it. I'm determined to do that.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:20 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to President Slobodan Milosevic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro).

Remarks on Signing the Education Flexibility Partnership Act of 1999

April 29, 1999

Thank you. Let me say, first of all, I thank Dr. Metts for being here, for giving us a first hand and concrete expression of what this bill will mean to the States of our country and to the local school districts. I thank the Members of Congress who have spoken: Senator Wyden, Senator Frist, Congressman Roemer, my old colleague, Congressman Castle.

We're delighted to have the Vermont education commissioner here, Marc Hull, along with Senator Jeffords and Senator Kennedy and a very large delegation of Republicans and Democrats from the United States Congress from the Senate and the House. I'd like to ask the Members of Congress just to stand so the rest of you will see how many people here worked on this bill.

You know, there have been days in the last few years when I'm not sure we could have gotten this many Members of Congress to agree that today is Thursday. [*Laughter*] This was a truly astonishing effort, and I want to thank them all.

I want to say, too, a special word of appreciation to Governor Carper, and a very profound thanks to Secretary Riley. He and I started, as I have told many people, working on education reform together 20 years ago this year. And over the last 20 years, we have done our best to sort out what we ought to do and how we ought to do it and where

the responsibility for what particular action ought to lie.

And I suppose, if I could put it into a sentence, I would say that insofar as possible, when it comes to the education of our children in kindergarten through 12th grade, the beginning of what should be done, should be done by the States. And "how" should be decided by the local districts, but basically, whenever possible, by the local principals and teachers and parents involved in the schools. That the Federal Government is called upon to meet the needs that States can't meet on their own, the needs of poor children, children with special needs, or to fill in the gaps when there are crying national needs unmet, and that when substantial Federal dollars are involved, it's okay for the Federal Government to say "what," too. But we should all be singing out of the same hymnal insofar as possible, and we should all remember that all education, in the schools at least, occurs in the classrooms, in the libraries, on the schoolyards, among the students and parents and principals.

I think it is quite remarkable to see the places where you're really seeing a turnaround, now, where you have high expectation, high standards, discipline, and genuine accountability for the students and the teachers and the principals. You also see a dramatic attempt to cut the cost of education where the money's being wasted and to increase the investment in education where more is needed.

One of the things I'm very proud of that Secretary Riley has done is, independent of this bill we're signing today, is to slash the paperwork burdens on State and local officials by well over 60 percent since he has been the Secretary of Education, while putting an even more ambitious agenda before the educators of America.

Now, the Founding Fathers understood that this would be a big debate; we'd always be having this debate. Thomas Jefferson once said, "Were we directed from Washington when to sow and when to reap, we should soon want for bread." I may have liked that even more when I was Governor, but it still sounds pretty good to me. [*Laughter*]

But the Framers understood something else, too. They understood that the country

had a right to decide and had to decide from time to time what we were going to do, maybe not when and how but what. They believed, for example, in 1787, that education was an important national purpose and declared that all new territories must put aside land for public schools, thereby establishing the fact that education, though a State and local responsibility, must be a national priority.

This Education Flexibility Partnership Act exemplifies, I think, the Founders' vision of how a properly balanced Federal system of government can work, providing freedom from Federal rules and regulations. This new law will allow States and school districts not just to save administrative dollars, with less headache and redtape, but actually to pool different funds from different sources in the Federal Government. But by demanding accountability in return, it will make sure States and school districts focus on results.

Now Doctor, you mentioned one example. I'll give you an example from my own life that made me so strongly for this bill. In 1990 or '91 when I was Governor, the Department of Education under President Bush gave us permission in a very small, very poor rural school district to take all of our Federal funds at elementary schools, including the Chapter I funds and some of the special ed funds, and put them together and take class size down to 15 to 1, in a district where the test scores were low and the learning was tough.

And this little district had a formula—they also actually had an idea that even 6-year-olds could be used to teach other 6-year-olds to read and to learn their alphabet and do basic writing.

And I should tell you that in this first grade class—they had a rough means of testing the children in the first grade, to test their basic competencies—and there were four children in these four first grade classes that had been held back for a second year. Everybody else was in the first grade for the first time.

And so we did this. Here's what happened. The four kids that were held back scored 4 times as high on their basic competencies as they did. All the Chapter I kids scored 3 times as high, and the overall classes did twice as well as the previous year's class.

