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Contents

Addresses and Remarks

Ireland
- Community leaders, reception in Dublin—1723
- Gateway, Inc., employees in Santry—1724
- Swissair Flight 111, remarks in Dublin—1723

Northern Ireland
- Assembly in Belfast—1705
- Gathering for Peace in Armagh—1717
- Groundbreaking ceremony for Springvale Educational Village in Belfast—1707
- Victims of bombing in Omagh—1709

Radio address—1667

Russia
- Duma and regional leaders, meeting in Moscow—1703
- First day of school festivities in Moscow—1677
- Future Russian leaders in Moscow—1678

Virginia, roundtable discussion on education in Herndon—1668, 1670

Communications to Congress

Guatemala-U.S. treaty on stolen vehicles and aircraft, message transmitting with documentation—1676

Communications to Congress—Continued

Iraq, letter reporting on compliance with United Nations Security Council resolutions—1710

Patients' Bill of Rights, letter to Senate majority leader—1684

Interviews With the News Media

Exchange with reporters in Dublin, Ireland—1720

News conference with President Yeltsin of Russia in Moscow, September 2 (No. 163)—1686

Joint Statements

Russia-U.S. agreement for promotion of aviation safety—1701

Russia-U.S. joint statements
- Common security challenges at the threshold of the twenty-first century—1696
- Exchange of information on missile launches and early warning—1694
- Protocol to the Convention on the Prohibition of Biological Weapons—1693
- Situation in Kosovo—1693
- Trade, investment, technological, and non-governmental cooperation—1694

(Continued on the inside of the back cover.)

Editor's Note: The President was in Dublin, Ireland, on September 4, the closing date of this issue. Releases and announcements issued by the Office of the Press Secretary but not received in time for inclusion in this issue will be printed next week.

WEEKLY COMPILATION OF

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

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Joint Statements—Continued

Russia-U.S. memoranda of understanding
Cooperation in the field of civil aircraft accident/incident investigation and prevention—1698
Principles of cooperation in the fields of culture, the humanities, the social sciences, education, and the mass media—1700

Letters and Messages

Labor Day, 1998, message—1727

Meetings With Foreign Leaders

Ireland
Deputy Prime Minister Harney—1724
Minister for Transportation, Energy, and Tourism O'Rourke—1724
Prime Minister Ahern—1720, 1724
Northern Ireland
Assembly Deputy First Minister Mallon—1705, 1717
Assembly First Minister Trimble—1705, 1717

Meetings With Foreign Leaders—Continued

Russia
Duma leaders—1703
President Yeltsin—1686, 1693, 1694, 1696, 1698, 1700, 1701
United Kingdom
Prime Minister Blair—1709, 1717
Secretary of State for Northern Ireland Mowlam—1709

Statements by the President

Harold Ickes' 1996 campaign financing activities—1683
Northern Ireland peace process—1683, 1710
Northwest Airlines pilots strike—1676
Senate action on appropriations legislation—1683
Swissair Flight 111 crash—1710

Supplementary Materials

Acts approved by the President—1730
Checklist of White House press releases—1730
Digest of other White House announcements—1728
Nominations submitted to the Senate—1729

Week Ending Friday, September 4, 1998

The President's Radio Address

August 29, 1998

Good morning. I'm speaking to you today from the Edgartown Elementary School in Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts. I'd like to talk to you about how we can put progress over partisanship in efforts to expand access to quality health care for every American.

Years from now, when we look back on the greatest accomplishments of this century, miraculous advances in medical care surely will be at the top of the list. But for all the successes of medicine, for all the wonders of its quality, parts of our rapidly changing medical system that deal with access to medical care are in desperate need of repair.

Like many of you, I've been appalled by tragic and repeated stories of men and women fighting for their lives and, at the same time, forced to fight insurance companies focused not on getting them the medical care they need but on cutting costs even if it denies that medical care.

Recently, I met Mary Kuhl, the wife of a 45-year-old man who died after his insurance company canceled his emergency heart surgery, against his doctor's urgent warnings. I met Mick Fleming, whose sister died of breast and lung cancer after she was unfairly denied the treatment her doctor recommended, treatment for which she was eligible and desperately needed. These stories and these practices are callous and unacceptable. We must do everything in our power to give our families greater protection at this time of great change in medical science.

These things happen when, against doctors' recommendations, managed care plans deny procedures or treatment. Now, nobody wants to waste money, and the managed care movement has done a lot of good in slowing down unnecessary inflation. But none of us wants to see medical decisions affecting our families made by insurance company employees who are trained and paid to think like cost-cutting accountants, not care-giving doctors.

That's why I've worked so hard to pass a Patients' Bill of Rights, available to all Americans in all plans—a Patients' Bill of Rights that would say medical decisions should be made by doctors, not accountants; emergency room procedures should be made available whenever and wherever they're needed; no one should be denied access to a specialist when it's needed; no one should be forced to change doctors in the middle of treatment just because an employer changes medical plans; there ought to be an appeal of a medical decision made by an accountant all the way up the chain in the company, quickly, until it gets to a doctor; people who are hurt ought to have redress; and medical records should be kept private.

We've worked very hard to make these protections available to everyone we could. We've extended the protections of a Patients' Bill of Rights to 85 million Americans who get their health care through Federal plans, Medicare, Medicaid, the Federal Employee Plan, the Veterans' Administration. Today we'll take executive action once again.

More than 120 million Americans are in workplace health plans that are protected under Federal law. The Secretary of Labor has now been instructed to ensure that all these people can quickly appeal, through an internal review process, any coverage decision that denies the care their doctors said was needed and appropriate. That means 120 million more people will no longer have to take an HMO accountant's "no" for an answer. This will bring a lot greater peace of mind.

In many of these stories we hear about, the HMO actually, ultimately, approves the treatment the doctor recommended but only after it goes through layer after layer after layer of appeal. And sometimes there's no appeal at all. What we're doing today is trying to give quick and prompt appeals through

an internal review process to the insurance companies and plans that are within our jurisdiction. It will help 120 million Americans, but it's not enough. It is simply not enough.

We do not have the authority to extend all the critical patients' rights protections I mentioned to all the American people, and we won't have it until Congress acts. That's why I've worked since last November with doctors, nurses, consumers, lawmakers of both parties to get a strong, enforceable, and bipartisan bill of rights—again, one that says you have the right to emergency room care whenever and wherever you need it; the right to see that medical decisions are made by medical doctors, not insurance company accountants; the right to know you can't be forced to switch doctors abruptly; the right to see a specialist when you need it; the right to hold your health care plan accountable if it causes harm; and the right to privacy in medical records.

These protections could have spared the Kuhls, the Flemings, and large numbers of other families across our country needless tragedies. They are protections all Americans deserve. Unfortunately, not a single one of these vital protections is assured in the Republican leadership bills now in the House and Senate. Both leave millions and millions of Americans without any protections at all. The Republican leadership of both Houses has not allowed full and open debate on the issue. The Senate hasn't even held a single vote.

But remember, this is not a partisan issue. Nobody asks your party affiliation when you visit your doctor. No one wants to see unfeeling practices by insurance companies add to the pain of injury and disease. So when the Senate returns from recess next week, I urge lawmakers of both parties to make patient protections their first order of business.

Last year we worked together in a bipartisan spirit to pass a balanced budget which included historic Medicare reforms and the largest investment in children's health in more than 30 years. This year Congress must act like that again. It must put progress ahead of partisanship and join me in giving Americans a Patients' Bill of Rights strong enough, enforceable enough to make quality health care every insurance company's bottom line.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:06 a.m. from the Edgartown Elementary School on Martha's Vineyard, MA.

Opening Remarks at a Roundtable Discussion on Education in Herndon, Virginia

August 31, 1998

Thank you. First of all, let me thank all of you for that warm welcome, and Michele Freeman, thank you for welcoming me to Herndon Elementary School. All of you know, better than I, that this is the beginning of a new school year where parents and children are meeting their teachers for the first time, and there is excitement and anticipation of what everyone hopes will be a very successful year for the children, and insofar as it is, it's a good year for America.

I have done everything I knew to do for the last 6 years to try to focus the attention of the American people on the whole question of education, because I think it is one of the big questions which will determine the shape of our children's future and the world in the 21st century.

If you think about the other major challenges we face as Americans—reforming Social Security and Medicare so that we baby boomers don't bankrupt the country when we retire—[*laughter*]—providing quality affordable health care for all of our people, proving we can preserve and improve the environment and grow the economy, building one America across all the racial and religious and other lines that separate us, something I've been very involved in, in the last several weeks, as all of you know, trying to construct a world free of terrorism and more full of peace and prosperity and security and freedom—every single one of those challenges depends upon our ability to have educated citizens, not just educated Presidents, not just educated Secretaries of Education but citizens who can absorb complicated information and all these things that are flying at them all the time and evaluate it and measure it, who can develop reasoned principles, passionate responses, to keep the idea of America going into this new century.

That's why I wanted to come here today. Many of you know that I am leaving. When I go back from you, I go back to Washington and then the First Lady and I are going to Russia and then to Ireland with a team of people to deal with the issues there, and I'd like to just say one word about it, because it's my only real opportunity to talk with you and through you, thanks to our friends in the press here, to the American people. Because this trip is an example of one of the most important lessons every child needs to learn in America from a very early age. And that is, we are living in a smaller and smaller world.

This global economy, the global society, it is real. Information, ideas, technology, money, people, can travel around the world at speeds unheard of not very long ago. Our economies are increasingly interconnected. Our securities are increasingly interconnected. I'm sure all of you have followed the events in the aftermath of the tragic bombing at our Embassies in Africa, and you know that there were far more Africans killed than Americans, even though America was the target. And you know that the person responsible did not belong to any government but had an independent terrorist network capable of hitting people and countries all around the world.

So there's been a lot of good. We've benefited a lot from this global society of ours. We have over 16 million new jobs in the last 6 years, and we're about to have our first balanced budget surplus in 29 years. We have benefited from the world of the 21st century. But we have a lot of responsibilities. And the reason I'm going to Russia is because we have learned the hard way that problems that develop beyond our borders sooner or later find their way to our doorstep unless we help our friends and our neighbors to deal with them as quickly and promptly as possible.

Now, the Russian people are to be commended for embracing democracy and getting rid of the old Communist system. But they're having some troubles today making the transition from communism to a free market economy and from communism to a democratic society that has supports for people who are in trouble.

What I want to do is to go there and tell them that the easy thing to do is not the right thing to do. The easy thing to do would be to try to go back to the way they did it before, and it's not possible, but that if they will stay on the path of reform, to stabilize their society, and to strengthen their economy and to get growth back, then I believe America and the rest of the Western nations with strong economies should help them, and indeed have an obligation to help them and that it's in our interest to help them.

If you say, why, let me just give you a couple of reasons. First of all, Russia and the United States still have the biggest nuclear arsenals in the world. And at a time when India and Pakistan have tested nuclear weapons, we need to be moving the world away from nuclear war, not toward it. We have to have the cooperation and the partnership with the Russians to do that.

We don't want terrorists to get a hold of weapons of mass destruction. A weakened Russia, a weakened Russian economy would put enormous pressure on people, who have those technologies and understandings, to sell them. We don't want that to happen. We know we need Russia's partnership to solve problems in that part of the world. If it hadn't been for Russia's partnership, we could not have ended the war in Bosnia, which all of you remember a couple of years ago was threatening the entire stability of Europe. Next door, in Kosovo, there is a similar problem today; we've got to have Russia's partnership to solve that. So if Russia will stay on the path of reform, I believe America and the rest of the West must help them.

I'm also going to Ireland, which is the homeland of over 40 million Americans. We trace our ancestry there. And they've been working a long time on a peace process in which we've been intimately involved, and I'm going to do my best to advance that. I think we have a good chance to do so. But I want you to understand that I do these things because I think they are in America's interest. They're not just the right things to do, they're not just nice things to have happen.

But every child—you look around this room and see how many children are here

who come from different cultures themselves, whose ancestors come from different countries themselves. There is no nation in the world better positioned than the United States to do well in the 21st century, because we're a people from everywhere. If our values—[*applause*]—thank you—if our values and our ideals can spread around the world, then we can create a peaceful, secure world. So that's what I'm trying to do.

But to get back to the main point, the ultimate national security of any country rests in the strength of its own citizens. And for us, that means we have got to prove that no matter how diverse we are, we can still offer a world-class education to every single American child.

I'm sure all of you know this, but virtually everyone in the world believes that America has the finest system of higher education anywhere. We are flooded every year with students and graduate students coming from every other country in the world to our colleges and universities because they think they're the best in the world, and they have made us very strong. But we now know that in the world we're living in, it's not enough just to educate half the people very well through university; you must educate 100 percent of the people very well in elementary and secondary schools.

We know we've got a lot of challenges. Our kids come from different places. A lot of them have different cultures. They have different learning patterns. They speak different languages as their native language. A lot of them are poor. A lot of them live in neighborhoods that are difficult. And so this is a great challenge for us. But it is a worthy challenge. It's a worthy challenge for a great country to prove that we can take all this diversity, not just racial and ethnic and religious diversity but diversity of life circumstance, and still give every single child a shot at living his or her dream. That is what this is all about, and that's why I'm here today.

This is just as much a part of our national security as that trip I'm taking to Russia, and I want you to understand that I believe that. So when we finish the roundtable, I want to say a little about what we can do to help and what's going on in Congress and what will happen in Congress over the next month because it's very important. But the most important thing, as the Secretary said, is what's happening here. So I'd like to stop talking and start listening now, and we'll do the roundtable. And I think we should start with Michele Freeman and let her talk about this school and her experiences and her challenges and what she's doing about it.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:40 a.m. in the gymnasium at Herndon Elementary School. In his remarks, he referred to Michele J. Freeman, principal, Herndon Elementary School.

Remarks During a Roundtable Discussion on Education in Herndon

August 31, 1998

The President. Let me just say very briefly before I move on, you probably know this because you talked about how your school was growing. But I believe, Secretary Riley, I think it was last year was the first year that we actually had a school class from kindergarten through high school bigger than the baby boom generation. And this explosion of children into our schools has created enormous strains on school districts all across America.

I was in a school in Florida. I believe it had 17 trailers outside.

Fairfax County Superintendent of Schools Daniel A. Domenech. We have that beat, Mr. President. [*Laughter*]

The President. This was just one school, not a school district, and it was amazing. But there was an article in The Washington Post and in other newspapers over the weekend about the teacher shortage in America, and I'm very concerned about it. We have two proposals: One is to put 35,000 teachers in the most difficult and underserved areas in the country—it's part of our budget—the other would put 100,000 teachers out there across the country in the first 3 grades, to try to keep class size down below 20. And I think those things are very, very important.

One of the things I'm hoping I can do is to persuade the Congress in the next month to embrace the idea that we clearly have a national obligation now to support what is a national phenomenon, the explosion of the number of schoolchildren in our schools. So

when you say what it did, it made me want to think about that.

I'd like to go on now to JoAnn Shackelford, because it seems to be a logical followup to what you said about the diversity of your student body and teaching people to read and this Saturday Program, which I'm very interested in. It sounds to me like something everybody ought to be doing.

Ms. Shackelford. Thank you. First of all, I wanted to tell you, welcome to our school. We're so excited you're here. Miss Freeman is a hard act to follow, so I won't try. But I do have a few things to ask for. [*Laughter*]

The President. Who picked this questioner? [*Laughter*]

[*At this point, Ms. Shackelford, a reading specialist, expressed the faculty's conviction that students can learn to read by the third grade and described the Reading Recovery program, which involves additional teachers working with the classroom teachers to help children with special needs, and the Excel Saturday program, which consists of high school student and teacher volunteers tutoring elementary school children on Saturdays. Ms. Shackelford expressed the need for more funding to expand the programs' outreach and suggested scholarships for high school tutors.*]

The President. I'd just like to make a couple of observations. First of all, I'll think about this high school scholarship thing. The only high school scholarships directly for service, community service, we have are the ones that I announced at Penn State a couple of years ago, where we give a modest scholarship that's matched in the local community to one person for outstanding community service in high school.

So we now have 1,000 colleges and universities providing reading volunteers through the America Reads program to go into schools to help young children learn to read, and most of them are work study students. But a lot of them are not eligible for work study, and they just do it anyway. There may be something we can do on that, and I'll think about it.

The other thing I'd say is that I'm a big fan of the Reading Recovery program. And if you look at the research, it has about the best long-term results of any strategy. But there is a reason for it. It's very expensive, because it's so labor intensive. And it's something that maybe Secretary Riley wants to talk about this a little bit.

We've discussed before that whether the generalized assistance we give to school districts for supportive programs like this, or the States, which then the school districts get, should be more focused. And we've tried not to sort of pick and choose among the various reading strategies because of the limited amount of money and the large number of programs underway in the country.

But there's no question that the Reading Recovery strategy, particularly when you've got a lot of young people whose first language is not English, have had, I believe, the best long-term results, but it's because it's so labor intensive and is quite expensive and it's something we need to look at.

Dick, you want to say anything about this?

[*Secretary of Education Richard W. Riley agreed with the President and praised the Reading Recovery program's contribution to national education goals.*]

The President. Maybe we should go on now to, since we're talking about this subject, to Maria Gorski, who is a parent liaison. And you talked about involving the parents, so talk a little about that for us, Maria.

[*Maria Gorski, liaison to parents of Spanish-speaking immigrant students, welcomed the President and expressed concern that many parents have difficulty helping their children with homework because of language barriers and lack of time. She asked the President to support the United Neighborhood program run by the Herndon Police Department, which offers tutoring by volunteers in the evenings.*]

The President. Thank you. How many parents volunteer in this school? Do you know how many?

[*Principal Michele J. Freeman said there are about 500 volunteers in the course of a year. In addition, there are volunteers who work from home and send in materials for use at the school.*]

The President. What about the children who have both parents work and maybe have two jobs? How do you work out time for them to meet with the teachers and——

[*Ms. Gorski noted such meetings usually occur on Saturdays, and she tries to compensate for the parents' schedules.*]

The President. What about—how does the school work? What does the assistant principal do to make sure that there are no fires started and everybody sort of shows up more or less on time and all of that? [*Laughter*]

[*Assistant Principal Jude Isaacson noted the staff's dedication to educating and nurturing every child, its training in "discipline-with-dignity" strategies, and its efforts to get to know the students' families through extracurricular activities. She described the school's counselors aiding in peer mediation and conflict resolution and offering classes on parenting skills. Ms. Isaacson noted the school administration keeps a visible and proactive presence among the students; she described a program that helps children set and attain goals and a program called "Adopt-a-Cop," which involves local police having lunch with students and discussing safety awareness. She expressed pride in the school staff and their interaction with the community to foster discipline and safety.*]

The President. Last week, I went up to Worcester, Massachusetts and released there this handbook that Secretary Riley and Attorney General Reno did for all the schools on trying to identify children that have problems and trying to prevent things from happening before they go too far. But I tried to emphasize to them that the schools—still, schools are basically the safest places in the country for our kids. But when something goes wrong, it can be terribly tragic.

But I think it's important that the American people know that most schools have people like you in them and other people who are really working hard to do their part to help the children grow up in a safe, secure environment so they can learn. And I know Secretary Riley—he mentioned the character education program—he's been promoting that and worked hard for it ever since we've been here, and I thank him.

What about the teachers? It's about time we heard—[*inaudible*]——

[*First grade teacher Martha Bell noted that teachers look at the challenges each individual student brings to the classroom and, also, how to communicate with the parents. She stressed the need to convince middle and high school students that teaching is a rewarding career and urged funding for those who can't afford to attend higher education.*]

The President. What's the most challenging thing that new teachers face—first-year teachers?

[*Ms. Bell said it was a teacher's first conference with the parents, the development of a good rapport and the positive interaction with the parents.*]

The President. I could use her in any number of positions—[*laughter*]—in the Federal Government. We've got an airplane strike in the Midwest I think you could settle—[*laughter*]—by tonight, and I'd appreciate it.

Principal Freeman. Mr. President, she's taken. [*Laughter*]

The President. But one of those parents who is sitting to your left, Mr. Lewis, you're the PTA president. First of all, I know this is not what you are going to say, but what do you do when you're not the PTA president, and why did you decide to do this?

[*E. Tracey Lewis commended the President on his education policies. He told the President he works with Bill Milliken in the Communities in Schools program, the largest stay-in-school program in the Nation. Mr. Lewis stressed a citizen's obligation to the community and likened the Herndon Elementary School PTA to the President's theme of building bridges to the 21st century. He noted the PTA is about building a community context around the school and its students. He then outlined 10 guiding principles that direct the PTA's decisionmaking.*]

The President. I would just like to say a couple of things and ask you one question. First of all, I want to thank you for your work with the Cities in Schools program. I brought

it to Arkansas with Bill Milliken probably 15 years ago, and that's a long time ago. Secondly, I want to thank you for your work in the PTA and as a father who used to be an active participant in all our school events, I think it's a good thing to have men as well as women be present. And I think that's good.

How many members does your PTA have? How many parent members?

Mr. Lewis. Last year, 47 percent of the parent population of Herndon Elementary School were members of the PTA. This year, under the able leadership of Mary Mann, who is our vice president for membership, we expect to go to scale—100 percent. [*Laughter*]

The President. I'd say that's pretty good.

Ms. Mann. We think big here.

The President. Well, Mr. Superintendent, are all your schools like this? [*Laughter*]

[*Superintendent Domenech welcomed the President and said the county has the Nation's 12th largest and best school system in America. He attributed the success to dedicated staff and community and to the diversity of the county's overall student body. He defined the challenges that confront the county as providing more facilities to handle overcrowding and obtaining better technology for the classroom. He described a program called, "Success by Eight," whereby all students are expected to be able to read by the time they are 8 years old. He stressed the need for smaller class sizes to achieve that goal and expressed hope for assistance from the President.*]

The President. Well, let me say, I think this is a truly extraordinary school district. And I have done my part to promote you, you know, around the country. [*Laughter*] I always talk about what an amazing school district this is. Some of your schools, particular schools, are as diverse as any in America and a stunning array of people coming from different places. So I'm very impressed, and I thank you for what you're doing.

I wonder if—Secretary Riley, would you like to say anything before I talk a little bit about the congressional agenda?

[*Secretary Riley announced the availability within days of guidebooks on early warning signals to help detect school violence before it takes place. He then commended the members of the roundtable for their participation in the discussion.*]

The President. Didn't they do a great job? [*Applause*]

[*At this point, Secretary Riley introduced the President.*]

The President. The way I was prepared for this, I was supposed to go up there to the podium and give a little talk, and it's way too past that. [*Laughter*] We've had too much fun. But what I would like to do is to outline to you—there are six things that the Congress should pass that are in my budget that don't break the balanced budget, that are in our balanced budget, that they can pass or not pass in the next few days that I think would really help our children a lot. Five of them bear directly on our schools, one indirectly.

But I'd like to just mention them so you would know, because I would like to see them get broad bipartisan support . I don't really believe we're best served when education is a partisan issue. I think we're best served when it's an American issue that crosses party lines.

First of all, I have given Congress a plan for smaller classes, better-trained teachers, and more modern schools. Let's begin with the teacher shortage. You know what's acute here; it is profound in many places. Now, let me say one other word of introduction. There has been what I consider to be a legitimate question raised of me by many Members of Congress who say, "Well, now, look Mr. President, you're trying to get the Federal Government into financing things that the Federal Government has never before financed. We've never been into building or repairing schools, for example—there are many States in this country where the States don't even do that, where it all has to be done at the local level—or putting 100,000 teachers out there for smaller classes in the early grades."

My answer is as follows: Number one, it's hard to think of a more important national issue. Number two, I'm not doing anything to interfere with the local direction of the

schools or the States' constitutional responsibility to set the framework of public education. And number three, in some places like this district, the level of growth, and in other places the level of poverty, make it simply inconceivable that they can achieve these objectives otherwise.

So I think if we have the money, this is what we ought to do. But I want to prepare you in case any of you feel moved by the spirit to call or write your Congressman or Senator. [*Laughter*] There is a legitimate historic pattern here where they'll say, ''Well, you know, President Clinton's got a lot of energy, but he may have gone too far this time because the Federal Government's never done this.'' There is a reason we're doing it now. There's a reason we're doing it now. We have to prove that our elementary and secondary schools can be uniformly as excellent as our colleges and universities are and give all of our kids world-class education. And unless we do this, I am convinced there won't be the resources out there to get the job done.

