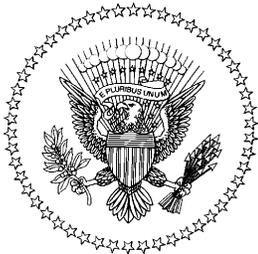


Weekly Compilation of
**Presidential
Documents**



Monday, June 21, 1999
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Editor’s Note: The President was in Cologne, Germany, on June 18, 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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Week Ending Friday, June 18, 1999

Remarks at Whiteman Air Force Base in Knob Noster, Missouri

June 11, 1999

Thank you very, very much. General Lyles, thank you for your introduction and your service. I'd like to thank General Barnidge for making me feel right at home. You can tell he's pretty proud of you, and he makes a good speech, doesn't he? I didn't know whether he was a politician or a general the first time I met him. *[Laughter]* I've got the coin, General. *[Laughter]* I think I know the rules. You got yours? *[Laughter]*

Actually, ladies and gentlemen, when I discovered these coins, I decided one way I could always remember the men and women of our military is to keep every coin I receive visible. And for as long as I have been President, I have done that. And if you saw the speech I gave last night on Kosovo, when the camera zooms in I have three racks of these coins behind me. I now have nearly 300 of these, from every unit, every enlisted person, every officer, every commander that has given me one of these, I still have the coins. And everyone who comes into the Oval Office sees them all, to remember you and what you do for our country. And this will be on that desk tonight when I get home, and I thank you for it very much.

I want to thank my good friend Congressman Ike Skelton for representing you so well and representing all of America's military families and military interests so well. I'd like to thank my National Security Adviser, Sandy Berger, who did a lot of working in planning and executing our efforts in Kosovo and others who have come here with me today.

There are a large number of Congressmen here, and I want to acknowledge all of them, because I think it's important that you know you have broad support. We have four Members from Missouri here, in addition to Congressman Skelton: Congresswoman Pat Danner, Congresswoman Karen McCarthy, and

Congressman Kenny Hulshof from Missouri. They are all here. I'd like to ask them to stand and be recognized. *[Applause]*

We have Congressman Norm Dicks from Washington and Congressman Steny Hoyer from Maryland, as you heard, two big supporters of the B-2 program. We have Congressman Leonard Boswell from Iowa and Congressman Dennis Moore from Kansas, two of your neighbors here. And we have two Congressmen who came all the way from New York State, Congressman Eliot Engel and Congressman Peter King. I'd like to ask the rest of the members of the congressional delegation to stand. I thank them for being here. *[Applause]*

We all came down from Washington today on behalf of your fellow Americans to salute the men and women of Whiteman Air Force Base, to thank you for a job well done, to honor you for the way you honor America.

Over the past few months, our Nation has faced an extraordinary challenge, a decade of brutal policies in the former Yugoslavia, and in particular, in Kosovo, exploded into a humanitarian catastrophe when Serbian troops evicted over one million people from homes they had lived in with their families for generations. It was the culmination of a long campaign by the Serbian President, Mr. Milosevic, to exploit ethnic and religious differences to strengthen his power over the people of the former Yugoslavia.

Now, in nearly every country, at some point or another there are demagogues who have tried to exploit people's ethnic, racial, and religious differences. The difference here is that he wasn't just calling people names. This exploitation involved mass murder, mass rape, mass burning, mass destruction of religious and cultural institutions and personal property records, an attempt to erase the very presence of a people from their land, and to get rid of them dead or alive. We have come to call it ethnic cleansing. The International War Crimes Tribunal

prosecutor indicted Mr. Milosevic and the leaders who worked with him for war crimes and crimes against humanity. It is that which the B-2's from Whiteman flew to reverse.

I asked you, our Armed Forces, and our NATO Allies, to act when all of our diplomatic efforts failed after Mr. Milosevic had already put 40,000 troops and 300 tanks in and around Kosovo. I asked you to act early because the world community took 4 long years to mobilize itself to stop the aggression in Bosnia, and by the time it happened, there were a quarter of a million people dead and 2½ million refugees.