It was a wonderful thing, except I couldn't do it everywhere in the State. And I said to myself—I didn't know whether to laugh or cry. See, here we had discovered something that is profoundly important. I got all the help that I think the Federal Government could give me at the time. And we did the best we could to take those lessons, in the absence of the Federal funds, and apply them.

We want to produce results. We want our children to learn. We want all of our kids to be able to learn to the maximum of their ability, which means that they can learn at a world-class standard. And we need to give people who are on the ground, working with the kids and committed to that, the chance to do it. And if they're not, and the money's being misspent under this law, then we'll revert to another system.

But that is the meaning of this. This can change children's lives. And again I say, I am profoundly grateful to everyone who had anything to do with it.

I hope that—now, we're getting off to a good start, and we'll keep on doing this. Last year, at the end of the year, we made our first big downpayment on providing 100,000 more teachers, so we can have smaller class sizes. We're going to have to hire 2 million new teachers in America in the next few years, with a growing student population and increasing retirement among teachers. This is an important contribution to that effort.

I hope we can pass the bill to modernize or build 6,000 new schools, because we've got a lot of schools that are too old, some of them even too old to take the computer hookups that have now been made everywhere in Delaware, as you heard the Doctor say.

I hope that we will reauthorize the Elementary and Secondary Education Act to reflect the lessons learned in Chicago and elsewhere and ask the schools that receive these Federal funds to end the practice of social promotion but to increase the efforts to help children through after-school and summer school programs and mentoring programs, to turn around or shut down failing schools, and to ensure that we do more to see that our teachers know the subjects they're charged with teaching.

The greatness of this country has always been the promise of opportunity for everyone who is willing to work for it. Today you not only have to be willing to work for it, you have to know enough to achieve it. Therefore, there is no important responsibility that should have greater weight on our minds as Americans, without regard to party and without regard to whether we work in the National Government or the State and local government or the smallest rural school or the biggest inner-city school or whether we're just taxpaying citizens, with or without children in those schools—there is nothing more important for us to be focused on today than making sure that very early in the next century we can look at each other, straight in the eye, and say—and believe and be right about saying—that it is possible in America, in every community, to get a world-class education.

Thank you very much.

Now, I'd like to ask the Members of Congress to come on up, and we'll sign the bill. Come on.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:04 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Dr. Iris T. Metts, secretary of education and Gov. Thomas R. Carper of Delaware. H.R. 800, approved April 29, was assigned Public Law No. 106-25.

Statement on the Report of the Working Group on Financial Markets

April 29, 1999

As part of our ongoing efforts to increase opportunities and reduce risks in the global economy, we have focused on ways to strengthen the world's financial system. Today I welcome the Working Group on Financial Markets' report entitled "Hedge Funds, Leverage, and the Lessons of Long-Term Capital Management."

The report contains a number of policy recommendations that are designed to reduce the potential risks of excessive leverage, as demonstrated by the near-collapse of long-term capital management. By enhancing transparency in the financial system, by increasing the amount of information made

available to the public, and by improving risk management on the part of financial institutions, we can help reduce these risks. Taken together, the report's recommendations are an important step in our efforts to promote more secure financial markets. This report is the result of a collective effort by all of the Federal financial regulatory agencies. I want to commend the Working Group for this thoughtful report. I look forward to working with Congress on these important issues.

Statement on Legislation To Waive the Federal Government's Claim to Tobacco Settlement Funds

April 29, 1999

I am disappointed that so few States are devoting tobacco settlement funds to reducing youth smoking, as shown by the new report from the Campaign for Tobacco Free Kids and the American Heart Association. This new report underscores why I strongly oppose any legislation waiving the Federal Government's claim to tobacco settlement funds without a commitment from the States to fund youth tobacco prevention efforts. In the absence of such a commitment, States won't have to spend a single penny of the \$246 billion tobacco settlement to reduce youth smoking. We must act now: every day, 3,000 children become regular smokers and 1,000 will have their lives cut short as a result.

Interview With Katie Couric of the National Broadcasting Corporation

April 29, 1999

Gun Control Legislation

Ms. Couric. Mr. President, first of all, thank you very, very much for talking with us this afternoon. We really appreciate it.

Senator Trent Lott called your proposed gun control legislation the typical knee-jerk reaction, and Congressman Tom Delay accused you of exploiting the issue for political benefit. You would say to them?