So let me say first of all, the teacher shortage. I've asked Congress to pass a plan to help school districts hire 100,000 new teachers, all trained, tested, and certified by State education authorities, targeted to smaller classes in the early grades. Again, where all the research shows, there are permanent gains if kids get the kind of individual attention they need in the early grades.

I've also asked them to help me support better teacher training programs not directed by Washington, those things that all of you know work, all educators know work. There is not today in my opinion a sufficient commitment to helping teachers continue to improve their skills, upgrade their skills, work with other teachers, to have the time necessary to try to continue to improve, to avoid burnout under all the pressures that they're under. When I go out and talk to educators, there's really a lot of support for increased investment in teacher training. So I hope that Congress will fully fund this class size reduction program. It would get us down to an average of 18 children per class once we do it.

The second problem is, it's hard to have a small class without a classroom. [*Laughter*] What did you call them, learning cottages? Learning cottages. That sounds like someplace you're sent when you misbehave—[*laughter*]—learning cottages. Anyway, so I have also presented a plan to help to modernize or build new, 5,000 schools. Next Tuesday, when I get back from my trip, the Secretary and I and others are going to hold school modernization days all across America to highlight our proposal which would provide tax credit to build or modernize or rebuild 5,000 public schools.

I have been to schools in this country where whole floors were closed because they were so old. But they're wonderful buildings. Structurally, no one could afford to build such buildings today because of the cost of construction. But if you go to an inner-city school, for example, think of what message it gives a 7-year-old child to walk up the steps of a school where the paint's peeling off and the windows are broken. Think of the message you're sending your child—you want to say, ''Oh, every child is a treasure,'' all these things that your PTA president said; I believe every one of them. But sometimes, the actions speak louder than words. You can tell those children that, but if they have to keep walking up steps into broken-down buildings, do they really think we believe it?

The other day, I was in Philadelphia in a school—the average school building, the average age of school buildings in Philadelphia is 65 years. That's the average age. Now, the good news is, those structures, by and large, are magnificent. The bad news is, a whole lot of them are in terrible shape, and I think it's a worthy investment. I think it's a worthy investment of our money.

So, we want to give fast-growing districts like this one and districts with good structures but old, run-down buildings the chance they need to go forward. So that's the first: more teachers for smaller classes and more classes.

Second, we want to fully fund my plan to equip our Nation's classrooms with computers and cutting-edge educational software and to train teachers to be there to make sure that the technology is properly used. I want to hook up every classroom and library in the entire country to the Internet by the year 2000 and make sure that the software

is good and that the teachers are trained to make the most of it. And we have to help you do that. You shouldn't have to fully fund that.

Third, I want to strengthen the charter school movement. There are some school districts that have been greatly advanced by letting teachers and others get together and start new schools within the framework of the school district where the whole district's not reforming, but they want to try something new. We've got now about almost 1,000 of those schools out there. When I became President, there was only one in the whole country. When I was talking about it in 1992, I might have been trying to explain the theory of relativity. Everybody thought I was nuts. [*Laughter*] But now, first we had one, now we've got nearly 1,000, and if my budget passes, we'll have 3,000 funded by the year 2000.

Fourth, I want to continue to open the doors of college to all Americans who will work for it by reauthorizing the Higher Education Act. Now, that doesn't mean anything, so let me tell you what that means, that reauthorization. [*Laughter*]

This legislation will help more children reach their potential by improving teacher education. It will help struggling communities to hire 35,000 well-qualified teachers. It will expand mentoring programs, something that you've already said is important to you. It will reduce interest rates on student loans. It will extend Pell grants and the Federal work-study program. We've taken it from 700,000 work-study positions to a million in 3 years. So these things are very important.

You know, we have provided for lower interest rates on student loans, better repayment, 300,000 more work-study slots, and now tax credits worth about $1,500 a year for the first 2 years of college, and then for junior and senior year and graduate school. I am determined that when I leave office, no American will ever, ever walk away from college because of the cost. We can open the doors of college to everybody who is qualified, and it's important.

Fifth, let's go back to what we were talking about on reading. We want to pass a bipartisan early literacy bill to help to train teachers and mobilize an army of volunteer tutors, because as I said, we already have 1,000 colleges participating in this program. And I think it's very, very important.

Sixth, we have a general program to strengthen our schools that would expand Head Start, strengthen after-school programs for hundreds of thousands of children. This is a huge deal in areas with a lot of juvenile crime, with a lot of dangerous streets, with a lot of gangs. These after-school programs and summer school programs have dramatically reduced student problems while increasing student achievement, and I think that's very, very important.

We have a special initiative aimed at Hispanic young people because the school dropout rate is still much higher for Hispanics than for any other group, largely because of language barriers and economic problems. And we also have in this package program I just mentioned our safe and drug-free schools program. We've tried to take the initiatives that we know work in schools like this one and make sure they are in every single school in America.

Now, the bill that the House Republican majority has proposed falls short of these goals in every single one of these areas. But it's not too late. The bill has to be considered in the Senate; then both the Senate and the House must vote on it. So I would implore you, without regard to your political party, just to contact your Members of Congress, your Senators, and ask them to support this agenda. We have the money.

We have worked hard to balance the budget. We've worked hard to show fiscal discipline, to get the economy going again. There is no more important area in which to spend the money now that we have it, and so I hope you will help us to do that.

Let me just say one final thing. The Senate tomorrow takes up the summer jobs program. Now, that's not for this summer, but—the one we just passed—but for the summer about to come. It provides more than 500,000 young people a chance to work. It is a godsend to this country. And because of the funding—Federal-funded summer jobs program—we have a lot of places which we are able then to go out and get other

people to put up money to expand the program. For reasons I do not understand, the House committee wants to disband it, and I think it would be a disastrous error.

It comes up in the Senate tomorrow, and again, this is fundamentally an education issue, because if kids get in trouble over the summer or they have problems and they don't have something to do or if they need the money and they can't earn it, it increases the chances that they'll drop out. So I hope that you will also support the summer jobs program. The Senate is taking it up quite soon. I believe the Senate, across party lines, will vote to extend it, but we need help.

So I just wanted to close by trying to close this circle here. We started in this roundtable talking about what you are doing to give to children in your charge the future they deserve and a future America desperately needs for them to have. But we think we have a role here if we're going to build those bridges to the 21st century. And I've done my best to define that role based on 20 years now of working with people in education. I think it's a good agenda. Secretary Riley and I, ourselves, started working together almost 20 years ago on public education. I guess next year will be our 20th anniversary of working together on these things when we were young Governors.

I know that you know that there are things we should do, and I believe if we don't be harsh and political in our rhetoric, we talk about our children and what we know to be true of education, we can get a listening ear among enough thoughtful Republicans to join our Democrats to build a bipartisan coalition to do what the National Government should do to help make possible more stories like the ones we've heard around this table today. That is my whole goal. And I know that we won't have all the stories we need unless we also do our part. So I ask you: Whatever you can do to contact your Representatives and Senators, whatever you can do to make it clear that these are not partisan issues, these are people issues, and that our future is riding on it. If you can do that, I would be very grateful. And thank you for what you do here every day.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:45 p.m. in the gymnasium at Herndon Elementary School. In his remarks, he referred to William E. Milliken, president, Communities in Schools, Inc. (formerly, Cities in Schools, Inc.).

Statement on the Northwest Airlines Pilots Strike

August 31, 1998

I have asked Northwest Airlines and its pilots to redouble their efforts to resolve their differences. Senior members of my administration continue to be in contact with the parties, but it is up to the negotiating parties to reach an agreement. Specifically, I have asked Secretary of Transportation Rodney Slater to meet with the parties' leadership. I hope that an agreement will be concluded soon in their interests and the interest of the American people.

Message to the Senate Transmitting the Guatemala-United States Treaty on Stolen Vehicles and Aircraft With Documentation

August 31, 1998

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Treaty Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of Guatemala for the Return of Stolen, Robbed, Embezzled or Appropriated Vehicles and Aircraft, with Annexes and a related exchange of notes, signed at Guatemala City on October 6, 1997. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Department of State with respect to the Treaty.

The Treaty is one of a series of stolen vehicle treaties being negotiated by the United States in order to eliminate the difficulties faced by owners of vehicles that have been stolen and transported across international borders. It is the first of these newly negotiated treaties to provide for the return of stolen aircraft as well as vehicles. When it enters into force, it will be an effective tool to facilitate the return of U.S. vehicles and

aircraft that have been stolen, robbed, embezzled, or appropriated and taken to Guatemala.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Treaty, with Annexes and a related exchange of notes, and give its advice and consent to ratification.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
August 31, 1998.

NOTE: This message was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on September 1.

Remarks at First Day of School Festivities in Moscow, Russia

September 1, 1998

Thank you all very much. I am delighted to be here not only with my wife, who has worked for better education in our country for many years, but with the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Commerce, our American Ambassador here, and five Members of our Congress. I thank all of them for being here. We are delighted to join you on this day.

I would also like to thank Vice Mayor Shanstev and Mr. Muzykantskiy from the Moscow City School Board for joining us. I would like to thank your principal, Ms. Gorachkova. And most of all, I want to thank these fine students, Konstantine Sokolov and Valentina Smirnova. I think they did a fine job, and you should give them applause. You should be very proud of them. [*Applause*]

Now, in the spirit of the day, even though Konstantine's English is very good, I thought I should try to say something in Russian, like *privet* [Hello]. How's that, is that good? [*Applause*] Or *S novym uchebnym godom* [Happy New School Year]. Is that good? [*Applause*]

In America this is also the first day of school for many students. I understand that some of you have studied in America. I hope more of you will do so in the future, and I hope more Americans will come here to study. And in the meantime, perhaps more and more of you can meet on the Internet.

I know that Russian students love to read and are proud of your country's great writers. A teacher here in Moscow asked her first-grade class why they thought reading was important. One girl stood up and answered, "You can read any book. You can read Pushkin." No one in the first grade in my country is reading Pushkin. [*Laughter*] Now, another student answered the same question in a different way. He said, "If you can read, you can read a fax." [*Laughter*]

So whether you want to be a business person reading a fax, a writer, or a teacher, or pursue any other career in the modern world, a good school will help you get there. In a world where people are working closer and closer together, a good school with its languages and its learning about other countries is very important. Because more and more of our jobs and lives depend on computers and technology, more and more of us have to read well, do mathematics, and know other subjects good schools teach.

In the past, America and Russia too often used our knowledge in opposition to each other. But things are very different now. Today we use what we know to work together for new jobs, better health care, a cleaner environment, the exploration of space, the exchange of ideas, art, music, videos. Our countries are becoming partners, and more and more of our people are becoming friends.

Your country is going through some difficult changes right now, and I know things aren't always easy for a lot of people. But I also know that in times of crisis the Russian people have always risen to the occasion with courage and determination.

The challenges of this new global economy and society are great, but so are the rewards. For those who have good schools, like this one, with teachers and parents who work hard to help children learn, and with that learning and the new freedom you have in Russia, all of you will be ready for that future, and you will do very well.

So I say to all the students here, learn as much as you can about as many subjects as you can and about other people. And imagine what you would like to see happen in the future, for yourselves, your nation, and the world. And always keep those dreams with

you, for in the new century you will be able to live those dreams.

Thank you. *Spacibo.*

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:25 p.m. in the auditorium at Elementary School #19. In his remarks, he referred to Vice Mayor Valery Pavlinovich Shanstev of Moscow; Galina Bezrodnaya, principal, Elementary School #19; and students Konstantine Sokolov and Valentina Smirnova, who spoke at the festivities and presented gifts to the President and Mrs. Clinton.

Remarks to Future Russian Leaders in Moscow

September 1, 1998

Thank you very much. First I'd like to thank Maxim Safonov for that fine introduction and for his very encouraging remarks. Rector Torpoulov, Minister Primakov, to all the members of the American delegation. We have Secretary of State Albright, Secretary of Commerce Daley, Secretary of Energy Richardson, National Security Adviser Berger, our Ambassador, Jim Collins, and five distinguished Members of the United States Congress here: Senator Domenici; Senator Bingaman; Representatives Hoyer, King, and Deutsch.

I think their presence here should speak louder than any words I could say that America considers our relationship with Russia to be important. It is a relationship of friendship, of mutual responsibility, and of commitment to the future. We are all honored to be here today, and we thank you for your welcome.

On this first day of school across both our countries, students are resuming their studies, including their study of history. At this critical, surely historic, moment, let me start with a few words about what I believe the past can teach us as we and, especially, as the Russian people face the challenges of the present and the future.

Two hundred and twenty-two years ago, we Americans declared our freedom from the tyranny of King George of England. We set out to govern ourselves. The road has not often—or certainly not always—been easy. First, we fought a very long war for independence. Then it took more than 10 years to devise a Constitution that worked. Then in 1814, we went to war with England again. They invaded our Capital City and burned the President's house, the White House. Then in 1861, we began our bloodiest war ever, a civil war, fought over the conflicts of slavery. It almost divided our country forever, but instead we were reunited, and we abolished slavery.

In the 1930's, before World War II, our country sank into an enormous depression with 25 percent of our people unemployed and more than one-third of our people living in poverty. Well, you know the rest. We were allies in World War II, and after World War II we were adversaries. But it was a time of great prosperity for the American people, even though there were tense and difficult moments in the last 50 years.

The larger point I want to make, as Russia goes through this time of extreme difficulty, is that over the life of our democracy we have had many intense, even bitter, debates about what are the proper relations between people of different races or religions or backgrounds, over the gap between rich and poor, over crime and punishment, even over war and peace. We Americans have fought and argued with each other, as we do even today, but we have preserved our freedom by remembering the fundamental values enshrined in our Constitution and our Declaration of Independence, by continuing to respect the dignity of every man, woman, and child, to tolerate those with different ideas and beliefs than our own, to demand equality of opportunity, to give everyone a chance to make the most of his or her life.

Russia's great ally in World War II, our President, Franklin Roosevelt, said that democracy is a never-ending seeking for better things. For Americans, that means, in good times and bad, we seek to widen the circle of opportunity, to deepen the meaning of our freedom, to build a stronger national community.

Now, what does all that got to do with Russia in 1998? Your history is much longer than ours and so rich with accomplishment, from military victories over Napoleon and Hitler to the literary achievements of Pushkin, Tolstoy, Chekhov, Pasternak, and so many others, to great achievements in art, music,

dance, medicine, science, space flight. Yet for all your rich, long history, it was just 7 years ago that Russia embarked on its own quest for democracy, liberty, and free markets—just 7 years ago—a journey that is uniquely your own and must be guided by your own vision of Russia's democratic destiny.

Now you are at a critical point on your journey. There are severe economic pressures and serious hardships which I discussed in my meetings with your leaders this morning. The stakes are enormous. Every choice Russia makes today may have consequences for years and years to come. Given the facts before you, I have to tell you that I do not believe there are any painless solutions, and indeed, an attempt to avoid difficult solutions may only prolong and worsen the present challenges.

First, let me make a couple of points. The experience of our country over the last several years, and especially in the last 6 years, proves that the challenges of the global economy are very great, but so are its rewards. The Russian people have met tremendous challenges in the past. You can do it here. You can build a prosperous future. You can build opportunity and jobs for all the people of this land who are willing to work for them if you stand strong and complete, not run from but complete the transformation you began 7 years ago.

The second point I want to make is the rest of the world has a very large stake in your success. Today about a quarter of the world's people are struggling with economic challenges that are profound—the people of your country; the people in Japan, who have had no economic growth for 5 years—it's still a very wealthy country, but when they don't have any growth, it's harder for all other countries that trade with them who aren't so wealthy to grow—other countries in Asia. And now we see when there are problems in Russia or in Japan or questions about the economy of China, you see all across the world—the stock market in Latin America drops; you see the last 2 days we've had big drops in the American stock market.

What does that say? Well, among other things, it says, whether we like it or not, we must build the future together, because, whether we like it or not, we are going to be affected by what we do. We will be affected by what you do; you will be affected by what we do. We might as well do it together and make the most of it.

Now, in terms of what has happened in America, obviously it's always more enjoyable when our stock market goes up than when it goes down. But I have talked to our Secretary of the Treasury about this several times since yesterday. I want to reiterate the point that I think is important for Russia, for America, for every country: We believe our fundamental economic policy is sound; we believe our people are working at record rates; and we are determined to stay on a path of fiscal discipline that brought us to where we are. I think that wherever there are markets there will always be changes in those markets. But we must attempt to move in the right direction.

And that's what I want to talk to you about today: How can we move in the right direction? When I look at all the young people here today—and I have read about you and your background—young people from all over Russia, seizing the possibilities of freedom to chart new courses for yourselves and your nation, making a difference by building businesses from modest loans and innovative ideas, by taking technologies created for weapons and applying them to human needs, by finding creative government solutions to complex problems, by improving medical care and fighting disease, by publishing courageous journalism, exposing abuses of power, producing literature and art and scholarship, changing the way people see their own lives, organizing citizens to fight for justice and human rights and a cleaner environment, reaching out to the world. In this room today, there are young people doing all those things. That should give you great reason to hope.

You are at the forefront of building a modern Russia. You are a new generation. You do represent the future of your dreams. Your efforts today will not only ensure better lives for yourselves but for your children and generations that follow.

I think it is important to point out, too, that when Russia chose freedom, it was not supposed to benefit only the young and well educated, the rich and well connected; it was

also supposed to benefit the men and women who worked in factories and farms and fought the wars of the Soviet era, those who survive today on pensions and Government assistance. It was also supposed to benefit the laborers and teachers and soldiers who work every day but wait now for a paycheck.

The challenge is to create a new Russia that benefits all responsible citizens of this country. How do you get there? I do not believe it is by reverting to the failed policies of the past. I do not believe it is by stopping the reform process in midstream, with a few Russians doing very well but far more struggling to provide for their families. I believe you will create the conditions of growth if, but only if, you continue to move decisively along the path of democratic, market-oriented, constructive revolution.

The Russian people have made extraordinary progress in the last 7 years. You have gone to the polls to elect your leaders. Some 65 to 70 percent of you freely turn out in every election. People across Russia are rebuilding diverse religious traditions, launching a wide range of private organizations. Seventy percent of the economy now is in private hands. Not bureaucrats but consumers determine what goods get to stores and where people live. You have reached out to the world with trade and investment, exchanges of every kind, and leadership in meeting security challenges around the globe.

Now you face a critical moment. Today's financial crisis does not require you to abandon your march toward freedom and free markets. Russians will define Russia's future, but there are clear lessons, I would argue, from international experience. Here's what I think they are.

First, in tough times governments need stable revenues to pay their bills, support salaries, pensions, and health care. That requires decisive action to ensure that everyone pays their fair share of taxes. Otherwise, a few pay too much, many pay too little, the government is in the hole and can never get out, and you will never be able to have a stable economic policy. It is tempting for everyone to avoid wanting to pay any taxes. But if everyone will pay their fair share, the share will be modest and their incomes will be larger over the long run because of the stability and growth it will bring to this Russian economic system.

Second, printing money to pay the bills and bail out the banks does not help. It causes inflation and ultimately will make the pain worse.

Third, special bailouts for a privileged few come at the expense of the whole nation.

Fourth, fair, equitable treatment of creditors today will determine their involvement in a nation tomorrow. The people who loan money into this nation must be treated fairly if you want them to be loaning money into this nation 4 years, 5 years, 10 years hence.

These are not radical theories, they are simply facts proven by experience. How Russia reacts to them will fundamentally affect your future. Surviving today's crisis, however difficult that may be, is just the beginning. To create jobs, growth, and higher income, a nation must convince its own citizens and foreigners that they can safely invest. Again, experience teaches what works: fair tax laws and fair enforcement; easier transferability of land; strong intellectual property rights to encourage innovation; independent courts enforcing the law consistently and upholding contract rights; strong banks that safeguard savings; securities markets that protect investors; social spending that promotes hope and opportunity and a safety net for those who in any given time in an open market economy will be dislocated; and vigilance against hidden ties between government and business interests that are inappropriate.

Now, this is not an American agenda. I will say it again: This is not an American agenda. These are the imperatives of the global marketplace, and you can see them repeated over and over and over again. You can also see the cost of ignoring them in nation after nation after nation.

Increasingly, no nation, rich or poor, democratic or authoritarian, can escape the fundamental economic imperatives of the global market. Investors and entrepreneurs have a very wide and growing range of choices about where they put their money. They move in the direction of openness, fairness, and freedom. Here, Russia has an opportunity. At the dawn of a new century there is a remarkable convergence; increasingly,

the very policies that are needed to thrive in the new economy are also those which deepen democratic liberty for individual citizens.

This is a wealthy country. It is rich in resources. It is richer still in people. It has done a remarkable job of providing quality education to large numbers of people. You have proven over and over and over again in ways large and small that the people of this country have a sense of courage and spirit, an unwillingness to be beat down and to give up. The future can be very, very bright.

But we can't ignore the rules of the game, because if there is a system of freedom, you cannot take away and no country, not even the United States with the size of our economy, no country is strong enough to control what millions and millions and millions of people decide freely to do with their money. But every country will keep a large share of its own citizens' money and get a lot of money from worldwide investors if it can put in place systems that abide by the rules of international commerce. And all Russia needs is its fair share of this investment. You have the natural wealth. You have the people power. You have the education. All you need is just to get your fair share of the investment.

Now, 21st century economic power will rest on creativity and innovation. I believe the young people in this room think they can be as creative or innovative as anyone in the world. It will rest on the free flow of information. It will rest on ideas. Consider this, those of you who are beginning your careers: America's three largest computer and software companies are now worth more than all the American companies in our steel, automotive, aerospace, chemical, and plastics industries combined—combined—our three biggest computer companies.

The future is a future of ideas. No nation will ever have a monopoly on ideas. No people will ever control all the creative juices that flow in the human spirit more or less evenly across the world. You will do very well if you just get your fair share of investment. To get your fair share of investment, you have to play by the rules that everyone else has to play by. That's what this whole crisis is about. No one could ever have expected your country to be able to make this transition without pain. You've only been at this 7 years.

Look at any European country that has had an open market society for decades and decades and decades. They have hundreds, indeed thousands, of little organizations, they have major national institutions that all tend to reinforce these rules that I talked about earlier. Don't be discouraged, but don't be deterred. Just keep working until you get it in place. Once you get it in place, Russia will take off like a rocket, because you have both natural resources and people resources.

Now, I think it's important to point out, however, that economic strength—let's go back to the rules—it depends on the rule of law. If somebody from outside a country intends to put money into a foreign country, they want to know what the rules are. What are the terms on which my money is being invested? How will my investment be protected? If I lose money, I want to know it's because I made a bad decision, not because the law didn't protect my money. It is very important. Investors, therefore, seek honest government, fair systems—fair for corporations and consumers, where there are strong checks on corruption and abuse of authority and openness in what the rules are on how investment capital is handled.

Economic strength depends on equality of opportunity. There must be strong schools and good health care, and everyone must have a chance to share in the nation's bounty. And economic power must lie with people who vote their consciences, use new technologies to spread ideas, start organizations to work for change, and build enterprises of all kinds.

Now, some seek to exploit this power shift that's going on in the world to take advantage of their fellow citizens. When this nation went from the old Communist command and control system to an open free system, without all the intermediate institutions and private organizations that it takes years to build up, vacuums were created. And into those vacuums, some moved with an intent to exploit their fellow citizens to enrich themselves without regard to fairness or safety or the future. The challenges for any citizen—this is not Russia specific—this would have happened and has happened in every single

country that has had to make this transition. There's nothing inherently negative about this development. It is as predictable as the Sun coming up in the morning. Every country has had to face this. But you must overcome it.

You must have a state that is strong enough to control abuses: violence, theft, fraud, bribery, monopolism. But it must not be so strong that it can limit the legitimate rights and dreams and creativity of the people. That is the tension of creating the right kind of democratic market society.

The bottom line is that the American people very much want Russia to succeed. We value your friendship. We honor your struggle. We want to offer support as long as you take the steps needed for stability and progress. We will benefit greatly if you strengthen your democracy and increase your prosperity.

Look what our partnership has already produced. We reversed the dangerous buildup of nuclear weapons. We're 2 years ahead of schedule in cutting nuclear arsenals under START I. START II, which still awaits ratification in the Duma, will reduce our nuclear forces by two-thirds from cold-war levels. President Yeltsin and I already have agreed on a framework for START III to cut our nuclear arsenals even further.

For you young people, at a time when India and Pakistan have started testing nuclear weapons, America and Russia must resume the direction the world should take away from nuclear weapons, not toward them. This is a very important thing.