And the great dream that we all had, after World War II and after the cold war, that finally Europe would be free and undivided and at peace, and Americans would never have to go there in large numbers to fight and die again, was threatened by the oldest demon of human society, our fear and hatred of people who are different from us. That is what he exploited, in a systematic way, to threaten the future stability and peace of Europe and the security of the United States and to do unspeakable humanitarian horrors to innocent civilians.

So when diplomacy failed, we and our NATO Allies acted. We attacked the Serb forces with air power for 79 days with three goals: first, to return the refugees with security and self-government; second, to get the Serb forces out of Kosovo; and finally, to have an international security force, with NATO at its core, to deploy to protect all the people of that troubled land, the ethnic Albanians and the ethnic Serbs.

Today, the three objectives have been achieved. The Serbian forces are withdrawing, an international force with NATO at its core is preparing to enter, and very soon the refugees will go home. Mr. Milosevic accepted these conditions for one reason: You made him do it. Thanks to you and the others who flew and supported our air mission and those of our NATO Allies, he ran out of room, and he ran out of time. And thanks to you, the century is ending, not with helplessness indignation over such unspeakable cruelty but with its opposite, a ringing affirmation by free people of human dignity.

It was not an easy campaign. Kosovo is a long way from Whiteman, even in a B-2. We

had to coordinate all the details with 18 NATO Allies. The Serbs had sophisticated air defenses. They placed innocent civilians around military targets. The weather was often downright atrocious, especially when we began the operation.

Yet, day after day, with remarkable precision, our forces pounded every element of Mr. Milosevic's military machine, from tanks to fuel supply, to anti-aircraft weapons, to the military and political support. Most Americans will never know how hard this was or how hard our forces worked, the pilots, the crews, the people who make it happen on the ground. But I want you to know that we are very proud of you.

I'd like to single out a few groups for special thanks today. The pilots, the crews, the weaponeers, the maintenance personnel, who are part of the B-2 team stationed here at Whiteman should take special pride in proving what a truly remarkable aircraft can do, flying 30-hour sorties, dropping ordnance, returning to base, night after night. And as our Commander said, as far as we know, they still don't know you were there. Listen to this: The B-2's from Whiteman flew less than one percent of the total missions, but dropped 11 percent of the bombs.

We honor the pilots and the crews, but we should never forget that for every 2-man mission, about 60 people from the mission planning cell worked 2 or 3 days to make sure nothing went wrong. That's what I call teamwork. You put real meaning into the 509th's motto, "Follow Us." A lot of good people are about to follow you back home to Kosovo, and I thank you for it.

I would also like to thank the reservists of the 442d for all you do. I know how badly some of you wanted to take your Warthogs over to Serbia. I assure you, you're doing a fine job protecting us, just by being ready to drop everything at a moment's notice. And I want to thank the people who make Whiteman such a fine place to live and work, including the Missouri National Guard.

And lastly, I want to pay special tribute to the families who give strength and support to our airmen and women who do such a difficult job. The wives, the husbands, the children of our military personnel are a part

of our military team, and they serve our country in a very special way.

The statistics of Operation Allied Force tell the story better than I can. There were 30,000 sorties. Two planes were lost, but every single crew member returned safely, an extraordinary testament to your courage and skill. Of course, we cannot forget the two Army airmen we lost while training in Albania, and I hope you will remember them and their families in your prayers, Chief Warrant Officer David Gibbs and Chief Warrant Officer Kevin Reichert.