The President. That's ridiculous, and down deep they know it. I think—you know, what I tried to say the other day is that we

have a culture with too much violence in it for our children, and we need to address that, television, the Internet, the whole range of things. But we also have a culture in America full of good people who are devoted to hunting and sport shooting, whose political views on these issues, I think, have been manipulated to create a movement that has terrified a lot of Members of Congress from taking the most elemental precautions to keep criminals and keep children from having guns that they shouldn't have, that any other society in the world would take.

Ms. Couric. Good people—

The President. And that's why we have—well, what I mean is, most of the people that are involved in serious hunting and sport shooting, they're law-abiding; they pay their taxes; they do what they're asked to do for the country; they're fine people. But they have been convinced that the most modest, sensible ways of keeping society safer are some kind of camel's nose in a tent that will end up in the loss of their rifles, and that's ridiculous.

You know, the Brady bill has kept over a quarter of a million felons, fugitives, and stalkers from getting guns. Who knows how many people it saved. But we've got loopholes in the Brady bill. We've got loopholes in the assault weapons ban. We've got loopholes in the restrictions on these bit ammunition clips. We don't apply background checks at gun shows, which we ought to. We don't apply background checks to the purchase of explosives, which we ought to. These are sensible measures that will keep people alive.

Ms. Couric. Who are these people being manipulated by? The National Rifle Association?

The President. The National Rifle Association and some of these other groups as well.

Ms. Couric. The NRA, by the way, Mr. President, is getting ready to meet in Denver. If you could have a cup of coffee with Charlton Heston before that meeting gets underway, what would you say to him?

The President. I would say it's—you ought to be Moses and lead your people out of Egypt into the Promised Land. You ought to think about how we can protect the rights of hunters and use the good things the NRA's

done to educate children, young people on gun safety, for example, and stop wasting your energy when we try to say that a juvenile that commits a violent crime shouldn't have a gun. Stop wasting your energy when we try to reinstitute the waiting period for the Brady bill or close the assault weapons loopholes or close the loopholes in the Brady bill—or, say that we ought to have a background check for explosives or a background check at these gun shows. That's what we ought to do.

This is designed to keep people alive, for goodness sakes. This has nothing to do with the right to hunt or to engage in sporting contests.

Ms. Couric. Mr. President, do you believe any elements of your gun control package might have prevented the tragedy in Littleton?

The President. Well, we have to have all the facts. We know that they were involved with explosives. We know they had an assault pistol. We also—one of the things we didn't talk about is that I want to strengthen the tracking—weapons tracking capacity of the Government when weapons pass through multiple hands. There may have been a gun show sale involved here. Depending on who bought it, we don't know what the background check would have occurred.

What we do know is that if all these proposals were in place, they would save more lives more places. Just the Brady bill alone has kept a quarter of a million people from getting guns who had questionable backgrounds. There's no doubt in my mind that a lot of lives were saved. The assault weapons ban is a good thing, but there are too many loopholes in it, and we want to close them. This just makes sense.

Parents' Responsibilities

Ms. Couric. President Clinton, you've admitted that access to guns is just part of the problem. Another part is parenting in this country, or lack thereof. What are parents doing wrong?

The President. Let me tell you a story, because I don't think it's so much as what they're doing as maybe as what they're not doing. A Member of the Congress, who is a friend of mine, and I had a conversation

the other night, and he had just been with a high school, and he asked the students at the high school—this was a few days after Littleton—how many of them had talked to their parents about this. And he said only a small minority raised their hands. And one young woman stood up and said, “I had to stand in front of the television and tell my parents we were going to not watch any more television until we talked about this, because I think they were afraid. They didn’t want to deal with the fact that this could happen in other places in America.”

I think that what we have to do is to, first of all, tell parents they have to assume responsibility for their children’s television and video games and all that. They have to assume their family responsibility for that. But they also have to know, insofar as they possibly can, what’s going on in their children’s lives and minds, and we have to work with them to help them develop the skills necessary to determine if their kids need help and then get the help they need, whether it’s counseling or mental health services or whatever.

Ms. Couric. That sounds great, but do you enroll every parent in America in parenting classes?