We are working to halt the spread of weapons of mass destruction. We signed the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty with 147 other countries. We're working to contain the arms race between India and Pakistan, to strengthen controls on transfers of weapons technologies, to combat terrorism everywhere.

Our bonds are growing stronger, and as they do we will move closer to our goal of a Europe undivided, democratic, and at peace. We reached agreement for greater cooperation between NATO and Russia. And our soldiers serve side by side, making peace possible in Bosnia.

We don't always agree, and our interests aren't always identical. But we work together more often than not, and the world is a better place as a result. Building peace is our paramount responsibility, but there is more we must do together. One thing we need to do more together is prove that you can grow the economy without destroying the environment.

A great man looking at the condition of the environment charged that humanity was a destroyer. He wrote, ''Forests keep disappearing. Rivers dry up. Wildlife has become extinct. The climate is ruined. The land grows poorer and uglier every day.'' Chekhov wrote those words 100 years ago. Just imagine his reaction to the present environmental conditions, with toxic pollution ruining our air and water, and global warming threatening to aggravate flooding and drought and disease.

Together, we can create cleaner technologies to grow our economies without destroying the world's environment and imperiling future generations. Together, we can harness the genius of our citizens not for making weapons but for building better communications, curing disease, combating hunger, exploring the heavens. Together, we can reconcile societies of different people with different religions and races and viewpoints, and stand against the wars of ethnic, religious, and racial hatred that have dominated recent history.

If we stand together and if we do the right things, we can build that kind of world. If the people of Russia stand for economic reform that benefits all the people of this country, America will stand with you. As the people of Russia work for education and scientific discovery, as they stand against corruption and for honest government, against the criminals and terrorists and for the safety of ordinary citizens, against aggression and for peace, America will proudly stand with you. It is the right thing to do, but it is also very much in the interest of the American people to do so.

I was amazed there were some doubters back in America who said perhaps I shouldn't come here because these are uncertain times politically and economically. And there are questions being raised in the American press

about the commitment of Russia to the course of reform and democracy. It seems to me that anybody can get on an airplane and take a trip in good times and that friends come to visit each other in challenging and difficult times.

I come here as a friend, because I believe in the future of Russia. I come here also because I believe someone has to tell the truth to the people, so that you're not skeptical when your political leaders tell you things that are hard to hear. There is no way out of playing by the rules of the international economy if you wish to be a part of it. We cannot abandon the rules of the international economy. No one can.

There is a way to preserve the social safety net and the social contract and to help the people who are too weak to succeed. There is a way to do that. And there are people who will help to do that. But it has to be done. So I come here as a friend. I come here because I know that the future of our children and the future of Russia's young people are going to be entwined, and I want it to be a good future. And I believe it can be.

Recently, a woman from Petrozavodsk—I hope I pronounced that right, Petrozavodsk—wrote these words about your people, who won World War II and rebuilt from the rubble. Listen to this. She said, "We survived the ruins, the devastation, the hunger, and the cold. It is not possible that our people can do this again? If people raise themselves, they can move mountains. Toward what end? Pushkin once said that so long as we burn with freedom, we can fulfill the noble urges of our souls."

In all this dry and sometimes dour talk about economics and finance, never forget that, whatever your human endeavor, the ultimate purpose of it is to fulfill the noble urges of your soul. That is the ultimate victory the Russian people will reap if you will see this process through to the end. I hope you will do that, and I hope we will be able to be your partners every step of the way.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:50 p.m. in the auditorium at Moscow State University. In his remarks, he referred to Maxim Safonov, student, Moscow State University; and Minister of Foreign Affairs Yevgeniy Primakov and President Boris Yeltsin of Russia. A portion of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

Statement on the Northern Ireland Peace Process

September 1, 1998

I join Prime Ministers Blair and Ahern in welcoming today's statement by Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams committing to exclusively democratic and peaceful means in the political process in Northern Ireland. Sinn Fein joins its voice to the vast majority of Northern Ireland's people who are determined to see, in Mr. Adams' words, that "violence is a thing of the past, over, done with, and gone." This statement is an important contribution to building the trust and confidence necessary to make the Good Friday accord a reality.

I am looking forward to meeting personally with all the party leaders in Northern Ireland. I will urge them to work for full and speedy implementation of the Good Friday accord—the best way to put an end to conflict and ensure peace in Northern Ireland.

Statement on Harold Ickes' 1996 Campaign Financing Activities

September 1, 1998

Harold Ickes has been an important part of this administration's efforts to move our country forward and has devoted much of his life to improving the lives of all Americans. He has been a trusted adviser and a dedicated public servant. I am confident that investigators will find he acted lawfully and appropriately.

Statement on Senate Action on Appropriations Legislation

September 1, 1998

For the past month, I have criticized the House Republican education and training budget because it shortchanges America's future. Today I am pleased that a bipartisan group of Senators voted to reject parts of the extreme House Republican education and

training budget and make many—but not all—of the critical investments in our future that I believe are necessary for America to succeed in the 21st century. This afternoon the Senate Labor-HHS appropriations subcommittee voted to restore full funding for home heating and cooling assistance for low-income families and summer jobs for disadvantaged youth. Unlike the House Republican budget, they voted to make many of the essential investments in our children for which I have been fighting.

The Senate subcommittee, however, did not adequately fund several education and training investments that I believe are vitally important to our Nation's future. For example, they did not provide the resources necessary for us to move forward to ensure that every 8-year-old can read on his or her own and every 12-year-old can log on to the information superhighway. The Senate bill is a good first step, but there is still more work to do.

I look forward to working with the Senate on this bill to expand educational opportunity, improve child care, set voluntary national academic standards, protect continuity in critical health programs, and help young people in high-poverty areas. Finally, as I have said before, Congress must take action to modernize our schools and help provide smaller classes with well-qualified teachers.

Letter to the Majority Leader of the Senate on the Patients' Bill of Rights

September 1, 1998

Dear Senator Lott:

Thank you for your letter regarding the patients' bill of rights. I am pleased to reiterate my commitment to working with you—and all Republicans and Democrats in the Congress—to pass long overdue legislation this year.

Since last November, I have called on the Congress to pass a strong, enforceable, and bipartisan patients' bill of rights. During this time, I signed an Executive Memorandum to ensure that the 85 million Americans in federal health plans receive the patient protections they need, and I have indicated my support for bipartisan legislation that would extend these protections to all Americans. With precious few weeks remaining before the Congress adjourns, we must work together to respond to the nation's call for us to improve the quality of health care Americans are receiving.

As I mentioned in my radio address this past Saturday, ensuring basic patient protections is not and should not be a political issue. I was therefore disappointed by the partisan manner in which the Senate Republican Leadership bill was developed. The lack of consultation with the White House or any Democrats during the drafting of your legislation contributed to its serious shortcomings and the fact it has failed to receive the support of either patients or doctors. The bill leaves millions of Americans without critical patient protections, contains provisions that are more rhetorical than substantive, completely omits patient protections that virtually every expert in the field believes are basic and essential, and includes ''poison pill'' provisions that have nothing to do with a patients' bill of rights. More specifically, the bill:

Does not cover all health plans and leaves more than 100 million Americans completely unprotected. The provisions in the Senate Republican Leadership bill apply only to self-insured plans. As a consequence, the bill leaves out more than 100 million Americans, including millions of workers in small businesses. This approach contrasts with the bipartisan Kassebaum-Kennedy insurance reform law, which provided a set of basic protections for all Americans.

Lets HMOs, not health professionals, define medical necessity. The external appeals process provision in the Senate Republican Leadership bill makes the appeals process meaningless by allowing the HMOs themselves, rather than informed health professionals, to define what services are medically necessary. This loophole will make it very difficult for patients to prevail on appeals to get the treatment doctors believe they need.

Fails to guarantee direct access to specialists. The Senate Republican Leadership proposal fails to ensure that patients with serious health problems have direct access to the

specialists they need. We believe that patients with conditions like cancer or heart disease should not be denied access to the doctors they need to treat their conditions.

Fails to protect patients from abrupt changes in care in the middle of treatment. The Senate Republican Leadership bill fails to assure continuity-of-care protections when an employer changes health plans. This deficiency means that, for example, pregnant women or individuals undergoing care for a chronic illness may have their care suddenly altered mid course, potentially causing serious health consequences.

Reverses course on emergency room protections. The Senate Republican Leadership bill backs away from the emergency room protections that Congress implemented in a bipartisan manner for Medicare and Medicaid beneficiaries in the Balanced Budget Act of 1997. The bill includes a watered-down provision that does not require health plans to cover patients who go to an emergency room outside their network and does not ensure coverage for any treatment beyond an initial screening. These provisions put patients at risk for the huge costs associated with critical emergency treatment.

Allows financial incentives to threaten critical patient care. The Senate Republican Leadership bill fails to prohibit secret financial incentives to providers. This would leave patients vulnerable to financial incentives that limit patient care.

Fails to hold health plans accountable when their actions cause patients serious harm. The proposed per-day penalties in the Senate Republican Leadership bill fail to hold health plans accountable when patients suffer serious harm or even death because of a plan's wrongful action. For example, if a health plan improperly denies a lifesaving cancer treatment to a child, it will incur a penalty only for the number of days it takes to reverse its decision; it will not have to pay the family for all the damages the family will suffer as the result of having a child with a now untreatable disease. And because the plan will not have to pay for all the harm it causes, it will have insufficient incentive to change its health care practices in the future.

Includes "poison pill" provisions that have nothing to do with a patients' bill of rights. For example, expanding Medical Savings Accounts (MSAs) before studying the current demonstration is premature, at best, and could undermine an already unstable insurance market. As I have said before, I would veto a bill that does not address these serious flaws. I could not sanction presenting a bill to the American people that is nothing more than an empty promise. At the same time, as I have repeatedly made clear, I remain fully committed to working with you, as well as the Democratic Leadership, to pass a meaningful patients' bill of rights before the Congress adjourns. We can make progress in this area if, and only if, we work together to provide needed health care protections to ensure Americans have much needed confidence in their health care system.

Producing a patients' bill of rights that can attract bipartisan support and receive my signature will require a full and open debate on the Senate floor. There must be adequate time and a sufficient number of amendments to ensure that the bill gives patients the basic protections they need and deserve. I am confident that you and Senator Daschle can work out a process that accommodates the scheduling needs of the Senate and allows you to address fully the health care needs of the American public.

Last year, we worked together in a bipartisan manner to pass a balanced budget including historic Medicare reforms and the largest investment in children's health care since the enactment of Medicaid. This year, we have another opportunity to work together to improve health care for millions of Americans.

I urge you to make the patients' bill of rights the first order of business for the Senate. Further delay threatens the ability of the Congress to pass a bill that I can sign into law this year. I stand ready to work with you and Senator Daschle to ensure that patients—not politics—are our first priority.

Sincerely,

William J. Clinton

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

The President's News Conference With President Boris Yeltsin of Russia in Moscow

September 2, 1998

President Yeltsin. Distinguished ladies and gentlemen, the official visit of the President of the United States, Bill Clinton, to Russia is coming to an end. We have had intensive, productive negotiations. We have managed to discuss a wide range of topical issues. I would like to emphasize the exchanges were sincere and keen. The dialog was marked by the spirit of mutual understanding.

Responsibility of our two countries for maintaining and strengthening peace and stability is obvious. That is why we have paid special attention to the discussion of the entire spectrum of security issues in the world.

The discussion has included the implementation of international and bilateral treaties and agreements concerning the weapons of mass destruction, as well as the elaboration of common approaches to dealing with the threat of nuclear weapons proliferation and their delivery means.

Unfortunately, this is not the only major task the humanity struggles to resolve. That is why President Clinton and I have discussed global threats and challenges. Our positions on this issue have coincided, and this closeness of approaches is reflected in the joint statement on common security changes on the threshold of the 21st century. I consider this document to be a significant step towards strengthening strategic partnership between Russia and the United States.

We have also had substantial talks on the most topical international issues. And there are quite a few such issues. I'll put it frankly: Here our approaches have not always completely coincided. Russia rejects the use of power methods as a matter of principle. Conflicts of today have no military solutions, be it in Kosovo or around Iraq or Afghanistan or others. Also we do not accept the NATO centrism idea for the new European security architecture. Nevertheless, our talks have been conducive to greater mutual understanding on these issues.

Of course, we could not do without discussing economy problems. Current dimensions of our economic relations should be brought up to a qualitatively new level. We shall have to suffer through much blood, sweat, and tears before new forms of business cooperation worthy of our two great powers are found, reforms that would be able to withstand volatile circumstances. There exist quite a few opportunities for this. These are mentioned in our joint statement on economic issues.

In conclusion, I would like to say—and I hope Bill will agree with me—the summit was a success. This meeting, the 15th in a row, confirmed once again when Presidents of Russia and the United States join their efforts, no issue is too big for them.

Thank you for your kind attention.

President Clinton. Thank you very much, Mr. President, for your hospitality and for giving Hillary and me and our team the chance to come to Moscow again.

Over the past 5 years I have been in this great, historic city in times of bright hope and times of uncertainty. But throughout, I have witnessed the remarkable transformation of this nation to democracy and to a more open economy. We all know that this meeting comes at a challenging time for the Russian people. But I don't believe anyone could ever have doubted that there would be obstacles on Russia's road to a vibrant economy and a strong democracy. I don't also believe that anyone can seriously doubt the determination of the Russian people to build a brighter, better, stronger future.

Russia is important to America. Our economies are connected; we share values, interests, and friendship; we share security interests and heavy security responsibilities. In our discussions, President Yeltsin and I spoke about Russia's options for stabilizing its economy and restoring confidence. I reaffirmed America's strong view that Russia can move beyond today's crisis and create growth and good jobs but only if it carries forward with its transformation, with a strong and fair tax system, greater rule of law, dealing forthrightly with financial institutions, having regulation that protects against abuses, and yes, developing an appropriate safety net for people who are hurt during times of change.

President Yeltsin reaffirmed his commitment to reform, and I believe that is the right commitment. The answer to the present difficulties is to finish the job that has been begun, not to stop it in midstream or to reverse course. This is a view I will reaffirm when I meet today with leaders of the Duma and the Federation Council. America and the international community are, I am convinced, ready to offer further assistance if Russia stays with the path of reform.

We discussed also at length common security concerns. We've reached an important agreement to increase the safety of all our people, an arrangement under which our countries will give each other continuous information on worldwide launches of ballistic missiles or space-launch vehicles detected by our respective early warning systems. This will reduce the possibility of nuclear war by mistake or accident and give us information about missile activity by other countries.

We've also agreed to remove from each of our nuclear weapons programs approximately 50 tons of plutonium, enough to make literally thousands of nuclear devices. Once converted, this plutonium can never again be used to make weapons that become lethal in the wrong hands. Our experts will begin meeting right away to finalize an implementation plan by the end of this year.

I'd like to say in passing, I'm very grateful for the support this initiative received in our Congress. We have four Members of Congress here with us today, and I especially thank Senator Domenici for his interest in this issue.

Next let me say I look forward to and hope very much that the Russian Duma will approve START II, so that we can negotiate a START III agreement that would cut our levels of arsenals down to one-fifth of cold war levels. I think that would be good for our mutual security and good for the Russian economy.

In recent months Russia has taken important steps to tighten its export controls on weapons of mass destruction and the missiles to deliver them, and to penalize offenders. This week Russia barred three companies from transactions with Iran. Today we agreed to intensify our cooperation by creating seven working groups on export controls to further strengthen Russia's ability to halt the spread of dangerous weapons. Also, we renewed our commitment to persuade India and Pakistan to reverse their arms race. And we pledged to accelerate international negotiations to establish a tough inspection regime for the Biological Weapons Convention. I don't believe it's possible to overstate the importance of this initiative for the next 20 years.

Russia and the United States share a commitment to combat terrorism. We agree that there is no possible justification for terrorism. It is murder, plain and simple. Today, we instructed our Foreign Ministers to develop a plan to deepen our cooperation against this danger to our own people and to innocent people around the world.

We agree on the importance of further strengthening the partnership between NATO and Russia through practical cooperation. We plan to accelerate talks on adapting the treaty that limits conventional military forces in Europe, the CFE, to reflect changes in Europe since the treaty was signed in 1990, with an aim to complete an adapted treaty by the 1999 summit of the OSCE.

Finally, we discussed our common foreign policy agenda, including, first and foremost, the need to continue to strengthen the peace in Bosnia and to look for a peaceful solution in Kosovo, where the humanitarian situation is now quite grave. We agreed that the Serbian Government must stop all repressive actions against civilian populations, allow relief organizations immediate and full access to those in need, and pursue an interim settlement.

President Yeltsin and I also agree that Iraq must comply fully with all relevant U.N. Security Council resolutions imposed after the gulf war and, in particular, must agree to allow the international weapons inspectors to again pursue their mission without obstruction or delay. Far from advancing the day sanctions are lifted, Iraq's most recent efforts to undermine the inspectors will perpetuate sanctions, prevent Iraq from acquiring the resources it needs to rebuild its military, and keep Iraq's economy under tight international control.

On energy and the environment, we reiterated our commitment to the emissions reductions targets and the market-based mechanisms established at Kyoto to slow the dangerous process of global warming. We agreed that multiple pipeline routes were essential to bring energy from the Caspian to international markets and to advance our common security and commercial interests.

This has been a full agenda, a productive summit. Again, let me say that I have great confidence that the people of this great nation can move through this present difficult moment to continue and complete the astonishing process of democratization and modernization that I have been privileged to witness at close hand over the last 5½ years.

Again, Mr. President, thank you for your hospitality. And I suppose we should answer a few questions.

Russian official. Now we will have a Q-and-A session, so the work will proceed in the way that the U.S. and Russian press corps could ask questions in turn. Using the privilege of the host, I will give the floor to the representatives of ORT television.

Summit Goals and Russia-U.S. Relations

Q. A question to both Presidents. Prior to meeting, many experts, politicians, and public at large believed that your meeting is futile, nobody needs it, no results will be produced due to the known difficulties both in Russia and America. I understand now you're trying to make the case it's the other way around, the situation is different. So what was the psychological atmosphere to your talks, bearing in mind this disbelief in the success, this skeptical approach?

And second, are we, Russia and U.S., partners right now or still contenders? And today, bidding farewell, Boris Yeltsin and Bill Clinton, are they still friends?

Thank you.

President Yeltsin. I will start with your last question. Yes, we stay friends and the atmosphere, since the beginning of the talks until the end, was a friendly one. I would say it was very considerate, and there were no discontents during the talks that we had.

And this brings my conclusion that since we did not have any differences, in my opinion, there will be no differences also in our activities, in what we do bilaterally. Of course, that goes without saying. This is very logical.

Now, in response to those skeptical observers who alleged, and continue to do so, that they don't believe, I've been always saying no, on the contrary—we need to repeat it—we do believe we do that in order to remove the tension. And each time, having those meetings, we've been able to do something to alleviate the tension. This is what really matters. We've been doing that, removing that tension. And this time again we have removed part of the tension one more time.

President Clinton. Well, first of all, I think it's important to answer your question of what happened from the point of view of the Russian people and then from the point of view of the American people.

You ask if we're still friends. The answer to that is yes. You ask if Russia and the United States have a partnership. I think the plain answer to that is yes, even though we don't always agree on every issue. I can tell you from my point of view this was a successful meeting on the national security issues, because I think establishing this early warning information sharing is important and I know that the destruction of this huge volume of plutonium is important. And it also might be important to the Russian economy. It can be an economic plus as well as a national security plus.

Now, on the domestic economic issues, from the point of view of America, it was important to me to come here just to say to the President and to his team and to the Duma leaders I will see later and the Federation Council leaders that I know this is a difficult time, but there is no shortcut to developing a system that will have the confidence of investors around the world. These are not American rules or anybody else's rules. These are—in a global economy, you have to be able to get money in from outside your country and keep the money in your country invested in your country.

And if the reform process can be completed, then I for one would be strongly supportive of greater assistance to Russia from the United States and the other big economic powers, because I think we have a very strong

vested interest in seeing an economically successful Russia that is a full partner across the whole range of issues in the world. I also think it's good for preserving Russia's democracy and freedom.

So, from my point of view, saying that we support reform and saying we will support those who continue it was in itself a reason to come.

From Russia's point of view, I think knowing that the United States and others want to back this process and will do so, and at least having someone else say, "There is a light at the end of this tunnel; there is an end to this process; and it could come quickly if these laws are passed in the Duma and the things that the President has asked for already are done and the decisions are made well"—I think that is worth something apart from the specific agreements that we have made.

But my answer to you is that in foreign policy and security, this meeting produced something. Whether it produces real economic benefits for the people of Russia depends upon what happens now in Russia. But at least everyone knows that we're prepared to do our part and to support this process.

President Yeltsin. I would like to add just for one second, please, just two words here. We have put it on paper. We have decided to set up on the territory of Russia a joint center of control over the missile launches. For the first time this has been done. This is exceptionally important.

President Clinton. I agree with that.

Press Secretary Mike McCurry. Our tradition, questions from our wire services. Terence Hunt of the Associated Press.

Russian and American Economies

Q. President Yeltsin, yesterday President Clinton spoke of the painful steps that Russia will have to take and the need to play by the rules of international economics. What difficult steps are you prepared to take? And are you committed to play by these rules of international economics?

And to President Clinton, the world stock market seems very fragile right now. How can the United States withstand all these outside pressures?

President Clinton. Do you want me to go first?

I think the answer to your question about what we can do that's best for our economy is really twofold. The first thing we have to do is to do our very best to make the right decisions at home. You know, we have to stay with the path of discipline that has brought us this far in the last 5½ years, and we have to make the investments and decisions that we know will produce growth over the long run for the American economy. Whether it's in education or science and technology, we have to do the things that send the signal that we understand how the world economy works and we intend to do well in it. But the most important thing is sticking with sound economic policy.

Now, in addition to that, it is important that more and more Americans, without regard to party, understand that we are in a global economy, and it's been very good to the United States over the last 5½ years—about 30 percent of our growth has come from exports—but that we at this particular moment in history, because of our relative economic strength, have an extra obligation to try to build a system for the 21st century where every person in every country who is willing to work hard has a chance to get a just reward for it.

And that means that we have to—in my opinion, that means that we have to continue to contribute our fair share to the International Monetary Fund. It means that we have to do everything we can to support our friends in Russia who believe that we should continue to reform. It means that Secretary Rubin's upcoming meeting with the Finance Minister of Japan, former Prime Minister Miyazawa, is profoundly important. Unless Japan begins to grow again, it's going to be difficult for Russia and other countries to do what they need to do. It means, in short, that America must maintain a leadership role of active involvement in trying to build an economic system that rewards people who do the right thing. And that's in our best interest.

So I think this is a terribly important thing. The volatility in the world markets, including in our stock market, I think is to be expected under these circumstances. The right thing

to do is to try to restore growth in the economies of the world where there isn't enough growth now and to continually examine whether the institutions we have for dealing with problems are adequate to meet the challenges of today and tomorrow. And we are aggressively involved in both those activities.

President Yeltsin. Naturally, we face problems basically of our own. We have not been able to do many things over the past time when we started our reforms. And still we need to conclude our reforms, to bring them to completion, and consequently to get results.

We are not saying that we count solely on the support from outside. No. One more time, I will reiterate this: No. So let your mass media not spread the word to the effect that allegedly we would count solely on the support from the West, and to this end we have gathered together here—by no means. What we need from the United States is political support to the effect that the United States is in favor of reforms in Russia. This is what we really need, and then all the investors who would like to come to the Russian reformed market will do so, will come with their investments. And this is what we really need now. This is what is lacking, investments. This is first and foremost.

Certainly, we ought to fight our expenditures pattern and mismanagement. This is the second issue which, to us, is one of the most important issues. And we have been adopting, accordingly, the measures which need to be taken, like we have adopted the program of stabilization measures; in other words, those measures which will result in stabilization of our reforms. Stabilization—I believe that such measures and such a program will work, promptly; over the coming 2 years, it will produce results.

Russia-U.S. Relations

Q. I'd like to pose a question to the President of the United States, Mr. Clinton. One gets the impression that some politicians in the United States right now like to somehow frighten the people with Russia. On the other hand, we are aware of the fact that you are never afraid of Russia, yourself, and you did everything possible so that people in the U.S. would not be afraid of Russia. Now, on the results of these talks, tell us please your belief—what is the basis of your belief that our country will get back to its feet and that Russian-U.S. relations have promising prospects?

Thank you.