Let me say one other thing that I hope will try to illustrate what this is really about. I'm proud to be in Whiteman today for many reasons. For over half a century, the brave airmen of this base have been crucial to our efforts to build peace and support freedom. We may be far from Europe here in the heartland, and I suppose it's unlikely that Knob Noster will ever be invaded by a foreign power. [*Laughter*]

But you have always been close to the frontlines, and the people in that small community have supported you in being close to the frontlines. The 442d Fighter Wing supported the D-Day landings 55 years ago last Sunday. The 509th Bomber Wing distinguished itself in the Pacific theater. Whiteman was a bastion of strength throughout the cold war. Ten years ago, for example, who would have thought that a former leader of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, would come here to have you sing "Happy Birthday" to him? [*Laughter*] Or that he would have the gall to accuse General Barnidge of singing off-key. [*Laughter*]

In this decade, in the wake of the cold war, our men and women in uniform have played a crucial role, and so have you. And with the B-2, you have been even closer to the frontlines. From Iraq to Haiti to Bosnia to Kosovo, our men and women in uniform have shown dictators they can't shatter their people and threaten their neighbors with impunity.

But this is the point I want you to think about. You helped to put the lie to Mr. Milosevic's campaign of ethnic cleansing and killing in two ways, not one. First, and most obviously, you did it with the power of the bombing campaign. But second, you did it

with the power of your example. What do I mean by that? His whole justification for power has been to tell the Serbian people that they cannot and should not have to live with the Bosnian Muslims, with the Kosovar Albanian Muslims, with the Croatian Catholics, that the only pure and great people, worthy to be part of Greater Serbia, are those who share their ethnic background and their faith, that their country can only be great when everybody's just like everybody else. Well, look around here. You put the lie to that by the power of your example. And make no mistake about it, it is even more powerful than the power of our bombs.

I invite the people of this world today who say that people cannot get along across racial and ethnic and religious lines to have a good look at the United States military, to have a good look at the members of the United States Air Force in this hangar today. We have proved that when people are bound together by shared values, their differences make them stronger and make our community stronger, that everyone has a contribution to make and everyone is a child of God, worthy to be developed to the fullest of his or her own capacity, and that our differences make our lives more interesting, even more fun, as long as we recognize that, fundamentally, what is most important is our common humanity.

Make no mistake about it: every day you get up and go to work, every day you work through a difference you're having with somebody who comes from a different part of the country or a different background than you do, every day you learn to live by performing your mission better, working together, you put the lie to the idea that has driven Mr. Milosevic's power and that of every other dictator in this century who tried to get people to hate others because they had a different color skin, because they had a different ethnic background, because they worshiped God in a different way.

And make no mistake about it—in a world that is smaller and smaller and smaller, where we are growing closer through the Internet, through links of trade, through shared culture, where people will become more vulnerable to one another through open borders, it is a very important thing for

the safety and security of the United States for us to be able to hold up for the whole world the example of our men and women in uniform and say: This is the future we should all seek in the 21st century.

Yes, I am very proud of the B-2's. I am proud of the cooperation across the services. I know the Air Force is grateful for the radar jamming provided by Navy and Marine aircraft, the Navy TLAMS fired from ships in the Mediterranean that made the flights safer, the Army and Marine units taking care of the refugees. I'm grateful for all of that cooperation, but fundamentally, I am most grateful for the power of your example.

In our military, we have Asian-Americans, African-Americans, Latino-Americans, European-Americans of every stripe, including Albanian-Americans and Serbian-Americans. I don't want anybody to get the idea that we have a grudge or bad feelings about the people of Serbia. They were our allies in World War II. They fill many neighborhoods in some of our largest cities. We cheer for them on professional sports teams. Many of us know them as our friends. This is not about a people; this is about a rotten idea that needs to be wiped from the pages of history. That, you have helped to do.

And I say to you, we have to keep working on it. If we want to be a force for good around the world, we've got to keep working to be good at home. We've got to keep working to live up to the ideas of our Founders, that we are all created equal, that we have a constant obligation throughout our lives to broaden the circle of opportunity and deepen the meaning of freedom and draw closer together as a national community.

These past months were a defining moment for the forces of freedom in our Alliance. This was the longest and most difficult military campaign NATO ever engaged in, in its entire 50 years. Mr. Milosevic, who believed that strength comes from everything being the same, thought that his campaign for Greater Serbia would break the unity of the incredible diversity of the NATO Alliance. He thought open societies with free dissent—where, as you know, everybody in America was free to tell me I was wrong about this from the get-go—he thought that made us weak.