The President. No. I think what you need is—Hillary’s told me this morning—we got up, and we talked late, late last night about this. And then we got up this morning, and we were talking again. And she said—I thought it was a great idea—she said, “What’s worked in this country to change societies?” We just had a big announcement today from Secretary Shalala that teen pregnancy’s gone down for another year. There’s been a national campaign against teen pregnancy, a real movement that asked all sectors of our society, starting with parents, but including everyone else, to do something on this. We’ve seen a decline in drunk driving, largely spurred, I think, by Mothers and Students Against Drunk Driving. We saw a national campaign to get people to wear their seatbelts when they were driving. And she said, and I agree, we need a national campaign that mobilizes all these things, that doesn’t pretend that guns are the issue, that culture is the whole issue, that parents are the whole issue, that school safety is the

whole issue, but deals with all of this together. If the American people make up their mind that we’re going to do better on this, we’ll do better.

Entertainment Industry’s Role

Ms. Couric. But as you know, Mr. President, parents and children and families are bombarded with these violent images every day on television, in the movies. Video games reward children for obliterating figures with virtual bullets and bombs. Many parents want to do the right thing, but these cultural influences are so enormously strong, they feel as if they’re swimming against this tide.

The President. They are. I have two or three things to say about that.

First of all, the first amendment prohibits us from banning some of these things, but we now have a television rating system, to go with the movies rating system. We will soon have all new televisions with a V-chip in them, so the rating systems can be enforced by parents. We are seeing more and more technology develop which will allow some websites to be blocked by parents, if they’re inappropriate.

We first have to try to get parents more control over the exposure of their children to the culture of violence. The second thing we have to do is to challenge the entertainment industry to minimize the use of gratuitous violence and not to present it in a way that will desensitize people to the pain, the agony, and ultimately, the finality of violence.

Ms. Couric. But for many of those people, that’s their stock and trade.

The President. It is, and there’s a market for it. The American people buy it. They purchase it. They lap it up. But I think we have to face the fact that kids today are growing up in a culture that is more violent, culturally violent. The crime rate has been going down for 6 years overall, but the images are violent. And therefore, children that are more vulnerable are more likely, a, to be desensitized to violence and then to actually be desensitized to the impact of their employing violence.

But I think in the end you’ve got to take it back to the fact that we all have responsibilities, and it starts with parents. We have to help convince our children that they should

not have their actions controlled or directed outside them, and they shouldn't let other people define what kind of people they are. And we've then got to do more in the schools, with counseling, with mediation, with getting mental health services where they need it. And we've got to then ask ourselves what are the further responsibilities of the entertainment community, what are the responsibilities of the Government?

Go back to the gun industry, something they could do, that I think would be great—I'm talking about the manufacturers, now—they ought to voluntarily come forward, as many have, and say, we're going to have more child trigger locks. They even are now developing technologies where a thumb print can be imprinted on a gun and only the people who have the print can fire the gun. There are lots of things that can be done, but if we're all caught up in this and it becomes our obsession, I know we will do better. I know we will.

Ms. Couric. Some Members of Congress have asked for an emergency summit meeting at the White House, with leaders of the entertainment industry. Do you plan to have that summit?

The President. Well, I plan to bring some high-level folks from the entertainment industry and from other sectors of our society that I think can be active here together at the White House in the near future, and then figure out how we can put together the elements of a national campaign. I think the entertainment industry is going to have to be a big part of it.

What I think is a mistake is—I think it would be a mistake for the people who don't want to offend the NRA to blame Hollywood and the people that don't want to offend Hollywood to blame the NRA, instead of keeping our children and their safety and their future in mind and asking ourselves, what should we do about guns, what should we do about culture, what should we do about the schools, how can we help the parents, and what is Government's responsibility? Those are the big questions. We should ask and answer all of them, not just one.

Ms. Couric. Mr. President, can you say to Hollywood executives, look, I need your help? Or is it tough to put pressure on them,

given the fact that they've been so supportive of you and so generous to your campaigns?

The President. No. No, it's easier for me to do, I think in some ways, because I know them. Keep in mind, the first time I went out to Hollywood and did this in a highly public way was in late 1993. And then we got a lot of Hollywood executives in, and they played a major role in the development of the television rating systems, which was essential to make the V-chip work.

So we got a lot of support out of the entertainment community for the rating systems and for the V-chip. We've gotten a remarkable amount of support in the years since from the high-tech community for control technologies on the Internet. So I think that—they don't go as far as I wish they would often on the violent content of some movies and some television shows and some video games, but there has been progress made.

One of the big problems we've got now is to make sure parents understand how to use the V-chip on television and understand how to use the blocking technologies on the Internet. Most parents are like me, they're not nearly as computer literate as their children are. And we've got a big job there to do.