President Clinton. Well, my belief that Russian-U.S. relations have promising prospects has been supported by the agreements we have made in the security and foreign policy areas. My belief that Russia will get back on its feet is based on my observation that in Russian history every time outsiders counted the Russian people out, they turned out to be wrong. And this is a very big challenge, but, I mean, a country that rebuffed Napoleon and Hitler can surely adjust to the realities of the global marketplace.

Now, what has to be done? The reason I wanted to come here—and, to be fair, let me back up and say, I don't think there are many people in America who are afraid of Russia anymore. I think there are some people in America who question whether I should come at this moment of great economic and political tension for the country, but I don't think it's because they want something bad to happen to Russia. I think, by and large, the American people wish Russia well and want things to go well for Russia and like the fact that we are partners in Bosnia and that we've reduced our nuclear arsenals so much and that we've reduced our defense establishment and that we've found other ways to cooperate, in space for example. I think most Americans like this very, very much.

So let me go back to the economic question. I believe whether you succeed and how long it takes you to succeed in restoring real growth to the Russian economy depends upon President Yeltsin's ability to persuade the Duma to support his formation of a Government which will pursue a path of reform with a genuine sensitivity to the personal dislocation of the people who have been hurt. And here's where I think the World Bank and other institutions can come in and perhaps help deal with some of the fallout, if you will, of the reform process.

But I think if other political forces in Russia try to force the President to abandon reform in midstream or even reverse it, what I think will happen is even less money will

come into Russia and even more economic hardship will result. I believe that because that is, it seems to me, the unwavering experience of every other country.

That does not mean you should not have a social safety net. It does not mean you have to make the same domestic decisions that the United States or Great Britain or France or Sweden or any other country has made. You have to form your own relationship with this new economic reality. But I still believe that unless there is a manifest commitment to reform, the economy will not get better.

So I support President Yeltsin's commitment in that regard. And I think—my conviction that it will get better is based on my reading of your history. How long it will take to get better depends a lot more on you and what happens here than anything else we outsiders can do, although if there is a clear movement toward reform, I'll do everything I can to accelerate outside support of all kinds.

Press Secretary McCurry. Lori Santos, United Press International.

President's Effectiveness

Q. Sir, you were just speaking of the challenges that we face as a nation. And what has the reaction since your admission of a relationship with Ms. Lewinsky caused you any—given you any cause for concern that you may not be as effective as you should be in leading the country?

President Clinton. No, I've actually been quite heartened by the reaction of the American people and leaders throughout the world about it. I have acknowledged that I made a mistake, said that I regretted it, asked to be forgiven, spent a lot of very valuable time with my family in the last couple of weeks, and said I was going back to work. I believe that's what the American people want me to do. And based on my conversations with leaders around the world, I think that's what they want me to do, and that is what I intend to do.

As you can see from what we're discussing here, there are very large issues that will affect the future of the American people in the short run and over the long run. There are large issues that have to be dealt with now in the world and at home. And so I have been quite encouraged by what I think the message from the American people has been and what I know the message from leaders around the world has been. And I'm going to do my best to continue to go through this personal process in an appropriate way but to do my job, to do the job I was hired to do. And I think it very much needs to be done right now.

Russia and NATO Expansion

Q. Boris Nikolayevich, this question has to do with the relationship between Russia and NATO. I understand you had time to discuss this issue with the U.S. President. It's known that the next NATO summit will take place in Washington, where important decisions will be taken regarding the European security architecture. How do you think this relation should evolve in the future?

President Yeltsin. Yes, we have discussed with President Clinton the question concerning the relationship between Russia and NATO. We're not running away from the position which has been that we are against NATO expanding eastward. We believe this is a blunder, a big mistake, and one day this will be a historic error.

Therefore, at this point in time, what we necessarily would like to do is to improve relations so that there be no confrontation. Therefore, we have signed an agreement between Russia and NATO. And in accordance with that agreement we want to do our job. However, no way shall we allow anybody to transgress that agreement, bypass that agreement, or generally speaking, put aside it. No, this will not happen.

And naturally, we shall participate in the Warsaw meeting, and there we shall very closely follow the vector of NATO and what they intend to do in regards to, so to say, deploying their forces and their power.

We still are in favor of being cautious with regards to NATO. We don't have any intentions to move towards the west, ourselves. We don't intend to create additional forces. We're not doing that, and we're not planning to do that. This is what really matters.

President Clinton. I would like to say one word about that. We obviously, President Yeltsin and I, have a disagreement about whether it was appropriate for NATO to take

on new members or not. But I think there is a larger reality here where we are in agreement, and I would like to emphasize it.

Russia has made historic commitments in the last few years to essentially redefine its greatness, not in terms of the territorial dominance of its neighbors but, instead, of constructive leadership in the region and in the world. The expansion of NATO, therefore, should be seen primarily as nations interested in working together to deal with common security problems, not to be ready to repel expected invasions.

And if you look at what the NATO members will be discussing next year, they're talking about how they can deal with regional security challenges, like in Bosnia and Kosovo—both of which—one of which we would never—we would not have solved the Bosnia war, or ended it, had it not been for the leadership of Russia and the partnership between NATO and Russia. It simply would not have happened in the way it did, in a way that reinforced harmony in the region. Similarly, we have got to work together in Kosovo to prevent another Bosnia from occurring.

If we have problems with terrorism or with the spread of chemical or biological weapons, they will be problems we all have in common. That's why you have two dozen nations that are not NATO members a part of our Partnership For Peace, because they know that nation-states in the future are going to have common security problems and they will be stronger if they work together.

And that's why I was especially proud of the charter that Russia and NATO signed. I intend to honor it. I intend to build on it. And I hope that within a few years we'll see that this partnership is a good thing and continues to be a good thing and brings us closer together rather than driving us apart.

Press Secretary McCurry. Larry McQuillan, Reuters.

Russia's Political Situation/President's August 17 Address

Q. President Yeltsin, do you see any circumstance in which you could accept someone other than Mr. Chernomyrdin to be your Prime Minister? And if you can't accept that, does that mean you're prepared to dissolve the Duma if they refuse to confirm him?

And Mr. President, another Lewinsky question. You know, there have been some who have expressed disappointment that you didn't offer a formal apology the other night when you spoke to the American people. Are you—do you feel you need to offer an apology? And in retrospect now, with some distance, do you have any feeling that perhaps the tone of your speech was something that didn't quite convey the feelings that you had, particularly your comments in regard to Mr. Starr?

President Yeltsin. Well, I must say, we will witness quite a few events for us to be able to achieve all those results. That's all. [*Laughter*]

President Clinton. That ought to be my answer, too. That was pretty good. [*Laughter*]

Well, to your second question, I think I can almost reiterate what I said in response to the first question. I think the question of the tone of the speech and people's reaction to it is really a function of—I can't comment on that. I read it the other day again, and I thought it was clear that I was expressing my profound regret to all who were hurt and to all who were involved, and my desire not to see any more people hurt by this process and caught up in it. And I was commenting that it seemed to be something that most reasonable people would think had consumed a disproportionate amount of America's time, money, and resources and attention and was now—continued to involve more and more people. And that's what I tried to say.

And all I wanted to say was I believe it's time for us to now go back to the work of the country and give the people their Government back and talk about and think about and work on things that will affect the American people today and in the future. That's all I meant to say, and that's what I believe, and that's what I intend to do.

NOTE: The President's 163d news conference began at 1:17 p.m. in the Catherine Hall at the Kremlin. President Yeltsin spoke in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. In their remarks, the Presidents referred to Finance Minister Kiichi Miyazawa of Japan; Prime Minister-designate Viktor Chernomyrdin of Russia;

and the Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). A tape was not available for verification of the translation of President Yeltsin's remarks.

Joint Statement on the Situation in Kosovo

September 2, 1998

The Presidents of the United States and the Russian Federation noted with concern that the situation in Kosovo continues to deteriorate, causing growing alarm among the world public about the growing negative consequences for regional stability. Despite extensive attempts of the Contact Group, OSCE, and other international institutions, there has not yet been success in achieving an end to the armed clashes and senseless bloodshed and in initiating serious and meaningful negotiations between the authorities in Belgrade and leaders of Kosovo Albanians that would make it possible to agree promptly on measures to build confidence and security in the province as an interim step on the way to a final settlement of the Kosovo problem including the definition of the status of enhanced Kosovo self-government with strict respect for the territorial integrity of the FRY.

The escalation of tension in Kosovo inflicts heavy suffering on innocent civilians. Over 200,000 people were forced to leave their homes as the result of armed clashes. The situation is aggravated by large-scale destruction of houses, food shortages, and the risk of epidemic disease. The threat of humanitarian catastrophe is becoming ever more real.

Slobodan Milošević, as President of the FRY, must order a halt to all repressive actions against the civilian population in Kosovo. All violence by all Kosovo Albanian armed groups must cease immediately. President Milošević and the Kosovo Albanian leadership must intensify the negotiating process.

Urgent measures should be taken promptly to prevent humanitarian catastrophe in Kosovo. Necessary conditions should be created without delay for the refugees and displaced persons to return freely to the places of their permanent residence before the advent of winter. The scope and acuteness of the problem call for urgent joint actions of the authorities in Belgrade, the Kosovo Albanians, and international humanitarian organizations. Constant international monitoring in the field, accompanied both by progressive withdrawal of Serb security forces to their permanent locations, and the cessation of armed actions by the Kosovo Albanians, are needed to inspire confidence among people in their safety and prospects for restoring normal life. A mechanism for creating favorable conditions in the most heavily affected locations in the province—a series of "pilot projects"—should be set in motion immediately. The Serb authorities should implement in practice unimpeded access to all areas of the province for humanitarian organizations and diplomatic observers.

The cessation of violence and amelioration of the humanitarian situation would facilitate the creation of a favorable environment for progress in the negotiating process over the entire range of issues. President Milošević and all Kosovo Albanian leaders should engage actively in the negotiating process, with a view toward achieving a political solution to the crisis and a framework for durable peace in Kosovo.

Moscow
September 2, 1998

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

Joint Statement on a Protocol to the Convention on the Prohibition of Biological Weapons

September 2, 1998

The Presidents of the United States and the Russian Federation, recognizing the threat posed by biological weapons, express strong support for the aims and tasks of the Ad Hoc Group of States Parties to establish a regime to enhance the effective implementation of the 1972 Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction. We urge the further intensification and successful conclusion of those negotiations to

strengthen the Convention by adoption of a legally binding Protocol at the earliest possible date.

We have agreed to contribute to accomplishing these tasks. Consequently, the United States of America and the Russian Federation will make additional efforts in the Ad Hoc Group to promote decisive progress in negotiations on the Protocol to the Convention, to ensure its universality and enable the Group to fulfill its mandate.

We agree that the Protocol to the Convention must be economical to implement, must adequately guarantee the protection of national security information, and must provide confidentiality for sensitive commercial information. We also consider it extremely important to create a mechanism for implementation that will be consistent with the scope of the measures provided for in the Protocol.

We recognize the necessity for the Protocol to include those measures that would do the most to strengthen the Convention.

We express our firm commitment to global prohibition of biological weapons and for full and effective compliance by all States Parties with the Convention prohibiting such weapons.

We support the language in the Final Declaration of the Fourth Review Conference of the States Parties to the Convention (1996) that the Convention forbids the use of bacteriological (biological) and toxin weapons under any circumstances.

Moscow
September 2, 1998

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

Joint Statement on the Exchange of Information on Missile Launches and Early Warning

September 2, 1998

Taking into account the continuing worldwide proliferation of ballistic missiles and of missile technologies, the need to minimize even further the consequences of a false missile attack warning and above all, to prevent the possibility of a missile launch caused by such false warning, the President of the United States and the President of the Russian Federation have reached agreement on a cooperative initiative between the United States and Russia regarding the exchange of information on missile launches and early warning.

The objective of the initiative is the continuous exchange of information on the launches of ballistic missiles and space launch vehicles derived from each side's missile launch warning system, including the possible establishment of a center for the exchange of missile launch data operated by the United States and Russia and separate from their respective national centers. As part of this initiative, the United States and Russia will also examine the possibility of establishing a multilateral ballistic missile and space launch vehicle pre-launch notification regime in which other states could voluntarily participate.

The Presidents have directed their experts to develop as quickly as possible for approval in their respective countries a plan for advancing this initiative toward implementation as soon as practicable.

Russia, proceeding from its international obligations relating to information derived from missile attack warning systems, will reach agreement regarding necessary issues relating to the implementation of this initiative.

The President of the United States of America:	The President of the Russian Federation:
William J. Clinton	**Boris Yeltsin**

Moscow
September 2, 1998

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

Joint Statement on Trade, Investment, Technology, and Non-Governmental Cooperation

September 2, 1998

We, the Presidents of the United States of America and the Russian Federation, set priorities to deepen our trade, investment, technological and non-governmental cooperation. We reviewed the key role the

U.S.-Russian Commission on Economic and Technological Cooperation has played in strengthening the bilateral relations between our two countries. We agreed to take the following actions, which help build investor and consumer confidence, and have charged the co-chairmen of the Commission to oversee their implementation:

- Promote, under the auspices of the U.S.-Russian Business Development Committee, the further strengthening of bilateral trade and investment flows by working together to support cooperative projects between U.S. and Russian business, to reduce remaining barriers to market access, to strengthen the rule of law in business, and to increase the dialog on commercial taxation, standards, and customs matters.
- Extend technical exchanges between the U.S. Federal Reserve System and the Bank of Russia, and arrange for technical exchanges with the Comptroller of the Currency and Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.
- Extend cooperation between the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission and the Russian Federal Commission for the Securities Markets in order to develop and implement sound, effective regulatory policies.
- Intensify technical cooperation between the U.S. Treasury Department and the Russian Ministry of Finance and the Bank of Russia on issues pertaining to strengthening the financial sector.
- Facilitate the development of the small and medium business sector, including through U.S. and Russian experts working at the regional and local levels to develop business management skills, to increase the access of small and medium business to finance, and to support exchanges of U.S. and Russian entrepreneurs.

We discussed Russia's current trade and investment priorities. In this regard, we discussed Russia's desire to be designated as a ''market economy'' for purposes of U.S. trade laws. The Russian side will submit a memorandum of justification to the U.S. Department of Commerce to initiate a review process.

Space-related industries in both countries are poised for rapid growth and can revolutionize communications and high-technology industries across the globe. U.S.-Russian commercial space ventures are already generating thousands of high-tech jobs in the U.S. and Russia, with projected revenues in the billions of dollars. We reaffirmed the need to meet our respective commitments to the International Space Station to continue advance in space that benefit our people. We recognized the importance of protecting U.S. and Russian sensitive technologies in our commercial and governmental joint space efforts and instructed our experts to continue to work together in this area.

Cooperation in the energy field has unprecedented possibilities for attracting investment and creating jobs, and ensuring sustained growth in Russia. Such cooperation will be enhanced as legislation on production sharing is implemented fully, harmonized with the tax code, and applied to the development of new oil and gas fields. We recognize the importance of commercially viable and environmentally sound multiple pipeline system for the transportation of energy resources of the Caspian Basin to international markets. We encourage U.S. and Russian companies to expand their work together on these and other energy projects.

U.S.-Russian cooperation in the field of civil aviation can lead to a change in the character of global transportation in the 21st Century. We note the progress that has been achieved on a bilateral agreement to enhance air transportation between our two countries, and underline the importance of additional efforts to conclude negotiations. We recognize the great value of the new bilateral agreements on enhancing flight safety signed today. We welcome the cooperation among the United States, Russia, and the International Civil Aviation Organization in developing safe, efficient, and cost-effective access to air traffic control services, recognizing the importance of this endeavor for global aviation.

Our countries are aware of our important role in helping to protect the global environment. We agreed to continue working together on the problem of greenhouse gas

emissions. The United States and Russia reiterate their commitments to achieving the emissions targets agreed to at Kyoto. We will cooperate on efforts to establish a broad-based, unrestricted emissions trading system that is both environmentally and economically successful. The United States and Russia intend to use the Kyoto protocol's flexible, market-based mechanisms, particularly emissions trading.

We note with satisfaction the progress achieved in integrating Russia into international economic and financial structures, especially in regard to the G–8, the Paris club and APEC. We tasked our experts with intensifying their work on Russia's accession to the World Trade Organization and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.

We support the strong non-governmental ties that have developed between our citizens. Cooperation between U.S. and Russian hospitals, universities, community, human rights and other organizations is rapidly expanding. Thousands of U.S. and Russian citizens and communities, throughout all 89 Russian regions and each of the 50 United States, are now involved in these contacts. From science and business to the arts and religion, we are committed to sustaining, expanding, and developing these contacts in all their diversity. In this spirit, we announced a new joint fellowship program for young Americans and Russians committed to public service, providing an opportunity for future leaders from our two countries to learn about our societies during university-level academic study and professional internships. These new, non-governmental, people-to-people relationships are the foundations for ensuring prosperity and a better understanding between our countries that will take us into the next century.

Moscow

September 2, 1998

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

Joint Statement on Common Security Challenges at the Threshold of the Twenty-First Century

September 2, 1998

We, the Presidents of the United States of America and of the Russian Federation, declare that cooperation between the U.S. and Russia will be of the greatest import in the twenty-first century for promoting prosperity and strengthening security throughout the world. In this connection, we reaffirm that the United States of America and the Russian Federation are natural partners in advancing international peace and stability. We have devoted particular attention to intensifying joint efforts to eliminate threats inherited from the Cold War and to meet common security challenges at the threshold of the twenty-first century.

We understand that the most serious and pressing danger is the proliferation of nuclear, biological, chemical, and other types of weapons of mass destruction, the technologies for their production, and their means of delivery. Given the increasing interdependence of the modern world, these threats are becoming transnational and global in scope; they affect not only the national security of the United States and the Russian Federation, but also international stability. We reaffirm the determination of the U.S. and Russia to cooperate actively and closely with each other, as well as with all other interested countries, to avert and reduce this threat by taking new steps, seeking new forms of collaboration, and strengthening generally recognized international norms.

We recognize that more must be done and today we have taken a number of steps to enhance not only our security, but global security as well. We are declaring our firm commitment to intensifying negotiations toward early completion of the Biological Weapons Convention Protocol. We are embarking on new and important cooperation to further lessen the risks of false warnings of missile attacks. And, we have agreed on principles to guide our cooperation in the management and disposition of plutonium

from nuclear weapons programs so that it can never again be used in a nuclear weapon.

Common commitments have made the U.S. and Russia partners in developing the foundations of an international non-proliferation regime, including the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, IAEA safeguards, the Convention on Biological and Toxin Weapons, and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. Russia and the U.S. reaffirm their commitment to the goal of having all countries accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons in its present form, without amendments. They are also committed to the strengthened guidelines of the Nuclear Suppliers Group. As participants in the Conference on Disarmament, they jointly achieved success in the negotiations of the Chemical Weapons Convention and of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, and call upon all countries to accede to these treaties. Guided by these obligations, they have taken substantial practical steps to reduce the global nuclear threat and control transfers of sensitive technology. They remain deeply concerned about the nuclear tests in South Asia and reaffirm U.S. and Russian commitments to coordinate closely support for all steps set forth in the Joint Communiqué of the "P–5", as endorsed by the G–8 and the UN Security Council.

The START Treaty and Presidents' nuclear arms reduction initiatives in 1991–92 will help to ensure the ultimate goal of nuclear disarmament and enhance international security. We have together eliminated more than 1,700 heavy bombers and missile launchers, including more than 700 launch silos, 45 submarines capable of launching nuclear missiles, and deactivated or eliminated more than 18,000 strategic and tactical nuclear warheads. Reaffirming our commitment to strict compliance with our obligations under the START I and ABM Treaties, we declare our resolve to collaborate in expediting the entry into force of the START II Treaty. Immediately after Russian ratification of START II, the U.S. and Russia will begin negotiations regarding lower levels within the framework of a START III Treaty.

As a result of significant reductions in their nuclear forces, the United States and Russia have large stockpiles of nuclear materials that are no longer needed for defense purposes. They remain committed to providing the maximum degree of security and accountability for these and other stockpiles of weapons-grade fissile materials and reaffirm the importance of implementing the U.S. Vice President's and Russian Prime Minister's July 1998 Agreement on Scientific and Technical Cooperation in the Management of Plutonium that has been Withdrawn from Nuclear Military Programs.

We reaffirm our commitment to further cooperation on export controls as an essential part of ensuring non-proliferation. Our governments recently created an additional mechanism for cooperation in the field of exports of sensitive technology. To this end, at our meeting today we agreed to establish expert groups on nuclear matters, missile and space technology, catch-all and internal compliance, conventional weapons transfers controls, as well as law enforcement, customs matters, and licensing in order to enhance cooperation and to implement specific bilateral assistance and cooperative projects. These groups will be formed within the next month and begin practical activities without delay. A protected communications channel between senior officials of both countries has also been established, which will ensure the rapid and confidential exchange of information on non-proliferation matters.

We reaffirmed the importance of the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty and its fundamental contribution to stability, predictability and cooperation in Europe. As we work together to build a more integrated and secure Europe, we are committed to accelerating the negotiations to adapt the Treaty to changing circumstances. We consider it necessary to complete work on adapting the Treaty in the nearest future. We reaffirm our commitment to comply with the Treaty's provisions during the process of its adaptation.

The U.S. and Russia remain committed to jointly building an enduring peace based upon the principles of democracy and the indivisibility of security. They reaffirm the common objective of strengthening security and stability in the interest of all countries, and combating aggressive nationalism and preventing abuses of human rights. They will

consult with each other and strive to cooperate in averting and settling conflicts and in crisis management. In this regard, we attach great importance to operational military cooperation, in both bilateral and multilateral settings, between the armed forces of the U.S. and Russia. We are pleased to note that definite progress has been achieved in the area of defense cooperation, particularly in strengthening nuclear security and in implementation of the Cooperative Threat Reduction Program.

We recognize that the soundness of an increasingly interdependent world financial and economic system affects the well-being of people in all countries. We agree on the importance to the international community of the success of economic and structural reform in Russia.

Strengthening environmental protection in the 21st century is imperative in order to protect natural systems on which humanity depends. Russia and the U.S. will work together to resolve the global climate problem, to preserve the ozone layer, to conserve biodiversity, and to ensure the sustainable management of forests and other natural resources. We underscored the necessity of deepening broad based international and bilateral cooperation in this area.

We declare that terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, irrespective of its motives, is utterly unacceptable. The U.S. and Russia harshly condemn the recent terrorist bombings in Kenya and Tanzania. At our meeting today we agreed on a series of actions that respond to this growing scourge.

We agreed to intensify joint efforts to counteract the transnational threats to our economies and security, including those posed by organized crime, the narcotics trade, the illegal arms trade, computer and other high-technology crime, and money laundering. We agreed to establish a bilateral law enforcement working group that will meet on a regular basis, and we agreed to step up law enforcement efforts and improve the public information system to eradicate trafficking in women and children. We agreed that the United States and Russia will take an active part in working out an effective UN convention to combat transnational organised crime. We welcome Russia's hosting of a G–8 transnational crime conference at the ministerial level in Moscow in 1999.

We recognize the importance of promoting the positive aspects and mitigating the negative aspects of the information technology revolution now taking place, which is a serious challenge to ensuring the future strategic security interests of our two countries. As part of the efforts to resolve these problems the U.S. and Russia have already held productive discussions within the framework of the Defense Consultative Group on resolving the potential Year 2000 computer problem. The U.S. and Russia are committed to continuing consultations and to studying the wider consequences of this computer problem in order to resolve issues of mutual interest and concern.

We declare that the common security challenges on the threshold of the twenty-first century can be met only by consistently mobilizing the efforts of the entire international community. All available resources must be utilized to do so. In the event that it is necessary, the world community must promptly take effective measures to counter such threats. The U.S. and Russia will continue to play a leadership role bilaterally and multilaterally to advance common objectives in the area of security.