But he turned out to be wrong. He turned out to be wrong, yes, because the B-2 is a great aircraft and the people flying the fighters out of Germany and Italy did a brilliant job, and the ships firing the TLAMS were great and because the leaders were strong and tough and they hung together. That's fine, and that had a lot to do with it.

But what made all that possible? How did we get to that moment in the first place? Because we had made a decision as a free people to respect the inherent dignity of every person, to give everybody a chance, to learn from people who are different, to be on the same team. Let me tell you, that is something money can't buy and propaganda can't erase, and it is an example that I hope the world will see all the more clearly in the aftermath of your success in Kosovo.

Think what would have happened if we hadn't done this. Mr. Milosevic's victory would have been a license for despots around the world to deal with ethnic minorities simply by murdering or expelling them from their land. Whenever people have trouble with people who were different, they say, "Well, just get rid of them. Kill as many as you want. Nobody will do anything, and if you run them out of your country, the rich countries will take care of them, anyway. Just ethnically cleanse everyplace so you will never have to think about or look at or consider the interest of anybody that's the slightest bit different from you."

But instead, we end the 20th century and begin a new one with a respect for human rights and human dignity and international law. This is not America's first victory over tyranny, and unfortunately, it probably will not be our last. But it is a moment for all of you to thank God for the opportunity we have had to live in our country and serve our country at this moment in history, to reap the benefits of its opportunities, and to have a chance to move it a little closer to its ideals.

As we celebrate the victory, I also ask you to remember this: There are challenges ahead. We still have to win the peace. Those folks have to go home, and they've got to have a roof over their head before it gets too cold to be outside. We've got landmines to take up and businesses to rebuild and a future to make.

That work, too, can be dangerous for those who follow in your footsteps in the peace-keeping missions. But it is very much in our interest to help them rebuild, and to draw together—to teach them what we already know—that if they have something to look forward to and something to work for and something to get up in the morning and smile about, it's a lot easier for people with superficial differences to find common interests. And so we have to be a part of that, as well.

Whenever I come to Missouri, a State I've always loved, since I grew up to the south, in Arkansas, I think of President Truman, who was the President when I was born and whom my family idolized. Congressman Skelton knew Harry Truman, and I think that we would all admit that Harry Truman knew something about standing up for what he believed in. President Truman would be very, very proud of the Whiteman family today.

In the final days of World War II, Harry Truman said, "It is easier to remove tyrants and destroy concentration camps than it is to kill the ideas which gave them birth and strength. Victory on the battlefield was essential, but it was not enough. For a good peace, a lasting peace, decent people of the Earth must remain determined to strike down the evil spirit which has hung over the world for the last decade."

Well, the decent people of the world are determined to rebuild Kosovo and the Balkans. Think about the spirit.

If you don't remember anything else I said today, remember this. Your victory was achieved for two reasons: one, the power and skill and courage of our pilots and our crews and the awesome capacity of our planes and our bombs; but two, the power of the example that you set in our military, a stern rebuke, on a daily basis, to ethnic cleansing and a reaffirmation of the moral worth and the sheer joy of working together as equal human beings for a good cause.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:50 a.m. in Building 1117. In his remarks, he referred to Gen. Lester Lyles, USAF, Vice Chief of Staff, U.S. Air Force; Brig. Gen. Leroy Barnidge, Jr., USAF, Wing Commander, 509th Bomb Wing; and President Slobodan Milosevic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). This item

was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Proclamation 7203—Gay and Lesbian Pride Month, 1999

June 11, 1999

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

Thirty years ago this month, at the Stonewall Inn in New York City, a courageous group of citizens resisted harassment and mistreatment, setting in motion a chain of events that would become known as the Stonewall Uprising and the birth of the modern gay and lesbian civil rights movement. Gays and lesbians, their families and friends, celebrate the anniversary of Stonewall every June in America as Gay and Lesbian Pride Month; and, earlier this month, the National Park Service added the Stonewall Inn, as well as the nearby park and neighborhood streets surrounding it, to the National Register of Historic Places.