But yes, I have no problem asking them to do more and challenging them to do more. That's easy. The difficult thing is to ask all of those questions of all of those people I mentioned. That's why I think the First Lady's idea of having a national campaign in which we all get caught up is the right way to go here.

Ms. Couric. And yet, it inevitably gets so mired in politics, and the best of intentions, it seems, are——

The President. Well, I think the only thing that gets mired in politics on this score, really, is when you have to pass a bill in Congress that's opposed by powerful interest groups. But otherwise, I think at a community level and in terms of empowering the schools and the parents and organizing groups to demand changes, I think it will be pretty straightforward.

And even in Congress, as I told this group I spoke to a few days ago, if the American

people want change badly enough, the Congress will respond. They'll go beyond partisan politics. They'll go beyond interest group politics. If they believe the American people want it bad enough, they'll respond.

Ms. Couric. Mr. President, thank you again for your time. We really appreciate it.
The President. Thank you.

NOTE: The interview began at 4:25 p.m. in the Library at the White House. In his remarks, the President referred to Charlton Heston, president, National Rifle Association. This interview was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on April 30. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this interview.

Memorandum on Assistance to Refugees Fleeing Kosovo

April 29, 1999

Presidential Determination No. 99-22

Memorandum for the Secretary of State

Subject: Determination Pursuant to Section 2(c)(1) of the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962, as Amended

Pursuant to section 2(c)(1) of the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962, as amended, 22 U.S.C. 2601(c)(1), I hereby determine that it is important to the national interest that up to \$20 million be made available from the U.S. Emergency Refugee and Migration Assistance Fund to meet urgent and unexpected needs relating to the program under which the United States will provide refuge in the United States to refugees fleeing the Kosovo crisis.

These funds may be used to meet the urgent and unexpected needs of refugees, displaced persons, victims of conflict, and other persons at risk due to the Kosovo crisis. These funds may be used, as appropriate, to provide contributions to international and nongovernmental organizations.

You are authorized and directed to inform the appropriate committees of the Congress of this determination and the use of funds under this authority, and to arrange for the publication of this determination in the *Federal Register*.

William J. Clinton

NOTE: This memorandum was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on April 30.

Remarks Announcing Measure to Address School Violence

April 30, 1999

Ladies and gentlemen, in the last several days, like most Americans, I have spent an enormous amount of time following the events in Colorado, talking to family and friends and others. And I have some thoughts on that that I want to share with you today.

Let me begin by saying we got some more good news today on the economic front with the word that our economy expanded by 4.5 percent in the first quarter of this year. This news provides both more evidence that we should stick with our economic strategy and also is a worthwhile reminder that for all the challenges we face at home and abroad we are, indeed, a fortunate people. We are strong enough to meet those challenges.

Over the past 10 days our whole Nation has been united in grief with the people of Littleton, Colorado. We have also been profoundly moved by the courage, the common sense, and the fundamental goodness of Littleton students, teachers, parents, and public servants as they have spoken to us of the tragic events there. I have listened carefully to what they have said and to other young people and parents who have been on the townhall meetings and those whom I have met personally.

We should recognize the simple truth that there is no simple, single answer. We should not be fighting about who takes the blame. Instead, we should all be looking for ways to take responsibility, and we should be doing that together.

As we have united in grief, now we should unite in action. If we ask the right question, "what can we do to give your children safe, whole childhoods?" then there will be answers for parents and children, for teachers, communities, and for those who influence the lives and the environment in which our children live, including those of us in government, religious leaders, the entertainment and Internet communities, those who produce explosives and weapons, and those who use them lawfully.

I am inviting representatives of all these groups to come to the White House on May 10th for a strategy session on children, violence, and responsibility. The First Lady, the Vice President, and Mrs. Gore, all of whom have worked for years to give our children the childhoods they deserve, will join me. I ask everyone to come to this meeting with ideas about how we can move forward together.

As Hillary said yesterday, we need nothing less than a grassroots effort to protect our children and turn them away from violence. If citizens, parents and children alike, working together in their communities, can reduce teen pregnancy, reduce drunk driving, make seatbelt use nearly universal, then working together, we can protect our children.

I want to briefly set out a framework for how this challenge can best be addressed. The push and pull of modern life adds incalculable new burdens to the work of parents. We must strive to find ways to bring parents and children together more, to get parents more involved with their children's lives, to get negative influences and guns out of the lives of our children, and to give families the tools to meet these challenges.