The President of the United States of America:	The President of the Russian Federation:
William J. Clinton	**Boris Yeltsin**

Moscow
September 2, 1998

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

Memorandum of Understanding Between the United States of America and Russian Federation on Cooperation in the Field of Civil Aircraft Accident/Incident Investigation and Prevention

September 2, 1998

The Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Russian

Federation, hereinafter referred to as the Parties,

Desiring to promote civil aviation safety and accident prevention,

Recognizing the mutual benefit of improved procedures for the investigation and reporting of the facts, conditions, and circumstances of civil aviation accidents/incidents,

Recognizing the many mutual aviation safety benefits that have been realized through cooperation in accident/incident investigation and prevention under the auspices of the Working Group on Accident Investigation, pursuant to cooperative agreements between the United States and Russia; and,

Recognizing the February 5, 1997, joint statement of the U.S.-Russian Commission on Economic and Technological Cooperation indicating that the Parties intend to develop bilateral cooperation in the field of civil aviation,

Have agreed as follows:

1. The Parties shall take measures to strengthen cooperation on civil aircraft accident/incident investigation and prevention. Cooperation may include, but is not limited to:

a. Assistance and exchange of techniques for the investigation and prevention of civil aircraft accidents and incidents.

b. Exchange of accident/incident investigation and prevention data.

c. Assistance and exchange of information on issues related to accident/incident investigation and prevention within the competence of the International Civil Aviation Organization.

2. Competent Authorities responsible for implementation of this Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) are:

For the Government of the United States of America—The National Transportation Safety Board (NTSB), with support and participation of the Federal Aviation Administration.

For the Government of the Russian Federation:

The Interstate Aviation Committee (IAC), a specially authorized body in the area of aircraft accident investigation that shall act on behalf of and on instructions of the Government of the Russian Federation;

The Federal Aviation authority of Russia (FAAR), a specially authorized body in the area of prevention of aircraft accidents and investigation of incidents with civil aircraft that shall act on behalf of and on instructions of the Government of the Russian Federation.

3. Aircraft accident and incident investigations shall be carried out in accordance with the Convention on International Civil Aviation (Chicago Convention of 1944) and Annex 13 to the Chicago Convention of 1944. Pursuant to Annex 13, the following authorities shall be responsible for instituting and conducting the accident/incident investigation under the following circumstances:

The NTSB shall have primary responsibility in the event of any aircraft accident/incident occurring on the territory of the U.S. involving a Russian-operated or -registered aircraft or an accident/incident occurring in the U.S. involving an aircraft or aircraft engine of Russian design or manufacture. The FAA shall participate in the NTSB investigation. The NTSB shall also have responsibility for providing the U.S.-accredited representative to investigations of accidents/incidents occurring on the territory of the Russian Federation involving a U.S.-operated or -registered aircraft or an accident/incident occurring in the Russian Federation involving an aircraft or aircraft engine of U.S. design or manufacture. The FAA shall participate as an advisor to the NTSB accredited representative.

The IAC shall have primary responsibility in the event of any aircraft accident occurring on the territory of the Russian Federation involving a U.S.-operated or -registered aircraft or an accident occurring in the Russian Federation involving an aircraft or aircraft engine of U.S. design or manufacture. The IAC shall also have responsibility for providing the Russia-accredited representative to investigations of accidents occurring on the territory of U.S. involving a Russia-operated or -registered aircraft or an accident/incident occurring in U.S. involving an aircraft or aircraft engine of Russian design or manufacture.

The FAAR shall have primary responsibility in the event of any aircraft incident occurring on the territory of the Russian Federation involving a U.S.-operated or -registered aircraft or an incident occurring in the Russian Federation involving an aircraft or aircraft engine of U.S. design or manufacture. The FAAR shall also have responsibility for providing the Russia-accredited representative to investigations of incidents occurring on the territory of U.S. involving a Russia-operated or -registered aircraft.

4. The Parties shall take steps to establish mutual confidence in each other's civil aircraft accident/incident investigation and prevention system, and shall cooperate to improve those systems.

5. The Parties shall implement this MOU in accordance with their respective national laws and regulations and in accordance with the rules and principles of international law. Security and confidentiality of data, especially proprietary documents, are subject to the respective national laws and regulations of both Parties.

6. The Competent Authorities shall continue participation in the Working Group on Accident Investigation, and prepare recommendations in the optimum working relationship among the Competent Authorities of the Parties.

7. This MOU shall enter into force upon signature and shall remain in force until terminated by six (6) months' written notice from one Party to the other Party.

In Witness Whereof, the undersigned, being duly authorized by their respective Governments, have signed the Memorandum of Understanding.

Done at Moscow, this second day of September, 1998, in duplicate, in the English and Russian languages, each text being equally authentic.

For the Government of the United States of America:	For the Government of the Russian Federation:
William J. Clinton	**Boris Yeltsin**

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

Memorandum of Understanding Between the United States of America and Russian Federation on the Principles of Cooperation in the Fields of Culture, the Humanities, the Social Sciences, Education, and the Mass Media

September 2, 1998

The Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Russian Federation (hereinafter referred to as "the Participants");

Desiring to enhance mutual understanding and strengthen the friendly relations between the peoples of the United States of America and the Russian Federation;

Believing that further development of cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual benefit will facilitate attainment of these objectives;

Reaffirming the enduring validity of the principle of compliance with the international norms governing rights to intellectual property;

Guided By the provisions of the Charter for American-Russian Partnership and Friendship signed at Washington on June 17, 1992; and

Declaring their intent to encourage direct ties between the citizens and appropriate institutions of the United States of America and the Russian Federation, as well as between the U.S. and Russian non-governmental institutions, in the fields of culture the humanities, the social sciences, education, and the mass media;

Have reached mutual understanding that:

1. The Participants intend to promote the strengthening of mutual cooperation in the fields of culture, the humanities, the social sciences, education, archival science, and the mass media.

2. The Participants intend to encourage the development of cultural exchanges in order to promote better understanding of each other's culture, particularly through:

- organization of theatrical performances and art exhibitions;

- dissemination of instructional materials, books, periodicals, scholarly publications, radio and television progams, films, and other audiovisual materials;
- organization of lectures, seminars, and joint scholarly research; and
- participation in other activities in the fields of culture and art carried out in the United States of America and the Russian Federation.

3. The Paticipants intend to facilitate the establishment of contacts between interested governmental and non-governmental organizations in order to develop programs and joint projects in fields of mutual interest that help strengthen bilateral ties.

4. The Participants plan to encourage scholarly research in the fields of culture, the humanities, and education conducted by appropriate academic institutions in the two countries.

5. The Participants intend to provide assistance in the study of the Russian and English languages in the United States of America and the Russian Federation, respectively.

6. The Participants intend to facilitate the reciprocal sending of pupils, undergraduate and graduate students, faculty, and scholars for instruction and scholarly research, as well as high school teachers to work as interns and give lectures.

7. The Participants intend to encourage the development of contacts between libraries and archives in order to provide wider access to the information available in them.

8. The Participants intend to facilitate exchanges and contacts between journalists, publishers, and mass media associations.

9. The Participants intend to encourage contacts and cooperation between youth, women's, and other non-governmental organizations in the two countries.

10. The activities set forth in this Memorandum may be carried out in the form of joint projects or individual programs of appropriate governmental or non-governmental organizations in the United States of America and the Russian Federation.

11. The Participants plan for their representatives to meet as necessary or at the request of either Participant to exchange views and also to formulate recommendations on specific aspects of the development of cultural cooperation. Matters relating to this will be coordinated through diplomatic channels.

12. In matters pertaining to cooperation in the fields of culture, the humanities, the social sciences, education, and the mass media, the Participants intend to be guided by this Memorandum in accordance with the laws and regulations of the United States of America and the Russian Federation and in accordance with the principles and norms of international law, beginning on the date of its signature and until such time as either Participant informs the other in writing to the contrary.

The provisions of this Memorandum do not affect other active projects or programs.

Signed at Moscow, this second day of September, 1998, in duplicate, each in the English and Russian languages.

For the Government of the United States of America:	For the Government of the Russian Federation:
William J. Clinton	**Boris Yeltsin**

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

Agreement Between the United States of America and the Russian Federation for Promotion of Aviation Safety

September 2, 1998

The Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Russian Federation, hereinafter referred to as the Contracting Parties,

Desiring to promote civil aviation safety and environmental quality,

Noting common concerns for the safe operation of civil aircraft,

Recognizing the emerging trend toward multinational design, production, and interchange of civil aeronautical products,

Desiring to enhance cooperation and increase efficiency in matters relating to civil aviation safety,

Considering the possible reduction of the economic burden imposed on the aviation industry and operators by redundant technical inspections, evaluations, and testing,

Recognizing the mutual benefit of improved procedures for the reciprocal acceptance of airworthiness approvals, environmental testing, and development of reciprocal recognition procedures for approval and monitoring of flight simulators, aircraft maintenance facilities, maintenance personnel, airmen, and flight operations,

Have agreed as follows:

Article I

A. To facilitate acceptance by each Contracting Party of the other Contracting Party's (a) airworthiness approvals and environmental testing and approval of civil aeronautical products, and (b) qualification evaluations of flight simulators.

B. To facilitate acceptance by each Contracting Party of the approvals and monitoring of maintenance facilities and alteration or modification facilities, maintenance personnel, airmen, aviation training establishments, and flight operations of the other Contracting Party.

C. To provide for cooperation in sustaining an equivalent level of safety and environmental objectives with respect to aviation safety.

D. Each Contracting Party shall designate the appropriate authorities as its executive agent(s) to implement this Agreement.

For the Government of the United States of America, the executive agent shall be the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) of the Department of Transportation.

For the Government of the Russian Federation, the executive agent shall be the Interstate Aviation Committee (IAC) for type design approval, initial airworthiness approvals, environmental approval, and environmental testing of civil aeronautical products; and the Federal Aviation Authority of Russia (FAAR) for approval of maintenance facilities, maintenance personnel, and airmen; approval of flight operations; qualification evaluation of flight simulators; approval of aviation training establishments; and continuing in-service airworthiness issues related to civil aeronautical products. For the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Agreement, the IAC shall act under the authority and on behalf of the Government of the Russian Federation.

Article II

For the purposes of this Agreement, the terms below have the following meaning:

A. ''Airworthiness approval'' means a finding that the type design or change to a type design of a civil aeronautical product meets standards agreed between the Contracting Parties or that a product conforms to a type design that has been found to meet those standards, and is in a condition for safe operation.

B. ''Alterations or modifications'' means making a change to the construction, configuration, performance, environmental characteristics, or operating limitations of the affected civil aeronautical product.

C. ''Approval of flight operations'' means the technical inspections and evaluations conducted by a Contracting Party, using standards agreed between the Contracting Parties, of an entity providing commercial air transportation of passengers or cargo, or the finding that the entity complies with those standards.

D. ''Civil aeronautical product'' means any civil aircraft, aircraft engine, or propeller or subassembly, appliance, material, part, or component to be installed thereon.

E. ''Environmental approval'' means a finding that a civil aeronautical product complies with standards agreed between the Contracting Parties concerning noise and/or exhaust emissions. ''Environmental testing'' means a process by which a civil aeronautical product is evaluated for compliance with those standards, using procedures agreed between the Contracting Parties.

F. ''Flight simulator qualification evaluations'' means the process by which a flight simulator is assessed by comparison to the aircraft it simulates, in accordance with standards agreed between the Contracting Parties, or the finding that it complies with those standards.

G. ''Maintenance'' means the performance of inspection, overhaul, repair, preservation,

and the replacement of parts, materials, appliances, or components of a product to assure the continued airworthiness of that product, but excludes alterations of modifications.

H. ''Monitoring'' means the periodic surveillance by a Contracting Party's appropriate executive agent to determine continuing compliance with the appropriate standards.

Article III

A. The Contracting Parties' appropriate executive agents shall conduct technical assessments and work cooperatively to develop an understanding of each other's standards and systems in the following areas:

1. Airworthiness approvals of civil aeronautical products;
2. Environmental approval and environmental testing;
3. Approval of maintenance facilities, alteration or modification facilities, maintenance personnel, and airmen;
4. Approval of flight operations;
5. Qualification evaluation of flight simulators; and
6. Approval of aviation training establishments.

B. When the appropriate executive agents of the Contracting Parties agree that the standards, rules, practices, procedures, and systems of both Contracting Parties in one of the technical specialties listed above are sufficiently equivalent or compatible to permit acceptance of findings of compliance made by one Contracting Party for the other Contracting Party to the agreed-upon standards, the appropriate executive agents shall execute written Implementation Procedures describing the methods by which such reciprocal acceptance shall be made with respect to that technical specialty.

C. The Implementation Procedures shall include at a minimum:

1. Definitions;
2. A description of the particular area of civil aviation to be addressed;
3. Provisions for reciprocal acceptance of appropriate executive agent actions such as test witnessing, inspections, qualifications, approvals, and certifications;
4. Accountability of executive agents;
5. Provisions for mutual cooperation and technical assistance;
6. Provisions for periodic evaluations; and
7. Provisions for amendments to or termination of the Implementation Procedures.

Article IV

Any disagreement regarding the interpretation or application of this Agreement or its Implementation Procedures shall be resolved by consultation between the Contracting Parties or their appropriate executive agents, respectively.

Article V

This Agreement shall enter into force upon signature and shall remain in force until terminated by sixty (60) days' written notice from one Contracting Party to the other Contracting Party. Such termination shall also act to terminate all existing Implementation Procedures executed in accordance with this Agreement. This Agreement may be amended by the written agreement of the Contracting Parties. Individual Implementation Procedures may be terminated or amended by the appropriate executive agents.

In Witness Whereof, the undersigned, being duly authorized by their respective Governments, have signed this Agreement.

Done at Moscow, this second day of September, 1998, in duplicate, in the English and Russian languages, each text being equally authentic.

For the Government of the United States of America:	For the Government of the Russian Federation:
William J. Clinton	**Boris Yeltsin**

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

Remarks at a Meeting With Duma and Regional Leaders in Moscow

September 2, 1998

Thank you very much, Mr. Ambassador. I'd like to thank all of you who have come here today to Spaso House. I have met with several of you before here, and as always,

I attempt to come to Russia with the view of listening to a wide variety of views and meeting everyone I can who is involved in the activities of the day.

I am pleased to be joined by the Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright; our Secretary of Commerce, Bill Daley; and the Secretary of Energy, Bill Richardson; and with some distinguished Members of Congress. I see Senator Bingaman and Congressman King. I don't know if Senator Domenici and Congressman Hoyer are here or not. But we all want to get to know all of you.

I am proud of what America and Russia have achieved together in reducing the threat of nuclear war and in cooperating in areas like Bosnia. Today we announced two other steps to cooperate: First, in the sharing of early warning information on missile firings; and second, in a commitment to dramatically reduce our stocks of plutonium, a move that might also be of benefit to the Russian economy.

I'd like to, before I go out and start to visit with you individually, make just a couple of observations about the economic challenges facing Russia today. First of all, I recognize that around this room there are many different points of view represented, and I think that is a good thing for the strength of Russian democracy. Second, I think it's important to point out that all over the world there are many countries that have democratically-elected leaders and successful economies and rather dramatically different social systems—different approaches to achieving success economically with elected leadership. So Russia must have its own approaches that keep the nation strong, that care for the people who are in need, that prepare for the future of your children. And no other country can define that approach, and no other country's approach would be exactly right for Russia. But I do not believe you can find one country in the world that is economically successful that has completely ignored the ground rules of the global economy.

For all their differences, all the countries that are succeeding have some things in common. They have tax systems that are fair and bring in revenues adequate to meet their spending requirements. They have marketing systems that regulate and provide for effective banking and trading in the country. They have a rule of law which permits commerce to succeed and to proceed on predictable terms in which individual interests are properly protected.

Now, when countries have this, whether they're large or small, whether they're in Latin America, Asia, or Africa, wherever they are, they see that money flows into the country instead of flowing out of it.

I come here as someone who considers himself a friend of your country and someone who deeply believes that in the century just ahead of us America and Russia must be partners. I hope you will be able to bridge your differences to agree on, first, a program to stabilize the current situation, and then, a path to finish the framework of basic things that every successful economy has; then, within your democratic system, whatever decisions you make about how to organize your society are your decisions to make, and we will support you and find a way to work together.

But if the basic framework is not in place, as a friend I say, I do not believe that you can defy the rules of the road in today's global economy anymore than I could defy the laws of gravity by stepping off the top floor of Spaso House. It has nothing to do with politics and everything to do with the way the world is working today. But if you can find a way to work together and work through this crisis, the United States will stand with you and will not presume to judge on the specific social systems you decide to put in place within a democratic system with a strong economy that has integrity of its fundamental elements.

Thank you again for coming.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:20 p.m. in Spaso House. In his remarks, the President referred to James F. Collins, U.S. Ambassador to Russia, who introduced the President.

Remarks to the Northern Ireland Assembly in Belfast, Northern Ireland

September 3, 1998

Thank you. Lord Mayor Alderdice, First Minister Trimble, Deputy First Minister Mallon, Mr. Prime Minister; to the members of the Northern Ireland Assembly, the citizens of Belfast and Northern Ireland, it is an honor for me to be back here with the First Lady, our delegation including two members of our Cabinet, distinguished Members of Congress, our Ambassador and Consul General, and, of course, the best investment we ever made in Northern Ireland, Senator Mitchell.

I want to begin very briefly by thanking Prime Minister Blair and echoing his comments about the thoughts and prayers we have with the passengers and families of the Swissair flight that crashed this morning near Nova Scotia, Canada. The flight was en route to Geneva from New York, and as I speak, Canadians are conducting an extensive search operation. We hope for the best, and we are deeply grieved that this has occurred.

I would like to also begin just by simply saying thank you to the leaders who have spoken before me, to David Trimble and Seamus Mallon; to the party leaders and the other members of the Assembly whom I met earlier today; to Tony Blair, and in his absence, to Prime Minister Ahern; and to their predecessors with whom I have worked, Prime Ministers Bruton and Reynolds and Major.

This has been a magic thing to see unfold, this developing will for peace among the people of Northern Ireland. Three years ago, when Hillary and I were here, I could see it in the eyes of the people in Belfast and Derry. We saw, as Seamus Mallon said, the morning light began to dawn after Ireland's long darkness on Good Friday with the leaders' commitment to solve your problems with words, not weapons. It lit the whole sky a month later when you voted so overwhelmingly for the peace agreement. Now this Assembly is the living embodiment of the promise of that covenant.

Together, people and leaders are moving Northern Ireland from the deep freeze of despair to the warm sunlight of peace. For 30 long years the Troubles took a terrible toll: Too many died; too many families grieved; every family was denied the quiet blessings of a normal life—in the constant fear that a simple trip to the store could be devastated by bombs and bullets; in the daily disruptions of roadblocks and searches; in the ominous presence of armed soldiers always on patrol; in neighborhoods demarcated by barbed wire, guarded gates, and 20-foot fences.

No wonder this question was painted on a Belfast wall: Is there life before death? Now at last, your answer is, yes.

From here on, the destiny of Northern Ireland is in the hands of its people and its representatives. From farming to finance, education to health care, this new Assembly has the opportunity and the obligation to forge the future. The new structures of cooperation you have approved can strengthen the quality of your ties to both London and Dublin, based on the benefits of interdependence, not the burdens of division or dominance. In peace you can find new prosperity, and I heard your leaders seeking it.

Since the 1994 cease-fire, the number of passengers coming to and from your international airport and ferryport has increased more than 15 percent. The number of hotel rooms under construction has doubled. And in the wake of the Good Friday Agreement, you are projected to receive record levels of investment, foreign and domestic, bringing new jobs, opportunity, and hope.

The United States has supported our quest for peace, starting with Irish-Americans, whose commitment to this cause is passionate, profound, and enduring. It has been one of the great privileges of my Presidency to work with the peacemakers: Protestant and Catholic leaders here in the North; Prime Minister Blair and Prime Minister Ahern. Our Congress, as you can see if you had visited with our delegation, has reached across its own partisan divide for the sake of peace in Northern Ireland. I hope some of it will infect their consciousness as they go back home. [*Laughter*]

They have voted extraordinary support for the International Fund for Ireland, the $100 million over the past 5 years. I am delighted

that there are both Republican and Democratic Members with me today, as well as Jim Lyons, my special adviser for economic initiatives in Northern Ireland, and Senator Mitchell, whom you welcomed so warmly and justly a few moments ago.

In the months and years ahead, America will continue to walk the road of renewal with you. We will help to train your Assembly members, support NGO's that are building civil societies from the grassroots, invest in our common future through education, promote cross-border and cross-community understanding, create with you microcredit facilities to help small businesses get off the ground, support the trade and investment that will benefit both our people.

I thank the Secretary of Education for being with us today, and the Secretary of Commerce who led a trade mission here in June, already showing results. Chancellor Brown takes the next important step with his mission to 10 American cities next month. As you work to change the face and future of Northern Ireland, you can count on America.

Of course, for all we can and will do, the future still is up to you. You have agreed to bury the violence of the past; now you have to build a peaceful and prosperous future. To the members of the Assembly, you owe it to your country to nurture the best in your people by showing them the best in yourselves. Difficult, sometimes wrenching decisions lie ahead, but they must be made. And because you have agreed to share responsibilities, whenever possible you must try to act in concert, not conflict; to overcome obstacles, not create them; to rise above petty disputes, not fuel them.

The Latin word for assembly, ''concilium,'' is the root of the word ''reconciliation.'' The spirit of reconciliation must be rooted in all you do.

There is another quality you will need, too. Our only Irish-Catholic President, John Kennedy, loved to quote a certain British Protestant Prime Minister. ''Courage,'' Winston Churchill said, ''is rightly esteemed as the first of all human qualities because it is the quality that guarantees all the others.''

Courage and reconciliation were the heart of your commitment to peace. Now, as you go forward, courage and reconciliation must drive this Assembly in very specific ways: to decommission the weapons of war that are obsolete in Northern Ireland at peace; to move forward with the formation of an executive council; to adapt your police force so that it earns the confidence, respect, and support of all the people; to end street justice, because defining crime, applying punishment, and enforcing the law must be left to the people's elected representatives, the courts, and the police; to pursue early release for prisoners whose organizations have truly abandoned violence and to help them find a productive, constructive place in society; to build a more just society where human rights are birthrights and where every citizen receives equal protection and equal treatment under the law. These must be the benchmarks of the new Northern Ireland.

I must say, the words and the actions of your leaders this week, and their willingness to meet are hopeful reflections of the spirit of courage and reconciliation that must embrace all the citizens. Also hopeful are the activities of the community leaders here today, the non-governmental organizations, those in business, law, and academia. And especially I salute the women who have been such a powerful force for peace. Hillary had a wonderful day yesterday at your Vital Voices conference. And as she said, we are pledged to follow up on the partnerships established there.

All your voices are vital. The example you set among your neighbors, the work you do in your communities, the standards you demand from your elected officials: All these will have a very, very large impact on your future. And to the people of Northern Ireland I say it is your will for peace, after all, that has brought your country to this moment of hope. Do not let it slip away. It will not come again in our lifetime. Give your leaders the support they need to make the hard, but necessary decisions. With apologies to Mr. Yeats, help them to prove that things can come together, that the center can hold.

You voted for a future different from the past. Now you must prove that the passion for reason and moderation can trump the power of extremes. There will be hard roads ahead. The terror in Omagh was not the last

bomb of the Troubles; it was the opening shot of a vicious attack on the peace. The question is not whether there will be more bombs and more attempts to undo with violence the verdict of the ballot box. There well may be. The question is not whether tempers will flare and debates will be divisive. They certainly will be. The question is: How will you react to it all—to the violence? How will you deal with your differences? Can the bad habits and brute forces of yesterday break your will for tomorrow's peace? That is the question.

In our so-called modern world, from Bosnia to the Middle East, from Rwanda to Kosovo, from the Indian subcontinent to the Aegean, people still hate each other over their differences of race, tribe, and religion, in a fruitless struggle to find meaning in life in who we are not, rather than asking God to help us become what we ought to be. From here on in Northern Ireland, you have said only one dividing line matters, the line between those who embrace peace and those who would destroy it, between those energized by hope and those paralyzed by hatred, between those who choose to build up and those who want to keep on tearing down.

So much more unites you than divides you: the values of faith and family, work and community, the same land and heritage, the same love of laughter and language. You aspire to the same things: to live in peace and security, to provide for your loved ones, to build a better life and pass on brighter possibilities to your children. These are not Catholic or Protestant dreams, these are human dreams, to be realized best together.

The American people, as the Lord Mayor noted, know from our own experience about bigotry and violence rooted in race and religion. Still today, we struggle with the challenge of building one nation out of our increasing diversity. But it is worth the effort. We know we are wiser, stronger, and happier when we stand on common ground. And we know you will be, too.