I am proud of the measures my Administration has taken to end discrimination against gays and lesbians and ensure that they have the same rights guaranteed to their fellow Americans. Last year, I signed an Executive order that amends Federal equal employment opportunity policy to prohibit discrimination in the Federal civilian work force based on sexual orientation. We have also banned discrimination based on sexual orientation in the granting of security clearances. As a result of these and other policies, gay and lesbian Americans serve openly and proudly throughout the Federal Government. My Administration is also working with congressional leaders to pass the Employment Non-Discrimination Act, which would prohibit most private employers from firing workers solely because of their sexual orientation.

America's diversity is our greatest strength. But, while we have come a long way on our journey toward tolerance, understanding, and mutual respect, we still have a long way to go in our efforts to end discrimination. During the past year, people across our country have been shaken by violent acts that

struck at the heart of what it means to be an American and at the values that have always defined us as a Nation. In 1997, the most recent year for which we have statistics, there were more than 8,000 reported hate crimes in our country—almost one an hour. Now is the time for us to take strong and decisive action to end all hate crimes, and I reaffirm my pledge to work with the Congress to pass the Hate Crimes Prevention Act.

But we cannot achieve true tolerance merely through legislation; we must change hearts and minds as well. Our greatest hope for a just society is to teach our children to respect one another, to appreciate our differences, and to recognize the fundamental values that we hold in common. As part of our efforts to achieve this goal, earlier this spring, I announced that the Departments of Justice and Education will work in partnership with educational and other private sector organizations to reach out to students and teach them that our diversity is a gift. In addition, the Department of Education has issued landmark guidance that explains Federal standards against sexual harassment and prohibits sexual harassment of all students regardless of their sexual orientation; and I have ordered the Education Department's civil rights office to step up its enforcement of anti-discrimination and harassment rules. That effort has resulted in a groundbreaking guide that provides practical guidance to school administrators and teachers for developing a comprehensive approach to protecting all students, including gays and lesbians, from harassment and violence.

Since our earliest days as a Nation, Americans have strived to make real the ideals of equality and freedom so eloquently expressed in our Declaration of Independence and Constitution. We now have a rare opportunity to enter a new century and a new millennium as one country, living those principles, recognizing our common values, and building on our shared strengths.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim June 1999 as Gay and Lesbian Pride Month. I encourage all

Americans to observe this month with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities that celebrate our diversity, and to remember throughout the year the gay and lesbian Americans whose many and varied contributions have enriched our national life.

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

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., June 15, 1999]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on June 16. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Proclamation 7204—Flag Day and National Flag Week, 1999

June 11, 1999

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Since its adoption in 1777 by the Continental Congress, the Stars and Stripes has symbolized the promise of America. This promise—of equality, justice under the law, freedom from tyranny, and inclusion in a government of the people—beckons immigrants to our shores today just as it has for more than two centuries. Each time the Stars and Stripes is raised over our homes, public buildings, schools, or community gathering places, it proclaims that our Nation's great experiment in democracy is alive and well.

The stately design of the Stars and Stripes celebrates America's diversity while proclaiming the unity of our Nation. Its white stars, whose shifting constellation has chronicled the growth of our Nation, are the ancient symbols of a sovereign domain; they lie on a field of blue that represents loyalty, justice, and truth. Thus our flag describes the unique Republic designed by our founders, in which States that vary widely in geography, history, and culture are joined in sustaining

the common goals and ideals our Nation holds dear. The Stars and Stripes reminds us that, wherever we come from across our country, we are all first and foremost Americans.

Today as we stand at the threshold of the 21st century, we have a special opportunity to renew our flag's heritage and to honor the spirit of resilience in our national character that it signifies. As part of this effort, the White House Millennium Council's "Save America's Treasures Project," created by the First Lady, is helping to restore and preserve the original Star-Spangled Banner at the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History. This banner, "so gallantly streaming" as the British navy retreated from Baltimore Harbor after a failed assault on Fort McHenry in 1814, is immortalized in the bold and patriotic words of Francis Scott Key that now serve as our National Anthem. From the fledgling Nation of Key's time, defiantly opposing domination by European powers, the United States has evolved into a Nation of unrivaled influence in the world with an unparalleled commitment to democracy and human rights. During Flag Day and National Flag Week, we honor this incredible journey and the bright future it has made possible.