First, we must help parents to pass on their values to their children in the face of a blizzard of popular communications that too often undermine those values. For young people who are particularly vulnerable and isolated, the violent video game they play can seem more real than conversations at home or lessons at school. We've been working to give parents stronger tools to protect their children, and we must do more.

The V-chip will be included in half the new televisions sold this year. And together with the voluntary rating system adopted by broadcasters, it will give parents a new ability to screen the images their children see. Meanwhile, we've launched the most ambitious media plan ever to educate our children about the dangers of drugs.

The Vice President and Internet service providers have given parents the ability to block access to violent or otherwise inappropriate websites. The Vice President will continue to work with industry to find ways to help parents guide their children through

cyberspace, and we'll have more to say on that in the days ahead. We have worked to give our parents the tools to protect children from violence and to take guns out of the hands of children. The policy of zero tolerance for guns in schools led to 6,000 expulsions or suspensions in the last year alone.

This week I proposed new measures to keep guns away from criminals and children; requiring background checks for buying guns at gun shows, as they are required at gun stores now, and background checks for the purchase of explosives; banning handgun ownership for people under 21; and restoring the Brady bill's cooling off period; and closing the loopholes in the assault weapons law.

Even on these contentious issues, I believe we can reach across party lines and find common ground. I hope that sportsmen, gun manufacturers, and lawmakers of all parties will see these steps for what they are, common sense measures to promote the common good. We all love our children. I respect the rights of hunters and sportsmen. Let's bury the hatchet and build a future for our children together.

We must help parents fulfill their most important responsibilities. We all say we want parents to talk to their children more, but we all know that too many families have too little time even to have dinner together.

Because parents too often have too little time, we've passed the Family and Medical Leave Act, and we're working to expand it. Because too many children leave school at 3, with nowhere to go and no adult to talk to, we've giving a quarter million kids access to after-school and summer-school programs, and we're working to triple that number. Because many parents need help in recognizing the signs of illness in their children, we're working to expand access to mental health care for children of all ages. Next month, Mrs. Gore will host the first White House Conference on Mental Health. We are also working to expand counseling, mentoring, and mental health services in our schools.

Most important of all, and perhaps most difficult, parents must be more active participants in their children's lives. It is not for us to pass judgment on how those two young men in Colorado descended into darkness. We may never know what can be or even

what could have been done. But this should be a wake-up call for all parents. We can never take our children for granted. We must never let the lines of communication, no matter how frayed, be broken altogether. Our children need us, even if they don't know it sometimes.

This terrible tragedy must not be an occasion for silence. This weekend I ask all parents, if they have not already done so, to sit down and talk to their children about what happened at Littleton and what is happening in their schools and their lives.

If we are not careful, when our children move through their teen years and begin to create their own separate lives, the bustle and burden of our daily lives can cause families to drift too far apart, to ignore the still-strong needs of children for genuine concern and guidance and honest conversation. This is sometimes the hardest thing of all, but it is vital, and lives depend on it.

Finally, I ask students to do more to help each other. Next week, if you have not already done so, I ask every student in America to look for someone at school who is not in your group. You know, there have always been different crowds in schools, and there always will be. This, too, is an inevitable part of growing up and finding your own path through life. But it should not be an occasion for disrespect or hostility in our schools. After all, our children are all on the same journey, even if they're trying to chart different paths. And this can be profoundly important in building a safer future.

The spirit of America can triumph in this troubling moment, and I am convinced it will. But we must build the energy and will and passion of our country and the fundamental goodness of our people into a grass-roots movement to turn away from violence and to give all our children the safe and wholesome childhoods they richly deserve.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:54 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

Statement on the National Economy

April 30, 1999

Today we received more good news for America's working families about our economy. In the first quarter of this year, the U.S. economy expanded at a robust 4.5 percent annual rate. Driven by high investment and vigorous consumer demand, America's expansion continues to grow steady and strong.

Strong growth, high investment, low inflation, and low unemployment are a winning combination and more evidence that we should stick with an economic strategy that has helped usher in a new era of prosperity for the American people.

Memorandum on Emergency Refugee Admissions Consultations Relating to Kosovars

April 30, 1999

Memorandum for the Secretary of State

Subject: FY 1999 Emergency Refugee
Admissions Consultations Relating to
Kosovars

In accordance with section 207(b) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1157(b)), you are authorized to consult with the appropriate committees of the Congress concerning the authorization of 20,000 emergency refugee admissions during FY 1999, which would be allocated to Europe for the purpose of admitting Kosovar refugees to the United States.