And so, members of the Assembly, citizens of Belfast, people of Northern Ireland, remember that in the early days of the American Republic, the Gaelic term for America was *Inis Fa'il,* Island of Destiny. Today, Americans see you as *Inis Fa'il,* and your destiny is peace. America is with you. The entire world is with you. May God be with you and give you strength for the good work ahead.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:40 p.m. in the main auditorium at Waterfront Hall. In his remarks, he referred to Lord Mayor David Alderdice of Belfast; First Minister David Trimble and Deputy First Minister Seamus Mallon of the Northern Ireland Assembly; Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom; Philip Lader, U.S. Ambassador to the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland; U.S. Consul General Ki Fort; former Senator George J. Mitchell, who chaired the multiparty peace talks in Northern Ireland; Prime Minister Bertie Ahern and former Prime Ministers John Bruton and Albert Reynolds of Ireland; former Prime Minister John Major of the United Kingdom; and U.K. Chancellor of the Exchequer Gordon Brown.

Remarks at a Groundbreaking Ceremony for Springvale Educational Village in Belfast

September 3, 1998

Thank you very much, Margaret. Margaret and Gerard said everything that needs to be said. I feel sort of like a fifth wheel now. They, just standing here and speaking as they did, embodied everything I would like to say to you and everything you would like to say to each other and everything your better selves calls on all of you to do. And I thank them for being here.

Thank you, Mr. Prime Minister, for your leadership in so many ways large and small. Hillary and I are delighted to be back in Northern Ireland and to be here with you and Cherie. And I thank all those who were responsible for the Vital Voices Conference at which Hillary spoke yesterday. I also would like to thank Secretary Mo Mowlam, who is one of the most remarkable people I ever met.

I thank others who have made this possible. Mo mentioned the First Lady. I also would like to thank Willie McCarter, the Chairman of the International Fund for Ireland; Lord Smith of Clifton, Vice Chancellor of the University; Professor Patrick Murphy, the Director of the Belfast Institute. I thank the members of the new Assembly with us

today, the Deputy First Minister Seamus Mallon, David Ervine, Joe Hendron, and of course, Gerry Adams. We're glad to be in your constituency, and I echo the words of the Prime Minister.

I thank the Americans who are here, the distinguished Congressional delegation, the Secretary of Education, Dick Riley; the Secretary of Commerce, Bill Daley. You will notice if you get a list of the Congress Members and the list of the people in the delegation that—Assistant Secretary of Labor, Kitty Higgins—there will be an enormous preponderance of Irish names in the American delegation here. And I thank them all. I thank especially Jim Lyons, my Special Adviser for Economic Initiatives, and Senator George Mitchell. I also would like to remember today our late Commerce Secretary, Ron Brown, who did so much to bring opportunity here and who envisioned this day that we celebrate.

I want to say that, above all, the people who deserve recognition today are people on both sides of the peace line who need the work that will be done here. Here there is a site; there is a design; there are resources; but more than that there is a glimpse of the future, that people so long torn apart will create something together that will benefit all.

Of course, there remain those who oppose the vision all of you share for reconciliation and tolerance. Thank God they live in the past and their support dwindles. With courage, determination, and palpable pride which we saw all up and down the streets today driving from the Waterfront Hall to here, it is clear that people have chosen peace and the chance for prosperity.

These neighborhoods are your home, and you have taken them back. Now you are ready to move forward into a new century of hope, or, in the words of that great son of Belfast, Van Morrison, to walk down the avenues again because the healing has begun.

Indeed, the future has begun. And clearly the best path to a future that involves every citizen of every circumstance in every neighborhood is a strong education. Springvale Educational Village will help you get there. It will be a living, breathing monument to the triumph of peace. It will turn barren ground into fertile fields cultivating the world's most important resource: the minds of your people—providing opportunity not just for the young but for those long denied the chance for higher learning, creating jobs in neighborhoods where too many have gone without work for too long, bringing more technology and skill so that Northern Ireland at last can reap the full benefits of this new economy, creating unity from division, transforming a barbed wire boundary that kept communities apart into common ground of learning and going forward together.

Again, let me thank Gerry Adams, who has worked hard to bring justice and a better life to the people of this constituency. There is more to be done by people on all sides. But his words this week, and I quote, ''violence must be a thing of the past, over, done with, gone.'' Those words were music to ears all across the world and they pave the way for the progress still to come. Thank you, sir.

I am grateful that America was able to support Springvale working through the International Fund for Ireland, together with generous funding provided by the United Kingdom, the University of Ulster, and the Belfast Institute. All these allow us to break ground today.

I also want to acknowledge the support of Gateway 2000, an American company which has such a strong presence in the Republic and which has announced plans to donate a state-of-the-art computer system when Springvale opens. And I'm proud of the people here in Northern Ireland who, once again, have moved beyond pain to accomplishment.

Now you have, in the words of Seamus Heaney, a chance to know the incomparable and dive to a future. You have dared to dream of a better tomorrow, now you dare to build one. That is even better. On this site and across this isle, what once seemed impossible is now becoming real. Don't stop.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:57 p.m. in a tent at the construction site. In his remarks, he referred to students Margaret Gibney, who introduced the President, and Gerard Quinn, who introduced Prime Minister Tony Blair; the Prime Minister's wife, Cherie Blair; United Kingdom Secretary of State for Northern Ireland Marjorie

Mowlam; William T. McCarter, chairman, International Fund for Ireland; Lord Trevor Smith, vice chancellor, University of Ulster; Professor Patrick Murphy, chairman, Belfast Institute of Further and Higher Education; Deputy First Minister of the Northern Ireland Assembly Seamus Mallon; Northern Ireland Assembly members David Ervine and Joseph Hendron; Sinn Fein leader and Northern Ireland Assembly member Gerry Adams; former Senator George J. Mitchell, who chaired the multiparty talks in Northern Ireland; musician Van Morrison; and poet Seamus Heaney.

Remarks to Victims of the Bombing in Omagh, Northern Ireland

September 3, 1998

Thank you very much. Mr. Prime Minister, Mrs. Blair, Secretary Mowlam, Ambassador Lader, Senator Mitchell; to the people of Omagh. Hillary and I are honored to be in your presence. We come to tell you that a long way away the American people have mourned the loss of 28 innocents and all those who were injured. For those victims and family members who have come here today to say a word to us, we thank you for your presence.

To all of you, we thank you for standing up in the face of such a soul-searing loss and restating your determination to walk the road of peace.

We came here, knowing, as the Prime Minister said, that words are not very good at a time like this, simply to express our sympathy with the good people of this community, especially with the victims and their families, and again to support your determined refusal to let a cowardly crime rob you of the future you have chosen.

What has happened here on August the 15th was so incredibly unreasonable, so shocking to the conscience of every decent person in this land, that it has perversely had exactly the reverse impact that the people who perpetrated this act intended. By killing Catholics and Protestants, young and old, men, women, and children, even those about to be born, people from Northern Ireland, the Irish Republic, and abroad—by doing all that in an aftermath of what the people have voted for in Northern Ireland, it galvanized, strengthened, and humanized the impulse to peace.

Even more than when we were here 3 years ago, people are saying to me: ''It's high time that the few stop ruining the lives of the many; high time that those who hate stop bullying those who hope; high time to stop the lilt of laughter and language being drowned out by bombs and guns and sirens; high time to stop yesterday's nightmares from killing tomorrow's dreams.''

All I wanted to say today is that nothing any of us can say will erase the pain that those of you who have experienced loss know now. Just a few days ago, we had to—Hillary and I did—go to the airport to meet the plane bringing home the bodies of the Americans who were killed in the Embassy bombing in Africa, and to go from table to table to meet their families. There is no word to explain a mindless act of terror that grabs the life of an innocent. But I think the only way to truly redeem such a terrible loss is to make the memories of the innocents monuments to peace. We cannot brook a descent into terror. Northern Ireland is walking away from it. Life will never be the same here, but it will go on.

Since the bombing, one of the victims, Nicola Emory, has given birth to a healthy baby. I pray that baby will never know an act of terror and will live a long, full life in the 21st century, proud of a hometown that learned through tragedy the meaning of community.

I'd like to close my remarks by reading to you from a letter that our Ambassador in Dublin received from a young man named Michael Gallagher from County Mayo after this happened. He wrote to the American Ambassador: ''You don't know me. You may not even get this letter. But after yesterday's tragedy I just wanted to do something. I am 29 years old, an Irishman to the very core of my being. But throughout my life there has never been peace on this island. I never realized how precious peace could be until my wife, Martina, gave birth to our daughter, Ashleen, 20 months ago. We don't want her to grow up in a society that is constantly waiting for the next atrocity, the next bunch of young lives snuffed out in a sea of hatred and fear. Ashleen's name means 'vision' or

'dream,' and we have a dream of what Ireland might be like when she grows up. It could be a place where dreams come true, where people would achieve things never imagined before, where people would not be afraid of their neighbors. Hopefully, this can happen. But after yesterday, one has to wonder. We know America has done much for Ireland, all we ask is that you keep trying, even when times are hard. Please keep Ireland in mind because Ashleen and all Irish children need to be able to dream.''

So we came here today to say we grieve for your loss, but to pledge to that little Ashleen in Mayo, and Nicola's newborn here in Omagh that we will work to build this peace, to make it a place where children can dream, to redeem the lost innocence from the madness of people who must fail so that your life can go on.

Thank you for letting us come here, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:05 p.m. at the Leisure Center. In his remarks, he referred to Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom and his wife, Cherie; United Kingdom Secretary of State for Northern Ireland Marjorie Mowlam; Philip Lader, U.S. Ambassador to Great Britian and Northern Ireland; and former Senator George J. Mitchell, who chaired the multiparty talks in Northern Ireland. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Statement on the Northern Ireland Peace Process

September 3, 1998

Yesterday's announcement that Martin McGuinness will oversee decommissioning issues for Sinn Fein is an important step. I welcome it as the kind of action essential not only to fulfill the Good Friday commitments, but to deepen public confidence in the overall process of making peace a reality in Northern Ireland.

Statement on the Crash of Swissair Flight 111

September 3, 1998

Hillary and I were deeply saddened to learn of the fatal crash of Swissair Flight 111 off Halifax, Nova Scotia, last night. We join the American people in extending our deepest sympathies to the families of the passengers and crewmembers aboard the aircraft.

I want to thank the Canadian Government and people for the extraordinary way in which they responded to this tragedy. Hundreds of people, including many volunteers, searched through the night. The United States will continue to do everything we can to assist the Canadian and Swiss authorities in the search for survivors and to determine the cause of the accident. Members of the National Transportation Safety Board are on the scene of the crash, and we have offered support from our Navy, the Coast Guard, and other Federal agencies.

I ask that the American people remember in their prayers the families who lost loved ones on that flight.

Letter to Congressional Leaders Reporting on Iraq's Compliance With United Nations Security Council Resolutions

September 3, 1998

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

Consistent with the Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution (Public Law 102–1) and as part of my effort to keep the Congress fully informed, I am reporting on the status of efforts to obtain Iraq's compliance with the resolutions adopted by the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). This report covers the period from June 24 to the present.

Introduction

From June 24 until August 5, Iraq had provided site access to U.N. weapons inspectors, as required under UNSC resolutions and reaffirmed under the terms of the February 23 Secretary General/Tariq Aziz MOU and UNSC Resolution 1154. In June, UNSCOM inspectors presented a work plan to Iraq to delineate areas of concern and elements that Iraq needed to disclose. However, in June, UNSCOM revealed that it had found evidence of Iraqi weaponization of VX nerve agent and in July, Iraq refused to turn over

a document accounting for use of CW during the Iran-Iraq war. On August 3–4 when Chairman Butler was in Iraq to discuss phase two of the work plan, the Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister claimed that Iraq was fully ''disarmed'' and demanded that this be reported to the Council; Butler refused, and subsequently departed Baghdad.

On August 5, Iraq declared that it was suspending all cooperation with UNSCOM and the IAEA, except some limited monitoring activities. On August 6, the Security Council President issued a press statement which noted that Iraq's action contravenes the February 23 MOU and relevant Security Council resolutions. On August 11/12, the IAEA and UNSCOM sent letters to the Security Council that noted that Iraq's decision to suspend cooperation with them halted ''all of the disarmament activities'' of UNSCOM and placed limitations on the inspection and monitoring activities of both organizations. On August 18, the Council President replied in writing to UNSCOM and IAEA on the Council's behalf reiterating full support for the full implementation of their mandates and underscoring Iraq's obligation to cooperate in the conduct of their activities, including inspections. Chairman Butler wrote to the Iraqi regime August 19 expressing his willingness to resume activity, but that offer was rebuffed.

On August 20, the Security Council met to conduct the periodic review of Iraq's compliance with relevant Security Council resolutions. It stated that ''the necessary conditions do not exist for the modification of the regime established'' in relevant resolutions. Moreover, the Security Council ''reiterates that the decision by Iraq to suspend cooperation with UNSCOM and the IAEA (on August 5) is totally unacceptable'' and that it ''views with extreme concern the continuing refusal by the Government of Iraq to rescind its decision.'' The United States is working with other Security Council members to suspend subsequent periodic reviews until Iraq reverses course and resumes cooperation with UNSCOM and the IAEA.

The cornerstone of U.S. policy is to contain Iraq and prevent it from threatening regional peace and security. To that end, the United States has supported UNSCOM since its inception and continues to do so, as an integral part of our policy to contain Iraq and disarm it of its WMD. We have consistently worked to uphold the principle that UNSCOM must be able to do its job, free of Iraqi restrictions and impediments. That includes inspections wherever, whenever, and however the Executive Chairman of UNSCOM directs. There have been allegations recently that the United States impeded some kinds of inspections since last fall. In fact, the international effort to secure full access for UNSCOM and the IAEA last fall and winter was lead by the United States. Since early August, the United States has again lead the effort to reverse Iraq's decision blocking UNSCOM activities. Decisions on how UNSCOM does its job, including timing, locations and modalities for inspections, are the Chairman's to make. As Chairman Butler stated on August 14, ''Consultations on policy matters take place regularly between the Executive Chairman and Council members, but all operational decisions are taken by the Executive Chairman (of UNSCOM) who has not been given and would find it invidious were any attempt made to direct his operational decisions or to micro-manage the day-to-day work of the Special Commission.''

Iraq's refusal to cooperate with UNSCOM and the IAEA is totally unacceptable; Iraq must meet its international obligations. In the first instance, the Council and the Secretary General must respond effectively to Iraq's flagrant challenge to their authority. We are working with Council members to ensure that there is a clear, united and forceful U.N. response to Iraq's actions. If the Council fails to persuade the Iraqi regime to resume cooperation, all other options are on the table.

We continue to support the international community's efforts to provide for the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi people through the ''oil-for-food'' program and other humanitarian efforts. On May 27, 1998, Iraq presented a distribution plan for the implementation of Resolution 1153, which had been adopted on February 20. Under phase three of the ''oil-for-food'' program, which ran from December 3, 1997, through June 2, 1998, $1.1 billion worth of humanitarian

goods were approved for export to Iraq. Under the current phase, phase four, which began in June, the U.N. Sanctions Committee has approved the purchase of over $562 million worth of humanitarian goods. United States companies can participate in the ''oil-for-food'' program, and over $165 million worth of contracts for U.S. firms have been approved since the program began.

On June 26, the Secretary of State reported to the Congress on plans to establish a program to support the democratic opposition in Iraq, as required by section 10008 of the 1998 Supplemental Appropriations and Rescissions Act (Public Law 105–174). Opposition leaders and their representatives have been generally receptive to the focus on the central themes of building a consensus on the transition for dictatorship to pluralism, conveying to the U.N. opposition views on Iraqi noncompliance with U.N. resolutions and compiling information to support the indictment of Iraqi officials for war crimes. The new Radio Free Iraq service, also funded by that Act, is preparing to broadcast directly to the Iraqi people under the direction of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. These new programs will help us encourage the Iraqi people to build a pluralistic, peaceful Iraq that observes the international rule of law and respects basic human rights. Such an Iraq would have little trouble regaining its rightful place in the region and in the international community.

The United States maintains a significant military presence in the region in order to provide the full range of military options necessary to deter Iraqi aggression, to ensure that UNSC resolutions are enforced, and to deal with other contingencies that may arise.

U.S. and Coalition Force Levels in the Gulf Region

In view of Saddam's record of aggressive behavior, it is prudent to retain a significant force presence in the region to deter Iraq and deal with any threat it might pose to its neighbors. The U.S. and allied forces now in the region are prepared to deal with all contingencies. We have the capability to respond rapidly to possible Iraqi aggression. We have restructured our in-theater force levels since my last report. We will continue to maintain a robust force posture, and moreover, have established a rapid reinforcement capability to supplement our forces in the Gulf when needed. Our cruise missile force is twice the pre-October 1997 level, a number that can be augmented significantly within days. Our contingency plans allow us the capability for a swift, powerful strike.

The aircraft carrier USS ABRAHAM LINCOLN and accompanying combatant ships and aircraft are on station in the Gulf today. Our forces in the region include land and carrier-based aircraft, surface warships, a Marine expeditionary unit, a Patriot missile battalion, a mechanized battalion task force and a mix of special operations forces deployed in support of USCINCCENT operations. To enhance force protection throughout the region, additional military security personnel are also deployed.

Operation Northern Watch and Operation Southern Watch

The United States and coalition partners continue to enforce the no-fly zones over Iraq under Operation Northern Watch and Operation Southern Watch. There have been no observed no-fly zone violations. However, on June 30, U.S. forces responded to an Iraqi ''threat radar'' and subsequently defended the coalition forces by firing an anti-radiation (HARM) missile. We have made clear to Iraq and to all other relevant parties that the United States and coalition partners will continue to enforce both no-fly zones. The no-fly zones remain in effect.

The Maritime Interception Force

The Maritime Interception Force (MIF), operating under the authority of UNSC Resolution 665, vigorously enforces U.N. sanctions in the Gulf. The U.S. Navy is the single largest component of this multinational force, but it is frequently augmented by ships and aircraft from Australia, Canada, Belgium, The Netherlands, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom. Today in the Gulf, ships and aircraft from Canada and the United Kingdom are operating with us in maritime patrols. Member states of the Gulf Cooperation Council support the MIF by providing

logistical support and shipriders and by accepting vessels diverted for violating U.N. sanctions against Iraq.

The MIF continues to intercept vessels involved in illegal smuggling from Iraq. In late August, we conducted stepped-up operations in the far northern Gulf in the shallow waters near the major Iraqi waterways. These operations severely disrupted smuggling operations in the region. Since the beginning of the year, over thirty vessels have been detained for violations of the embargo and sent to ports in the Gulf for enforcement actions by the GCC. Kuwait and the UAE, two countries adjacent to the smuggling routes, have also stepped up their enforcement efforts and have recently intercepted and detained vessels involved in sanctions violations. Although petroleum products comprise most of the prohibited traffic, the MIF has recently diverted vessels engaged in date smuggling as well. Smuggling into Iraq is also a target for MIF patrols. One additional difficulty remains in our effort to enforce U.N. sanctions. Ships involved in smuggling have often utilized the territorial seas of Iran to avoid MIF inspections. We have recently provided detailed reports of these illegal activities to the U.N. sanctions Committee in New York.

Chemical Weapons

Despite major progress reported by UNSCOM in accounting for SCUD CBW warheads during this period, the Iraqis have taken a giant step backward by continuing to deny the weaponization of VX nerve agent. This denial is in direct contravention of the finding for UNSCOM by the U.S. Army Edgewood Arsenal of stabilized VX nerve agent in SCUD missile warhead fragments recovered by UNSCOM in Iraq. France and Switzerland are now examining further samples taken in Iraq. They may not report results to UNSCOM until late September.

However, we, UNSCOM Executive Chairman Butler, and a team of international experts gathered by Butler are unanimously confident of the scientific accuracy of the Edgewood results—which Butler has declared publicly. Iraq is lying today about VX.

While the Iraqis provided new documents to help account for R–400 aerial bombs used for chemical weapons, they have failed to provide the needed accounting for missing 155mm mustard-filled shells.

On July 22, 1998, UNSCOM reported in a letter to the President of the Security Council that Iraq had refused to allow an UNSCOM chief inspector to take, or even copy, a document found in Iraqi air force headquarters that gave an accounting of chemical munitions used during the Iran-Iraq war. This document would be of great value in helping UNSCOM establish a true material balance for Iraqi chemical munitions—a mandatory task for UNSCOM. During Butler's aborted visit to Iraq August 3–4, the Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister told Ambassador Butler that Iraq would never give it to the Commission. This evidence directly contradicts the Iraqi claim that it has given UNSCOM all the information it has.

Biological Weapons

In July 1998, UNSCOM assembled yet another group of international experts to meet with Iraqi counterparts for review of Iraqi declarations on the biological weapons program. And again, the Iraqis presented no new material. The experts thus found, again, that Iraq's declarations are not adequate for credible verification. This conclusion covered weapons (SCUD missile BW warheads, R–400 BW bombs, drop-tanks to be filled with BW, and spray devices for BW), production of BW agents (botulinum toxin, anthrax, aflatoxin, and wheat cover smut), and BW agent growth media.

The report of this UNSCOM–250 mission of international experts recommended to the UNSCOM Executive Chairman that no further verification of Iraq's declarations be conducted Until Iraq commits itself to provide new and substantive information, stating that any other approach would be counter-productive.

Long-Range Missiles

UNSCOM Executive Chairman Richard Butler reported to the Security Council on August 5 that UNSCOM and Iraq had made significant progress in the accounting of both CBW and conventional SCUD warheads, as well as the material balance of major components for SCUD engine production. However, no progress was reported in accounting

for the unique SCUD propellant possessed by Iraq, and the Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister refuses to allow further discussion of Iraq's concealment program, including the hiding of SCUD warheads.

Nuclear Weapons

In an interim report to the UNSC July 29, the IAEA said that Iraq had provided no new information regarding outstanding issues and concerns. The IAEA said while it has a "technically coherent picture" of Iraq's nuclear program, Iraq has never been fully transparent and its lack of transparency compounds remaining uncertainties. The IAEA noted Iraq claims to have no further documentation on such issues as weapons design engineering drawings, experimental data, and drawings received from foreign sources in connection with Iraq's centrifuge enrichment program. The IAEA also reported that Iraq said it was "unsuccessful" in its efforts to locate verifiable documentation of the abandonment of the nuclear program. Iraq has failed to pass the measures required under UNSC Resolution 715 to implement UNSC Resolutions 687, 707 and other relevant resolutions, including the penal laws required to enforce them.

Dual-Use Imports

Resolution 1051 established a joint UNSCOM/IAEA unit to monitor Iraq's imports of allowed dual-use items. Iraq must notify the unit before it imports specific items which can be used in both weapons of mass destruction and civilian applications. Similarly, U.N. members must provide timely notification of exports to Iraq of such dual-use items.

We continue to be concerned that Iraq's land borders are extremely porous. Iraq continues substantial trade with its neighbors. There is significant potential for evasion of sanctions by land routes, giving additional weight to our position that UNSCOM must have full unconditional access to all locations, and be allowed to inspect and monitor Iraqi compliance over time.

Iraq's Concealment Mechanisms

In June, UNSCOM Chairman Butler presented Iraq with a proposed work plan which, had Iraq cooperated, could have moved the process of verifying the disarmament forward. However, when Butler made a return visit August 3–4, the Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister denounced UNSCOM and demanded that UNSCOM report to the Council that Iraq was "disarmed in all areas." On August 5, Iraq announced it was suspending cooperation with UNSCOM and the IAEA. The following day, the Security Council President issued a press statement declaring the Iraqi decision "totally unacceptable," noting that it "contravened" relevant Security Council resolutions.

On August 11, 1998, IAEA Director-General El Baradei wrote to the President of the Security Council that Iraq's August 5 decision to suspend its cooperation with UNSCOM and the IAEA "makes it impossible for the IAEA . . . to investigate . . . remaining questions and concerns . . .," and that Iraq's decision will allow only "limited implementation" of monitoring that will "fall short of full implementation of the OMV plan and result in a significantly reduced level of assurance" that Iraq is not renewing its programs for weapons of mass destruction.

On August 12, 1998, UNSCOM Executive Chairman Butler sent the President of the Security Council a letter similar to the August 11 letter of the IAEA noted above, saying that "Iraq's actions bring to a halt all of the disarmament activities of the Commission and place limitations on the rights of the Commission to conduct its monitoring operations."

On August 18, the Council President replied to UNSCOM and the IAEA on behalf of the Council, reiterating the full support of the Council for IAEA and UNSCOM to fully implement their mandates and noting that Iraq is obliged to cooperate with them in their activities, including inspections. On August 19, Chairman Butler wrote to the Iraqi government seeking a resumption of the dialogue between UNSCOM and the regime and of all substantive UNSCOM work. That request was immediately rebuffed.