To commemorate the adoption of our flag, the Congress, by joint resolution approved August 3, 1949 (63 Stat. 492), designated June 14 of each year as "Flag Day" and requested the President to issue an annual proclamation calling for its observance and for the display of the Flag of the United States on all Federal Government buildings. The Congress also requested the President, by joint resolution approved June 9, 1966 (80 Stat. 194), to issue annually a proclamation designating the week in which June 14 falls as "National Flag Week" and calling upon all citizens of the United States to display the flag during that week.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim June 14, 1999, as Flag Day and the week beginning June 13, 1999, as National Flag Week. I direct the appropriate officials to display the flag on all Federal Government buildings during that week, and I urge all Americans to observe Flag Day

and National Flag Week by flying the Stars and Stripes from their homes and other suitable places.

I also call upon the people of the United States to observe with pride and all due ceremony those days from Flag Day through Independence Day, also set aside by the Congress (89 Stat. 211), as a time to honor our Nation, to celebrate our heritage in public gatherings and activities, and to publicly recite the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America.

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

William J. Clinton

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Interview With Jim Lehrer of the PBS "NewsHour"

June 11, 1999

Balkan Peace Process

Mr. Lehrer. And now to President Clinton. Mr. President, welcome.

The President. Thank you, Jim. I'm glad to be here.

Mr. Lehrer. Is the peace process, the withdrawal of the Serb troops and the other matters, proceeding on schedule today?

The President. So far it's proceeding in an orderly way. The Serb forces are withdrawing. They're withdrawing in a fashion that appears to our commanders to be consistent with their commitment to be gone in the 11-day time period. And General Jackson is readying our forces to deploy.

Mr. Lehrer. When will that happen, do you think? First, NATO troops—when will they go in now?

The President. I think it will be quite soon. It's his decision, and they are—I think there are a number of factors that are going

into his thinking, but they'll have to be in there pretty soon because they're determined not to let some big vacuum develop. But they have a lot of plans to make, and they're mapping them, starting with a strategy for demining, and then dealing with the refugees that are brought back and those that want to come back on their own. And they're working that. But I would expect it would be quite soon.

Russian Troops

Mr. Lehrer. What's your reading of this Russian troop movement today that caused such a turmoil? The Russian troops came from Bosnia into Serbia, and there was some idea that they may go into Kosovo. What's going on?

The President. Well, the last we heard was, I think, when Mr. Ivanov told Secretary Albright that they were just pre-positioning, but that they recognized that we had to work out the arrangements for their participation. And even as we speak, there are discussions going on about that.

Mr. Lehrer. Do you foresee a major problem developing over this?

The President. I don't really think so, but there are some factors I would imagine they'll have to work through. And I haven't received a detailed briefing. But, for example, we're going to have almost 30 countries this time in this operation, and I would expect that in each one of the zones of responsibility, the areas of responsibility, there will be multiple countries. The Russians, I think, would like to play a major role, but they understand we have to have unity of command under General Jackson. That's the sine qua non of the whole thing.

But we also know in every zone we have to have two things: First of all, there has to be the fact and the feeling of safety and security so the Kosovars will go home; secondly, in those sectors where there are Serbs, they have to know that we're committed to protecting them, too. And a lot of thought has been given to how that might best be done and how the Russians can make the strongest contribution there. So our commanders, their people, they're talking about it. They're talking it through, and I expect they'll resolve it.

Possible Scenarios in the Balkans

Mr. Lehrer. Mr. President, were you surprised that Milosevic hung in there as long as he did, for 78 days?