William J. Clinton

NOTE: An original was not available for verification of the content of this letter.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

The following list includes the President's public schedule and other items of general interest announced by the Office of the Press Secretary and not included elsewhere in this issue.

April 25

The President had a telephone conversation with President Boris Yeltsin of Russia on Russian Foreign Minister Victor Chernomyrdin's mission to Belgrade.

April 26

The President announced his intention to appoint David Ibarra to be a member of the U.S. Air Force Academy, Board of Visitors.

April 27

The President named Lloyd N. Cutler as Senior White House Representative on Pacific Salmon to coordinate U.S. strategy for Pacific salmon treaty negotiations with Canada.

The President declared an emergency in Florida and ordered Federal aid to supplement State and local recovery efforts in the area struck by fire hazards on April 15 and continuing.

April 29

The President announced his intention to appoint Eric Lander and Ruth Patrick to be members of the President's Committee on the National Medal of Science.

The President announced his intention to appoint Felix Sanchez to be a member of the Community Adjustment and Investment Program Advisory Committee.

April 30

The President announced his intention to appoint Walter Parker as the Academic Representative to the Arctic Research Commission.

The President announced his intention to nominate Robert Raben to be Assistant Attorney General for Legislative Affairs at the Department of Justice.

The President announced his intention to appoint Earl S. Richardson to serve as Chair and Willis B. McLeod to serve as a member of the President's Board of Advisers on Historically Black Colleges and Universities.

Nominations Submitted to the Senate

The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

Submitted April 27

Joyce E. Leader, of the District of Columbia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Guinea.

Submitted April 30

Frank H. McCarthy of Oklahoma, to be U.S. District Judge for the Northern District of Oklahoma, vice Thomas Rutherford Brett, retired.

Checklist of White House Press Releases

The following list contains releases of the Office of the Press Secretary that are neither printed as items nor covered by entries in the Digest of Other White House Announcements

Released April 22¹

Statement by the Press Secretary on the President's decision to seek a delay in the destruction of the declared stocks of smallpox virus

Released April 23

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Joe Lockhart

Transcript of a press briefing by National Security Adviser Samuel Berger on the North Atlantic Council meeting on Kosovo

Statement by the Press Secretary on the White House homepage link to a site with information on the NATO 50th Anniversary Summit

¹ This release was not received in time for inclusion in the appropriate issue.

Released April 24

Fact sheet: NATO Summit: NATO–Ukraine Commission

Fact sheet: NATO Summit: Membership Action Plan

Fact sheet: NATO Summit: The New Strategic Concept

Released April 25

Transcript of a press briefing by Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, National Security Adviser Samuel Berger, and Secretary of Defense William Cohen on the NATO 50th Anniversary Summit

Released April 26

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Joe Lockhart

Statement by the Press Secretary: The Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process

Released April 27

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Joe Lockhart

Transcript of a press briefing by Deputy Attorney General Eric Holder, Treasury Under Secretary for Enforcement Jim Johnson, and Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy Bruce Reed on the President's proposed gun control legislation

Statement by the Press Secretary: Establishment of an Interagency Commission on Crime and Security in U.S. Seaports

Released April 28

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Joe Lockhart

Statement by the Press Secretary: Humanitarian Exemptions From Sanctions

Released April 29

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Joe Lockhart

Transcript of remarks by Vice President Al Gore at a youth issues event

Released April 30

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Joe Lockhart

Transcript of a press briefing by Deputy Director of the National Economic Council Lael Brainard and NSC Senior Director for Asian Affairs Kenneth G. Lieberthal on the President's upcoming meeting with Prime Minister Obuchi of Japan

Announcement of nomination for U.S. District Judge for the Northern District of Oklahoma

**Acts Approved
by the President**

Approved April 27

H.R. 440 / Public Law 106–22
Microloan Program Technical Corrections Act of 1999

H.R. 911 / Public Law 106–23
To designate the Federal building located at 310 New Bern Avenue in Raleigh, North Carolina, as the “Terry Sanford Federal Building”

S. 388 / Public Law 106–24
To authorize the establishment of a disaster mitigation pilot program in the Small Business Administration

Approved April 29

H.R. 800 / Public Law 106–25
Education Flexibility Partnership Act of 1999