On August 20, the Security Council conducted its periodic review of Iraq's compliance with relevant Security Council resolutions. The Council stated that "the Sanctions

Review showed that the necessary conditions do not exist for the modification of the regime'' and reiterated that ''the decision by Iraq to suspend cooperation with UNSCOM and the IAEA is totally unacceptable.'' Further, ''they view with extreme concern the continuing refusal by the Government of Iraq to rescind its decision.''

We continue to work with the Council in its effort to bring about full Iraqi cooperation with UNSCOM and the IAEA. We are now seeking a Council resolution that would suspend further periodic reviews until Iraq reverses course and resumes cooperation with UNSCOM and the IAEA. Iraq's refusal to cooperate is a challenge to the authority of the Security Council and to the credibility of all international weapons nonproliferation efforts, since UNSCOM and the IAEA are responsible to the Security Council for the most thorough arms control regime on earth.

The U.N.'s ''Oil-for-Food'' Program

We continue to support the international community's efforts to provide for the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi people through the ''oil-for-food'' program and other humanitarian efforts. Under the last phase of the ''oil-for-food'' program, which ran from December 3, 1997, through June 2, 1998, $1.1 billion worth of humanitarian goods were approved for export to Iraq. United States companies can participate in ''oil-for-food'' and over $165 million worth of contracts for U.S. firms have been approved.

Under the current phase of ''oil-for-food'' Iraq is authorized to sell up to $5.2 billion worth of oil every 180 days, up from $2.0 billion in previous phases. Although the UNSC resolution outlining this program, Resolution 1153, was adopted on February 20, Iraq did not present an acceptable distribution plan for the implementation of Resolution 1153 until May 27, 1998; it was accepted by the U.N. Secretary General on May 29.

Under the current phase of the ''oil-for-food'' program, 235 contracts for the purchase of humanitarian goods for the Iraqi people have been presented for approval; of these, 162 contracts worth over $562 million have been approved and 13 are on hold pending clarification of questions about the proposed contracts. With regard to oil sales, 50 contracts with a total value of $955 million have been approved so far during this phase.

The United States has supported the repair of the Iraqi oil infrastructure in order to allow sufficient oil to be exported to fund the level of humanitarian purchases the Security Council approved in UNSC Resolution 1153. Treasury is in the process of amending its regulations to allow U.S. companies to bid on oil infrastructure repair contracts just as they are permitted both to purchase Iraqi oil and sell humanitarian goods under the U.N. ''oil-for-food'' program.

Resolution 1153 maintains the separate program for northern Iraq, administered directly by the U.N. in consultation with the local population. This program, which the United States strongly supports, receives 13 to 15 percent of the funds generated under the ''oil-for-food'' program. The separate northern program was established because of the Baghdad regime's proven disregard for the humanitarian condition of the Kurdish, Assyrian, and Turkomen minorities of northern Iraq and its readiness to apply the most brutal forms of repression against them. The well-documented series of chemical weapons attacks a decade ago by the government against civilians in the north is only one example of this brutality. In northern Iraq, where Baghdad does not exercise control, the ''oil-for-food'' program has been able to operate relatively effectively. The Kurdish factions are seeking to set aside their differences to work together so that the UNSC Resolution 1153 is implemented as efficiently as possible.

The U.N. must carefully monitor implementation of Resolution 1153. As the current phase anticipates a doubling of goods flowing into Iraq, including equipment for infrastructure repairs in areas such as oil export capacity, generation of electricity, and water purification, the U.N. faces increasing challenges in monitoring. The Iraqi government continues to insist on the need for rapid lifting of the sanctions regime, despite its clear record of non-compliance with its obligations under relevant U.N. resolutions—a record which was unanimously acknowledged during the Security Council's 39th sanctions review on June 24. We will continue to work with the

U.N. Secretariat, the Security Council, and others in the international community to ensure that the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi people are met while denying any political or economic benefits to the Baghdad regime.

The Human Rights Situation in Iraq

The human rights situation throughout Iraq continues to be a cause for grave concern. Particularly troubling are the assassinations of two distinguished Shia clerics—Ayatollah Borujerdi on April 22 and Grand Ayatollah Mirza Ali Gharavi on June 18. These killings have been widely attributed to the Baghdad regime and were followed by an increased security presence in the predominantly Shia cities of south and central Iraq, such as Najaf and Karbala. These events expose a callous disregard for human life and the free exercise of religion. Summary, arbitrary, and extra-judicial executions also remain a primary concern. Baghdad still refuses to allow independent inspections of Iraqi prisons despite the conclusion of U.N. Special Rapporteur for Iraq, Max Van der Stoel, that ''there is strong evidence that hundreds of prisoners (were) executed in Abu Graraib and Radwaniyah prisons'' late last year. As noted in my last report, based on these reports of summary executions and other ongoing humans rights violations, the U.N. Human Rights Commission in April issued a strong condemnation of the ''all-pervasive repression and oppression'' of the Iraqi government. Nevertheless, sources inside Iraq report another wave of executions in June, with about sixty people summarily killed.

In southern Iraq, the government continues to repress the Shia population, destroying the Marsh Arabs' way of life and the unique ecology of the southern marshes. In the north, outside the Kurdish-controlled areas, the government continues the forced expulsion of tens of thousands of ethnic Kurds and Turkomen from Kirkuk and other cities. The government continues to stall and obfuscate attempts to account for more than 600 Kuwaitis and third-country nationals who disappeared at the hands of Iraqi authorities during or after the occupation of Kuwait. The Government of Iraq shows no sign of complying with UNSC Resolution 688, which demands that Iraq cease the repression of its own people.

Northern Iraq: Deepening Engagement

In northern Iraq, the cease-fire between the Kurdish parties, established in November 1997 as the result of U.S. efforts, continues to hold. It is strengthened by growing and effective cooperation between the parties on humanitarian matters, particularly those related to the U.N.'s ''oil-for-food'' program. Working with the U.N., the Kurds have been able to resolve nutrition and medical problems and look forward to rebuilding their infrastructure as U.N. programs expand. David Welch, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs, led a U.S. delegation to the north, July 17–20. He encouraged the Kurds' efforts towards peace; underscored U.S. support for their human rights, physical welfare and safety; and renewed our decades-long engagement with them. During the visit, Massoud Barzani, leader of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), and Jalal Talabani, leader of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), made positive, forward-looking statements on political reconciliation, and they accepted separate invitations to visit the United States later this year.

The United States firmly supports the territorial integrity of Iraq. Supporting the rights and welfare of Iraqi Kurds within Iraq in no way contradicts that support. The United States is committed to ensuring that international aid continues to get through to the north, that the human rights of the Kurds and northern Iraq minority groups, such as the Turkomen, Assyrians, Yezedis and others are respected, and that the no-fly zone enforced by Operation Northern Watch is observed.

We will continue our efforts to reach a permanent reconciliation through mediation in order to help the people of northern Iraq find the permanent, stable settlement they deserve, and to minimize the influence of either Baghdad or Tehran. Baghdad continues to pressure the two groups to enter into negotiations.

The Iraqi Opposition

It is the policy of the U.S. Government to support the Iraqi opposition by establishing unifying programs on which all of the opposition can agree. Section 10008 of the 1998 Supplemental Appropriations and Rescissions Act (P.L. 105–174), earmarks $5 million in FY 98 Economic Support Funds for these programs. These programs are designed to encourage and assist political opposition groups, nonpartisan opposition groups, and unaffiliated Iraqis concerned about their nation's future in peacefully espousing democracy, pluralism, human rights, and the rule of law for their country. Based on extensive consultations with opposition leaders and representatives, we have found a deep resonance on several central themes. These are: building a consensus on the transition from dictatorship to pluralism, conveying to the U.N. opposition views on Iraqi noncompliance with U.N. resolutions and compiling information to support indictment of Iraqi officials for war crimes.

Iraq is a diverse country—ethnically, religiously, and culturally. The Iraqi opposition reflects this diversity. We emphasize themes and programs, rather than individuals and groups, in order to encourage unity and discourage the rivalries which have divided the opposition in the past. Many opposition political groups that formerly coordinated their efforts decided several years ago to work independently. We are interested in working with them towards greater unity on their own terms, not enforcing the issue by declaring that any one group must take the lead. We firmly believe they can succeed in this effort.

We anticipate that there will be a need for additional funding for these programs as the opposition becomes more active and as it grows. The funds will be administered by the Department of State working through established NGOs, Federal institutions, and comparable private organizations. To ensure transparency and accountability and to avoid creating potential rivalries among opposition groups, none of these funds will go directly to any opposition group.

The United Nations Compensation Commission

The United Nations Compensation Commission (UNCC), established pursuant to UNSC Resolutions 687 and 692, continues to resolve claims against Iraq arising from Iraq's unlawful invasion and occupation of Kuwait. The UNCC has issued over 1.3 million awards worth approximately $7 billion. Thirty percent of the proceeds from the oil sales permitted by UNSC Resolution 986, 1111, 1143, and 1153 have been allocated to the Compensation Fund to pay awards and to finance operations of the UNCC. To the extent that money is available in the Compensation Fund, initial payments to each claimant are authorized for awards in the order in which the UNCC has approved them, in installments of $2,500. To date, 809 U.S. claimants have received an initial installment payment, and payment is still in process for another 25 U.S. claimants.

Conclusion

Iraq remains a serious threat to international peace and security. I remain determined to see Iraq comply fully with all of its obligations under UNSC resolutions. The United States looks forward to the day when Iraq rejoins the family of nations as a responsible and law-abiding member.

I appreciate the support of the Congress for our efforts and shall continue to keep the Congress informed about this important issue.

Sincerely,

William J. Clinton

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Strom Thurmond, President pro tempore of the Senate.

Remarks to a Gathering for Peace in Armagh, Northern Ireland

September 3, 1998

Thank you. Thank you for the wonderful welcome. I am very, very proud to be the first American President to visit Armagh.

Thank you for making Hillary and me feel so welcome tonight.

I thank Mayor Turner; my good friend Prime Minister Blair, who will speak in a moment. I thank First Minister Trimble and First Deputy Minister Seamus Mallon for their remarks and their leadership. The role-modeling they are doing by working together for a peace for all the people of Northern Ireland—I think we should give them both a big hand for that. [*Applause*] I thank them.

There are other members of the Assembly here tonight who represent surrounding areas, Paul Berry, Danny Kennedy, Pat McNamee, Conor Murphy, John Fee. We thank them for their service in Northern Ireland's new Assembly, the hope for its peaceful future.

I also would like to say a special word of appreciation to the remarkable young woman who introduced me, Sharon Haughey. I'll never forget the letter she wrote me in 1995. A 14-year-old girl, in the midst of all this violence, said ''Both sides have been hurt. Both sides will have to forgive.'' It was so simple, so profound, that I quoted it when I came here 3 years ago. Well, she's grown up to be quite an impressive young 17-year-old, and I was very honored to have her here tonight as the symbol of what Northern Ireland can become if you put away war and take up peace forever. Thank you, Sharon.

I'd like to thank the wonderful choir who sang for us a few moments ago. I would like to thank the members of our delegation, the Secretaries of Education and Commerce, and 12 Members of the United States Congress from both parties, for coming here.

You know, many United States Presidents' ancestors actually came to America from Northern Ireland. Andrew Jackson's father was from Cerrick fergis in County Antrim. Woodrow Wilson's grandfather left Dergalt in County Tyrone. My ancestors were so humble, everyone knows they came from somewhere in Northern Ireland, and no one is quite sure where. [*Laughter*] Most believe the 18th century Cassadys, my mother's people, were from County Fermanagh. Most believe that those people were my forebears, and I have a painted watercolor of an 18th century farmhouse on our wall at the White House to prove it. The truth is, I can't be sure, so I'll save all the genealogists a lot of trouble by saying, wherever I am tonight, it is good to be home in Northern Ireland.

I am especially proud to be here with my wife at this important time. Yesterday she spoke to the Vital Voices Conference, hundreds of women from Northern Ireland, working across all the lines that divide you, for a better future. Tonight we are proud to be in a place that is a spiritual home to Irish people of both religious traditions and to millions of Irish-Americans as well.

Armagh is a city on a hill in every sense. Your faith and tolerance are making a new era of peace possible. For yourselves and all the world, in every act of genuine reconciliation, you renew confidence that decency can triumph over hatred. You have inspired the rest of us to aim a little higher. I thank you, and America thanks you, for the precious gift you give us all, a gift of hope redeemed and faith restored.

Indeed, I am tempted in this city of saints and cathedrals to call the peace of 1998 a miracle. After all, it was delivered through the agency of that good American angel, Senator George Mitchell, who is here. It was delivered on Good Friday.

Nonetheless, I think you would all agree that, at least in the normal sense in which we use the word, the peace of Good Friday was not a miracle. You did it yourselves. It rose from the public's passionate demand to take a different course. It came about from the hard work of leaders like those who are on this stage, from David Trimble and Seamus Mallon, from the leaders of the other parties, from Tony Blair and the Irish Prime Minister, as well.

It came from honest debate. And again, it came loud and clear from an overwhelming vote of the people for peace. It is you who have told your leaders that you long for peace as never before. You gave them the confidence to move forward, to give up the past, and speak the language of the future.

Armagh has stood for these better aspirations throughout its long history. If there is a recurring theme to this seat of learning and religion, it is the largeness of the human spirit. Here, a Briton, Saint Patrick, devoted himself to the cause of Ireland and left a legacy of faith and compassion. Here, the Book of

Armagh preserved his gentle message and the power of the gospels.

Today, the two cathedrals that dominate the landscape stand for the idea that communion is better than destructive competition. Two proud traditions can exist side by side, bringing people closer to God and closer to each other. I salute the leadership of Dr. Sean Brady and Dr. Robin Eames, the Archbishops of the Catholic and the Church of Ireland dioceses, respectively. For years they have walked together when it counted. I salute the Presbyterians and the Methodists who have worked hard for peace, indeed, the men and women of all denominations.

Here, there have been difficulties, as elsewhere, but the historic streets of this old town remind us of a fundamental fact about your community: Armagh literally encircles its many traditions in a single community. That is what Northern Ireland must do if you want the future of peace and prosperity that belongs to the children in this crowd tonight.

As you look ahead, to be sure, in this peace process, there will be false steps and disappointments. The question is not if the peace will be challenged; you know it will. The question is, how will you respond when it is challenged? You don't have to look too far. The bomb that tore at the heart of Omagh was a blatant attack on all of Northern Ireland's people who support peace.

The Prime Minister and Mrs. Blair and Hillary and I just came from Omagh. We met with the families whose innocents were slaughtered. We met with those who were terribly wounded. We saw children scarred, some of them for life, because of the madness that if someone could just set off a big enough bomb and kill enough Protestants and Catholics, kill enough men, women, and children, including two pregnant women, kill enough people from Northern Ireland, Ireland, and foreign countries that maybe everybody would walk away from peace.

But it backfired. Out of the unimaginably horrible agony of Omagh, the people said, ''It is high time somebody told these people that we are through with hate, through with war, through with destruction. It will not work anymore.''

Think of what it will be like when everyone forever can simply walk freely through Armagh with no anxiety about what street you walk down or with whom you talk. Think how beautiful this city can be without any barbed wire and never a thought of a burned church. Peace brings peace of mind and prosperity and new friends eager to see this historic and compelling land for the first time. People once were afraid to come to Armagh and Northern Ireland. Now they will be hard pressed to stay away.

We wanted to come here in person to thank you—to thank you for the peace, to thank you for strengthening the hand of everyone—everyone anywhere who is working to make the world a little better.

When I go now to other troubled places, I point to you as proof that peace is not an idle daydream, for your peace is real, and it resonates around the world. It echoes in the ears of people hungry for the end of strife in their own country. Now when I meet Palestinians and Israelis, I can say, ''Don't tell me it's impossible. Look at Northern Ireland.'' When I meet Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo I can say, ''Don't tell me it's impossible. Look at Northern Ireland.'' When I hear what the Indians and Pakistanis say about each other over their religious differences, I say, ''Don't tell me you can't work this out. Look at Northern Ireland.'' Centuries were put to bed, and a new day has dawned. Thank you for that gift to the world.

And never underestimate the impact you can have on the world. The great English poet and clergyman, John Donne, wrote those famous lines, ''No man is an island. We are all a piece of the continent, a part of the main.'' Tonight we might even say in this interconnected world, not even an island, not even a very unique island, not even Ireland is fully an island.

On this island, Northern Ireland obviously is connected in ways to the Republic, as well as to England, Scotland, and Wales, and in ways, the Republic of Ireland is connected to them also. All of you on this island increasingly are connected to Europe and to the rest of the world, as ideas and information and people fly across the globe at record speeds. We are tied ever closer together, and we have obligations now that we cannot shirk, to stand for the cause of human dignity everywhere.

To continue John Donne's beautiful metaphor, when the bells of Armagh toll, they ring out not just to the Irish of Protestant and Catholic traditions. They ring out to people everywhere in the world who long for peace and freedom and dignity. That is your gift.

We Americans will do what we can to support the peace, to support economic projects, to support education projects. Tomorrow the Secretary of Education will announce a cooperative effort here to help children bring peace by doing cross-community civic projects. We know we have an obligation to you because your ancestors were such a source of strength in America's early history. Because their descendants are building America's future today, because of all that, we have not forgotten our debt to Ulster. But we really owe an obligation to you because none of us are islands; we are all now a part of the main.

Three years ago I pledged that if you chose peace, America would walk with you. You made the choice, and America will honor its pledge.

Thank you for the springtime of hope you have given the world. Thank you for reminding us of one of life's most important lessons, that it is never too late for a new beginning. And remember, you will be tested again and again, but a God of grace has given you a new beginning. Now you must make the most of it, mindful of President Kennedy's adage that ''here on Earth, God's work must truly be our own.''

Your work is the world's work. And everywhere in every corner there are people who long to believe in our better selves, who want to be able to say for the rest of their lives, in the face of any act of madness born of hatred over religious, or racial, or ethnic or tribal differences—they want to be able to shake their fists in defiance and say, ''Do not tell me it has to be this way. Look at Northern Ireland.''

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:00 p.m. at the Mall of Armagh. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Robert Turner; Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom and his wife Cherie; First Minister David Trimble and Deputy First Minister Seamus Mallon of the Northern Ireland Assembly; and Prime Minister Bertie Ahern of Ireland.

Exchange With Reporters Prior to Discussions With Prime Minister Bertie Ahern of Ireland in Dublin

September 4, 1998

Senator Lieberman's Remarks

Q. Mr. President, do you have any comments on Senator Lieberman's remarks?

The President. I've been briefed on them, and basically I agree with what he said. I've already said that I made a bad mistake, it was indefensible, and I'm sorry about it. So I have nothing else to say except that I can't disagree with anyone else who wants to be critical of what I have already acknowledged was indefensible.

Q. Do you think the Senate is the right format for——

The President. That's not for me to say. That's not for me to say. I don't—I've known Senator Lieberman a long time; we've worked together on a lot of things; and I'm not going to get into commenting on that one way or the other. That's not—it wouldn't be an appropriate thing for me to do.

Q. But do you think it's helpful for him to make that kind of——

The President. It's not for me to say. But there's nothing that he or anyone else could say in a personally critical way that I—that I don't imagine that I would disagree with, since I have already said it myself, to myself. And I'm very sorry about it. There's nothing else I could say.

Q. Mr. President, do you think an official censure by the Senate would be inappropriate?

The President. I just don't want to comment on that. I shouldn't be commenting on that while I'm on this trip, and I don't think that—my understanding is that was not a decision that was made or advocated clearly yesterday. So I don't want to get into that. If that's not an issue, I don't want to make it, one way or the other. I don't think that's appropriate right now.

Northern Ireland Peace Process

Q. Mr. President, it usually seems to take a visit from you to give the peace process a boost. Will we need to see you again?

The President. Well, for the sake of the peace process, I hope not. For my own sake, I hope so. But I hope the next time I come it won't be in aid of the peace process, because I hope it will be institutionalized and off and going.

I do think that a lot of progress has been made. I give the *Taoiseach* a lot of credit, Prime Minister Blair, and the party leaders. I think the statements in the last few days by Gerry Adams and Mr. Trimble's response make me quite hopeful about next week. And then, after that we'll just have to see where we go from there.

Q. Mr. President, do you believe that from what you've heard from political leaders yesterday that David Trimble is now ready to sit down with Gerry Adams in government in Northern Ireland?

The President. Well, first of all, they talked about meeting, and I think they need—I expect that at some point there will be a meeting, and I think that's a good thing. And then, we'll have to take the next steps. I think that what you want is—what we all want is for the agreement to be fully implemented so that all parts of it—the decommissioning, the participation in government by everyone who qualifies by vote of the people—all parts of it will be fully implemented. And I think that eventually it will get there, and I hope it's sooner rather than later.

Q. Mr. President, what were your views of Omagh yesterday? It was a very emotional day. You seemed to work the crowd so well; you spent a lot of time meeting those people there yesterday. What were your feelings?

The President. Well, first of all, like everyone in the world that knew about it, I was just overwhelmed by the dimension of the tragedy and the random, cruel nature of the violence. And my experience has been, dealing with the families who have suffered a similar fate, is that they know there's nothing you can do to bring their loved ones back or bring their limbs back or give them sight or whatever else the problem may be, but sometimes just listening to people's story and letting them say what they hope will happen next—in many cases yesterday, letting them reaffirm their belief in the peace—sometimes that helps.

And what I was hoping to do yesterday was to bring the support of the people of the United States as well as my own and Hillary's to the families there, and just give them a chance to continue the healing process.

I must say I was very, very impressed with the people of the community, who turned out on the street where the bomb had exploded in large numbers to say hello to us and to encourage us. And I'm grateful for that. But it was an amazing experience talking to those families in the building there and just listening to them.

Q. You were clearly moved by it.

The President. Anyone would have been.

Q. Mr. President, where do you rank the Northern Ireland peace process among the policy initiatives you've pursued in office?

The President. Oh, I don't know about ranking. It was important to me. Once I realized that there was something the United States could do, which probably happened somewhere in late 1991, long before I was elected, I decided I would try. And I just hope it succeeds.

I believe that—at the end of the cold war, I think the United States has a particular responsibility that goes beyond my personal passion for the Irish question to do two things. One is to do whatever we can, wherever we can, to try to minimize the impact of ethnic and religious and tribal and racial conflicts. And we're in this position of responsibility there because of where we find ourselves at the end of the cold war.

In addition to that, I think we have a particular responsibility to try to organize the world against the new security threats of the 21st century, the terrorism and narcotraffickers, the potential for the spread of weapons of mass destruction. And I have tried to do that.

I don't suspect that either of those jobs will be completely done in 2001 when I leave office, but at least the world will be on the way to having a framework to deal with both the opportunities for peace and the challenges to security. And I think you have to see the Irish question in that context, apart from my personal feelings about it. Because

if you, all of you—the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the *Taoiseach* and the Irish party leaders—if you're able to make this peace go, as I said in Armagh yesterday, then we can say to the places—to the Middle East; we can say in the Aegean; we can say in the Indian subcontinent; we can say in the tribal strife of Africa, ''Look at this thing that happened in Northern Ireland. There's the Troubles for 30 years, but there were conflicts for hundreds of years. This can be done.''

And so the potential impact of resolving this could wash over many more people than just those that live on this island.

Military Action Against Terrorist Sites

Q. Mr. President, how do you reconcile the peaceful strides you've made in the Northern process with your foreign policy and your reaction to the threat of Islamic militants and the airstrikes on Afghanistan and Sudan?

The President. Well, I think you have to, first of all, look at what happened in the Middle East and here. In the Middle East and here, I have worked hard to get people to turn away from terror toward a peace process, not just the Irish parties that had once participated in violence, but in the Middle East it's the same. The PLO has moved away from violence towards the peace process.

The problem with the bombings in our Embassies in Africa is that they were carried out by an operation which does not belong to a nation and does not have a claim or a grievance against the particular nation that it wants to resolve so that it can be part of a normal civic life. It is an organization without that kind of political agenda. Its agenda is basically to strike out against the United States, against the West, against the people in the Middle East it doesn't like. And it is funded entirely from private funds under the control of Usama bin Ladin, without the kind of objectives that we see that even on the darkest days the Irish parties that were violent had, the PLO had.

So it's an entirely different thing. And I think it's quite important that people see it as different, because one of the things that we have to fight against is having the world's narcotraffickers tie up with these multinational or non-national global terrorist groups in a way that will provide a threat to every country in the world. It's just an entirely different situation.

Q. *Taoiseach*, how important was the President to the developments that took place earlier this week which seemed to have injected a new momentum into the peace process?

Prime Minister Ahern. They were immensely important, because even if Omagh never happened and the terrible tragedy that it was, in early September we had to focus back, preparing for the next meeting of the Assembly, for heading on to preparations for the executive North-South Council and all of the other aspects of the agreement. And we needed to focus very clearly on those. And what the President's visit has done is, it has got the parties to, I think, move what might have taken weeks and months over a very short period, because they looked at the agenda that was set before us, and they've made the moves.

Now, there are clearly more moves to be made. And I think what the President said in Armagh last night we would totally agree with in the Irish Government, because I think he's laying down for us, and for all of us, that there is a path to follow. If we are sensible, if we're brave, and then we follow that path, the reward is peace and stability and confidence. If we don't, well, then the future is as gloomy as the past.

And I just believe that this visit at this time, it has been immensely important. It's given confidence to us all, I think, to move on. It's given confidence, I think, to the Unionist Party and Sinn Fein to make moves that are brave and efficient to the process. And we're very grateful not only for this visit, not only for the last visit, but the fact that this President of the United States has given us an enormous amount of time, a huge amount of support, and an enormous amount of encouragement to move forward. And we're very grateful for that.

Q. How will history judge his role, President Clinton's role, in the Northern Ireland peace process?

Prime Minister Ahern. Well, I always say, President Carter and U.S. Presidents and successive Presidents and administrations

have taken an interest in affairs, and a supportive interest. But the facts are, never before have we had such intense and sustained contact from the United States President, and that, in a period when we desperately need it to be able to move forward. I said, I think, in Washington last March that maybe it was the luck of the Irish, but we don't take it for granted, and we're very grateful for it.

NOTE: The exchange began at 11:12 a.m. in the Office of the Taoiseach. In his remarks, the President referred to Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams; First Minister David Trimble of the Northern Ireland Assembly; and Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

Remarks at a Reception With Community Leaders in Dublin

September 4, 1998

Thank you. Thank you, *Taoiseach,* Celia, ladies and gentlemen. Hillary and I and all of our American delegation are delighted to be here. I've been looking out in the crowd, and I see some Americans who have swelled the ranks even since I arrived in Ireland. Anytime we can pad your crowd, *Taoiseach,* we want to do that. [*Laughter*]

I'd like to thank the Royal College of Surgeons for making it possible for us to be here and for setting a standard for international excellence. I know there are now students from over 40 nations here at this distinguished institution.

If you would permit, before I get into my prepared remarks, I think that, for the benefit of the Americans here and because it's my only chance to talk to the press, I would like to make just a couple of comments on the terrible tragedy of the crashing of Swissair Flight 111.

The victims, their families, their friends are very much in our thoughts and prayers. A very large number of those victims were American citizens but also a large number were Europeans. And if you've been reading about it, you know that. It now appears that there were no survivors in what is the worst tragedy in the history of Swissair, with its very fine record. I have been fully briefed on the extensive efforts under way to recover the victims and to uncover what happened. And we will continue to do whatever we can to support the truly extraordinary efforts of the Canadian authorities. And I want to thank them for what they have done.

Just for right now, I would like to ask all of you in your own way, if we could, just to take a moment to reflect in silence on this tragedy and on any senseless loss of life and ask that their families, of the people who were killed, be strengthened at this moment. Thank you very much.

[*At this point, a moment of silence was observed.*]

Amen. Thank you.

Let me say to all of you, it's great to be back in Dublin. Even though there is a little rain in the air today, it's always bright and sunny for me here. The day that we were in College Green in 1995 will go down for me as one of the great days of my Presidency and, indeed, one of the great days of my life.

But these days have been good as well, working to cement the peace process. And I can't say enough about the role of the *Taoiseach* in making this Irish peace process come to fruition. I want to say a little more about it later in specific terms as we look ahead, but I just want to say to all you, you can be very proud of his leadership, as well as your own overwhelming vote for peace a few months ago.

I'd also like to thank Ireland for setting a good example by building bridges to other nations by being such an open economy, by encouraging business ventures from around the world, and by working together here at home.

We were talking before we came in about this whole concept of social partners and how all the elements of Irish society have worked together to give you what is, I believe, the highest growth rate in Europe now—of any country of Europe—because you have worked together to draw out the strengths of every element of this society and to minimize conflict.

And all I can say is I hope there will be more of this in the years ahead. I hope that success will whet your appetite for working together instead of causing, as success sometimes does, people to forget what brought

them to the point of success. Because the Irish story is a truly astonishing, astonishing thing that I believe can be a model for nations large and small throughout the world.

There has literally never been a better time, I don't suppose, to be Irish because of the economic success, because of the renaissance in writing, filmmaking, because of what so many people are doing in so many ways to advance the cause of peace. Of course, for me, your overwhelming vote for peace and your constant leadership for the peace process over the last several years are the most important things. And I would like to thank you on behalf of the American people for what you have done.

I can also say that—to Prime Minister Ahern, that peace literally would not have happened, in my judgment, if it hadn't been for him. He led a campaign sometimes under great personal duress. His pleas for peace began early in his service. He has been fair and open. He has been terrifically effective in working with Prime Minister Blair and all the parties in both communities. There are many people from many backgrounds who deserve a lot of credit for this peace, including George Mitchell, whose name was mentioned earlier, but none more than Bertie Ahern. And I thank him for that.

The last time I saw the *Taoiseach* I believe was on St. Patrick's Day in Washington. He always comes there and gives me my shamrocks and puts me in a good frame of mind. [*Laughter*] And then we always have a celebration at the White House in the evening, and everybody is in a good frame of mind. [*Laughter*] But we were especially happy this St. Patrick's Day because the sense of peace was in the air. We thought there was a real possibility for all that has happened to occur.

We now know from the tragedy of Omagh and from those three small boys that were killed that there will be those who test the peace, who do not want to move into tomorrow, who are literally trapped in the patterns, the hatreds, the mindset of yesterday. I think the most important thing that Hillary and I saw in Omagh yesterday was that even the people who have suffered the most from the testers of the peace don't want to give in to them. They don't want to give in. They don't want to go back. They want to summon their strength and courage and lean on their friends and neighbors and go forward.

So the most important thing I can say to you here today is, I hope you will continue to be a model for the world in responsible citizenship. Ireland—there hasn't been a day in the last 40 years that some citizen of this great country has not been abroad in another land working for the cause of peace. I hope you will continue to be a model of an open economy, where people work together, instead of fight with each other, to increase wealth, employment, opportunity, and social harmony. And I hope you will continue to labor for peace here, because if we can complete this peace process, as I said to the citizens of Armagh yesterday, you can't imagine what it will enable the United States to do in trying to stand up for peace in other parts of the world where people have fought over their religious, their racial, their ethnic, their tribal differences. I can always then say, no, no, no, look at Ireland, when they tell me it can't be done.

So please know that the rest of the world has an enormous stake in the way your society conducts itself, in your economic success, in your social harmony, and in your passion for peace. So far, you are doing much better than any of the rest of us could ever have dreamed or hoped for, and the world is in your debt.

The United States is proud of our Irish ties, and I am personally extremely grateful for what has been done here in these last few years.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:05 p.m. at the Royal College of Surgeons. In his remarks, he referred to Prime Minister Bertie Ahern of Ireland; Celia Larkin, who accompanied Prime Minister Ahern; Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom; and former Senator George J. Mitchell, who chaired the multiparty talks in Northern Ireland.

Remarks to Employees at Gateway, Inc., in Santry, Ireland

September 4, 1998

Thank you for the wonderful welcome, the waving flag, the terrific shirts. I want one of

those shirts before I leave. At least shirts have not become virtual, you can actually have one of them. [*Laughter*]

I want to say to the *Taoiseach* how very grateful I am for his leadership and friendship. But I must say that I was somewhat ambivalent when we were up here giving our virtual signatures. Do you have any idea how much time I spend every day signing my name? I'm going to feel utterly useless if I can't do that anymore. [*Laughter*] By the time you become the leader of a country, someone else makes all the decisions; you just sign your name. [*Laughter*] You may find you can get away with virtual Presidents, virtual Prime Ministers, virtual everything. Just stick a little card in and get the predictable response.

I want to congratulate Baltimore Technologies on making this possible, as well. And Ted Waitt, let me thank you for the tour of this wonderful facility. As an American I have to do one little chauvinist thing. I asked Ted—I saw the Gateway—do you see the Gateway boxes over there and the Gateway logo, and I got a Gateway golf bag before I came in, and it was black and white like this. So I said, ''Where did this logo come from?'' And he said, ''It's spots on a cow.'' He said, ''We started in South Dakota and Iowa and people said, 'How can there be a computer company in the farmland of America?' '' And now there is one in the farmland of America that happens to be in Ireland.

But it's a wonderful story that shows the point I want to make later, which is that there is no monopoly on brain power anywhere. There have always been intelligent people everywhere, in the most underinvested and poorest parts of the world. Today on the streets of the poorest neighborhoods in the most crowded country in the world—which is probably India, in the cities—there are brilliant people who need a chance.

And technology, if we handle it right, will be one of the great liberating and equalizing forces in all of human history, because it proves that unlike previous economic waves, you could be on a small farm in Iowa or South Dakota or you could be in a country like Ireland, long underinvested in by outsiders, and all of a sudden open the whole world up. And you can prove that people you can find on any street corner can master the skills of tomorrow. So this is a very happy day.

I want to thank the other officials from the Irish Government, Minister Harney and Minister O'Rourke and others. I thank my great Commerce Secretary, Bill Daley, for being here, and Jim Lyons, who heads my economic initiatives for Ireland, and Ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith, who has done a magnificent job for us and will soon be going home after having played a major role in getting the peace process started, and we thank her.

I thank you all personally for the warm reception you gave George Mitchell, because you have no idea how much grief he gave me for giving him this job. [*Laughter*] You all voted for the agreement now, and everything is basically going in the right direction, but it was like pulling fingernails for 3 years; everybody arguing over every word, every phrase, every semicolon, you know? In the middle of that, George Mitchell was not all that happy that I had asked him to undertake this duty.

But when you stood up and you clapped for him today, for the first time since I named him, he looked at me and said thank you. So thank you again; you made my day. [*Applause*] Thank you.

I'd also like to thank your former Prime Minister and *Taoiseach*, John Bruton, who's here and who also worked with us on the peace process. Thank you, John, for coming; it's delightful to see you. And I would like you to know that there are a dozen Members of the United States Congress here, from both parties, showing that we have reached across our own divide to support peace and prosperity in Ireland. And I thank all the Members of Congress, and I'd like to ask them to stand up, just so you'll see how many there are here. Thank you very much.

I know that none of the Irish here will be surprised when I tell you that a recent poll of American intellectuals decided that the best English language novel of the 20th century was a book set in Dublin, written by an Irishman, in Trieste, and Zurich, and first published in New York and Paris—a metaphor of the world in which we now live. James Joyce's ''Ulysses'' was the product of

many cultures, but it remains a deeply Irish work.

Some of you will remember that near the beginning of the book, Joyce wrote, ''History is a nightmare from which I am trying to awake.'' Much of Irish history, of course, is rich and warm and wonderful, but we all know it has its nightmarish aspects. They are the ones from which Ireland is now awakening, thanks to those who work for peace and thanks to those who bring prosperity.

Much of Ireland's new history, of course, will be shaped by the Good Friday peace agreement. You all, from your response to Senator Mitchell, are knowledgeable of it and proud of it, and I thank you for voting for it in such overwhelming numbers in the Republic.

I think it's important that you know it's a step forward not only for Irish people but for all people divided everywhere who are seeking new ways to think about old problems, who want to believe that they don't forever have to be at the throats of those with whom they share a certain land, just because they are of a different faith or race or ethnic group or tribe. The leaders and the people of Ireland and Northern Ireland, therefore, are helping the world to awaken from history's nightmares.

Today Ireland is quite an expansive place, with a positive outlook on the world. The 1990's have changed this country in profound and positive ways. Not too long ago, Ireland was a poor country by European standards, inward-looking, sometimes insular.

Today, as much as any country in Europe, Ireland is connected in countless ways to the rest of the world, as Ted showed me when we moved from desk to desk to desk downstairs with the people who were talking to France and the people who were talking to Germany and the people who were talking to Scandinavia and on and on and on.

This country has strong trade relations with Britain and the United States, with countries of the European Union and beyond. And Ireland, as we see here at this place, is fast becoming a technological capital of Europe. Innovative information companies are literally transforming the way the Irish interact and communicate with other countries. That is clear here—perhaps clearer here than anywhere else—at Gateway, a company speaking many languages and most of all the language of the future. Gateway and other companies like Intel and Dell and Digital are strengthening Ireland's historic links to the United States and reaching out beyond.

I think it is very interesting, and I was not aware of this before I prepared for this trip, that Dublin is literally becoming a major telecommunications center for all of Europe. More and more Europeans do business on more and more telephones, and more and more of their calls are routed through here. You connect people and businesses in every combination: a German housewife, a French computer company, a Czech businessman, a Swedish investor, people all around Europe learning to do business on the Internet.

At the hub of this virtual commerce is Ireland, a natural gateway for the future also of such commerce between Europe and the United States. In the 21st century, after years and years and years of being disadvantaged because of what was most important to the production of wealth, Ireland will have its day in the Sun because the most important thing in the 21st century is the capacity of people to imagine, to innovate, to create, to exchange ideas and information. By those standards, this is a very wealthy nation indeed.

Your growth has been phenomenal: last year, 7.7 percent; prices rising at only 1.5 percent; unemployment at a 20-year low. Ireland is second only to the United States in exporting software. This year the Irish Government may post a surplus of $1.7 billion. The Celtic tiger is roaring, and you should be very proud of it.

It has been speculated, half seriously, that there are more foreigners here than at any time since the Vikings pillaged Ireland in the 9th century. [*Laughter*] I guess I ought to warn you—you know, whenever a delegation of Congressmen comes to Ireland they all claim to be Irish—and in a certain way they all are—but one of the Members of the delegation here, Congressman Hoyer, who has been a great friend of the peace process, is in fact of Viking heritage, descent. [*Laughter*] Stand up, Steny.

Now, all the rest of us come here and pander to you and tell you we love Ireland because there is so much Irish blood running in our veins. He comes here and says he loves Ireland because there is so much of his blood running in your veins. [*Laughter*]

Let me get back to what I was saying about the Internet because your position vis-a-vis telecommunication can be seen through that. When I came here just 3 years ago—had one of the great days of my life; there was so much hope about the peace process then—only 3 million people worldwide were connected to the Internet, 3 years ago. Today there are over 120 million people, a 40-fold increase in 3 years. In the next decade, sometime it will be over a billion. Already, if you travel, you can see the impact of this in Russia or in China or other far-flung places around the globe.

I had an incredible experience in one of these Internet cafes in Shanghai, where I met with young high school students in China working the Internet. Even if they didn't have computers at home, they could come to the cafe, buy a cup of coffee, rent a little time, and access the Internet. This is going to change dramatically the way we work and live. It is going to democratize opportunity in the world in a way that has never been the case in all of human history. And if we are wise and decent about it, we can not only generate more wealth, we can reduce future wars and conflicts.

The agreement that we signed today does some important things. It commits us to reduce unnecessary regulatory barriers, to refrain from imposing customs duties, to keep taxes to a minimum, to create a stable and predictable environment for doing business electronically. It helps us, in other words, to create an architecture for one of the most important areas of business activity in the century ahead.

There are already 470 companies in Ireland that are American, and many of them are in the information sector. The number is growing quickly. So I say to you that I think this agreement we have signed today, and the way we have signed it, will not only be helpful in and of themselves but will stand for what I hope will be the future direction of your economy and America's, the future direction of our relationship, and will open a massive amount of opportunity to ordinary people who never would have had it before.

A strong modern economy thrives on education, innovation, respect for the interests of workers and customers and a respect for the Earth's environment. An enlightened population is our best investment in a good future. Prosperity reinforces peace as well. The Irish have long championed prosperity, peace, and human decency, and for all that I am very grateful.

I would like to just say, because I can't leave Ireland without acknowledging this, that there are few nations that have contributed more than Ireland, even in times which were difficult for this country, to the cause of peace and human rights around the world. You have given us now Mary Robinson to serve internationally in that cause. But since peacekeeping began for the United Nations 40 years ago, 75 Irish soldiers have given their lives.

Today we work shoulder-to-shoulder in Bosnia and the Middle East. But I think you should know, that as nearly as I can determine, in the 40 years in which the world has been working together on peacekeeping, the only country in the world which has never taken a single, solitary day off from the cause of world peace to the United Nations peacekeeping operations is Ireland. And I thank you.

In 1914, on the verge of the First World War, which would change Europe and Ireland forever, William Butler Yeats wrote his famous line, "In dreams begin responsibility." Ireland has moved from nightmares to dreams. Ireland has assumed great responsibility. As a result, you are moving toward permanent peace, remarkable prosperity, unparalleled influence, and a brighter tomorrow for your children. May the nightmares stay gone, the dreams stay bright, and the responsibility wear easily on your shoulder, because the future is yours.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:12 p.m. on the factory floor. In his remarks, he referred to Ted Waitt, chief executive officer, Gateway, Inc.; Deputy Prime Minister Mary Harney and Minister for Transportation, Energy, and Tourism Mary O'Rourke of Ireland; former Senator George J. Mitchell, who chaired the multiparty

talks in Northern Ireland; and Mary Robinson, U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Message on the Observance of Labor Day, 1998

September 4, 1998

For more than a century, we have set aside this time each year to pay tribute to America's working men and women. We honor the heroes of our past, who built our great cities, bridges, and railways; who cleared the fields and plowed the farms to feed our nation and the world; who climbed down mine shafts and up the skeletons of skyscrapers to keep America growing. We honor those men and women of conscience who fought for fair wages, decent working conditions, and equal opportunity for all.

And we honor workers across America today, who are the heart of our nation and the engine of our dynamic economy. In large part because of their efforts, productivity, and commitment to excellence, our nation is enjoying unprecedented growth and prosperity. Our economy is the best it has been in a generation. Inflation and unemployment are at their lowest levels in nearly 30 years, while real wages are growing at the fastest rate in a quarter-century.

Yet, in the spirit of those who came before us, we must not become self-satisfied or complacent. As we celebrate Labor Day, let us recommit ourselves to raising the minimum wage, to promoting training and continuing education for workers, to providing affordable health care to every family, and to building a stronger national community of people who believe in the value of work and who recognize the importance of maintaining dignity and justice for those who perform it. By doing so, we can make the American Dream a reality for all our people and build a brighter future for our children.

Best wishes to all for a memorable holiday.

Bill Clinton

NOTE: This message was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on September 4.

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.

August 30

In the morning, the President and Hillary Clinton returned to Washington, DC, from Martha's Vineyard, MA, arriving in the afternoon.

August 31

In the morning, the President traveled to Herndon, VA, and in the afternoon, he returned to Washington, DC. Later, the President and Hillary Clinton traveled to Moscow, Russia, arriving the following morning.

September 1

In the morning, the President participated in a wreath laying ceremony at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the Kremlin. Later, he presented the members of the U.S. delegation to President Boris Yeltsin of Russia in the Presidential Study at the Kremlin, after which the two Presidents had a separate meeting.

In the afternoon, the President had a working luncheon with President Yeltsin in the Presidential Living Room at the Kremlin. Later, the President and Hillary Clinton met with American business leaders at Moscow State University.

In the evening, the President and Hillary Clinton attended an official dinner hosted by President Yeltsin in Catherine Hall at the Kremlin.

The President announced his intention to appoint Roy A. Stein as Commissioner of the Great Lakes Fisheries Commission.

September 2

In the morning, the President met with President Yeltsin in the Presidential Study at the Kremlin.

September 3

In the morning, the President traveled to Belfast, Northern Ireland. Later, he met with First Minister David Trimble and Deputy

First Minister Seamus Mallon of the Northern Ireland Assembly in Room 106 of the Parliament Building.

In the afternoon, the President and Hillary Clinton traveled to Omagh, Northern Ireland. In the evening, they participated in a wreath-laying ceremony on Market Street. Later, they traveled to Armagh, Northern Ireland, and then to Dublin, Ireland.

The President announced his intention to nominate Joseph Swerdzewski to be General Counsel at the Federal Labor Relations Authority.

The President announced his intention to nominate Anita K. Jones, Pamela A. Ferguson, and Robert C. Richardson to be members of the National Science Board, National Science Foundation.

September 4

In the evening, the President and Hillary Clinton traveled to Shannon, Ireland.

The President declared a major disaster in South Carolina and ordered Federal aid to supplement State and local recovery efforts in the area struck by Hurricane Bonnie on August 25–September 1.

The President declared a major disaster in Virginia and ordered Federal aid to supplement Commonwealth and local recovery efforts in the area struck by Hurricane Bonnie on August 25–September 1.

The President declared a major disaster in Florida and ordered Federal aid to supplement State and local recovery efforts in the area struck by Hurricane Earl on September 3.

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 August 31

Peter J. Basso, Jr.,
of Maryland, to be an Assistant Secretary of Transportation, vice Louise Frankel Stoll, resigned.

H. Dean Buttram, Jr.,
of Alabama, to be U.S. District Judge for the Northern District of Alabama, vice Robert B. Propst, retired.

Inge Prytz Johnson,
of Alabama, to be U.S. District Judge for the Northern District of Alabama, vice James H. Hancock, retired.

Submitted September 2

Robert Bruce Green,
of Oklahoma, to be U.S. Attorney for the Eastern District of Oklahoma for the term of 4 years, vice John W. Raley, Jr., retired.

Mary A. Ryan,
of Texas, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Career Minister, for the personal rank of Career Ambassador in recognition of especially distinguished service over a sustained period.

Submitted September 3

Pamela A. Ferguson,
of Iowa, to be a member of the National Science Board, National Science Foundation, for a term expiring May 10, 2004, vice Shirley Mahaley Malcom, term expired.

Anita K. Jones,
of Virginia, to be a member of the National Science Board, Nation Science Foundation, for a term expiring May 10, 2004, vice F. Albert Cotton, term expired.

Robert C. Richardson,
of New York, to be a member of the National Science Board, National Science Foundation, for a term expiring May 10, 2004, vice James L. Powell, term expired.

Joseph Swerdzewski,
of Colorado, to be General Counsel of the Federal Labor Relations Authority for a term of 5 years (reappointment).

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 August 29

Statement by the Press Secretary on the Northwest Airlines pilots strike

Announcement: Official Delegation to Russia

Released August 31

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry, National Security Adviser Samuel Berger, and National Economic Council Director Gene Sperling on the President's upcoming visit to Russia

Announcement of nominations for U.S. District Judges for the Northern District of Alabama

Released September 1

Transcript of a press briefing by Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs Robert Bell, Assistant Secretary of Defense (Strategy and Threat Reduction) Ted Warner, NSC Senior Director for Nonproliferation Gary Samore, and Director of Policy and Regional Affairs for Russia and the New Independent States Debra Cagan on the President's visit to Russia

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry, Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott, Deputy Treasury Secretary Larry Summers, National Economic Council Director Gene Sperling, and Senator Pete Domenici on the President's visit to Russia

Fact sheet: Plutonium Disposition Statement

Fact sheet: Joint Statement on the Exchange of Information on Missile Launches and Early Warning

Released September 2

Transcript of a press briefing by Deputy National Security Adviser Jim Steinberg and Press Secretary Mike McCurry on the President's visit to Russia

Fact sheet: U.S.-Russian Export Control Cooperation

Announcement of nomination for U.S. Attorney for the Eastern District of Oklahoma

Released September 3

Transcript of a press readout by Press Secretary Mike McCurry

Transcript of a press briefing by Deputy National Security Adviser Jim Steinberg on the President's visit to Northern Ireland

Statement by the Press Secretary: Rwanda Tribunal Verdict

Statement by the Press Secretary on the President's decision to send Special Middle East Coordinator Ambassador Dennis Ross back to the region

Text of the Plaque Presented to the People of Omagh

Released September 4

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry and Deputy National Security Adviser Jim Steinberg on the President's visit to Ireland

Acts Approved by the President

NOTE: No acts approved by the President were received by the Office of the Federal Register during the period covered by this issue.