The President. Not after the beginning. When we started this, I thought there would be one of three possible scenarios. First of all, I absolutely reject the theory that some people have advanced that what he did was worse than he would have done if we hadn't bombed as early as we did. I just simply don't believe that. He had this plan laid out; he was going to carry it into effect last October. He didn't do it because of the threat of bombing.

So what I knew was that if he decided to behave as he had in Bosnia, that there would be a day or two of bombing; then we'd make this agreement that we made today, or a couple of days ago, and it would be over, but that there was a strong chance that it would not, because in the mind of Mr. Milosevic there was a big difference between Bosnia and Kosovo. Bosnia was something that he wanted badly that he didn't have; Kosovo was something that he had that he wanted to take absolute control of by running people out of.

So once he decided to take the bombing, I was not surprised that he took it for quite a long while, because he kept looking for ways to break the unity of NATO. He kept looking for ways to turn someone against what we were doing.

Of course, the third scenario was that the bombing never worked, and we had to take even more aggressive measures. But I always thought there was a much better than 50-50 chance that this bombing campaign would work. And I am gratified that it has achieved our objectives.

Decision on Airstrikes

Mr. Lehrer. What was it, or who was it, that convinced you that bombing alone would work?

The President. Well, you know, when I talked to the American people about this in the beginning, I made it clear that there was no way that any bombing campaign could literally physically extract every Serbian soldier and paramilitary operative and put them back out of Kosovo. But I knew that our people had made dramatic progress in the last few

years, even since Desert Storm, in precision-guided weapons and in the capacity of our planes to deliver them and to avoid even fairly sophisticated anti-aircraft operations. And I just felt that if we worked at it and we could hold the coalition together, that we'd be able to do enough damage that we could do it. And Secretary Cohen and General Shelton felt there was a better than 50-50 chance we could do it; Mr. Berger did.

Mr. Lehrer. Better than 50-50 was as good—

The President. Yes—Secretary Albright did. And I just—I've been dealing with Mr. Milosevic now a long time, you know, more than 6 years, and I think I have some understanding of the politics and the environment in Serbia. And I just felt if we kept pounding away that we could raise the price to a point where it would no longer make any sense for him to go on and where he could no longer maintain his position if he did.

And I regret that he required his people to go through what they have gone through, to lower their incomes as much as they've been lowered and to erode their quality of life as much as it's been eroded and even to have the civilian casualties which have been sustained, although they're far, far less than they were in Desert Storm after the bombing, for example. Still, I hate it. But what we did miraculously resulted in no combat air losses to our people—we did lose two fine Army airmen in training—and minimized the losses to their people, to their civilians. But it did a terrible amount of damage. And finally, they couldn't go on, it didn't make any sense.

Mr. Lehrer. Mr. President, as I'm sure you're aware, the fact of no casualties by NATO has been used as a criticism of the whole approach here, that: yes, ethnic cleansing was bad in Kosovo; yes, we needed to do something; but it wasn't worth risking any American lives to do so.

The President. Well, now, first of all, I never said that—that it wasn't worth risking any lives. We did risk lives. And I think the American people should know that. Our pilots, particularly the pilots in our A-10's, they were quite frequently fired upon by people holding these shoulder missiles, and they would deliberately position themselves in

populated areas where there were civilians living. And over and over again, our pilots risked their lives by avoiding firing back, when they could easily have taken those people out who were firing at them. But to do so would have killed civilians. So there was risk to the lives. I remind you, we lost two airplanes and had to go in there and rescue two pilots. So that's not true.

Secondly, if we had put a ground force in for an invasion, it still wouldn't be done today. That is, all this bombing we did, we would have had to do anyway. Let me take you back to Operation Desert Storm, where we deployed a half-million people in the theater, took, as I remember, 4½ or 5 months to do it, bombed for 44 days there, but because of the terrain and the weather, they dropped more ordnance in 44 days than we did in our 79-day campaign.

So we would have had to do everything we have done to do this. I told the American people at the time that we could not have mounted and executed an invasion that would have stopped this ethnic cleansing, because at the time the Rambouillet talks broke down, when the Kosovars accepted it and the Serbs didn't, keep in mind, he already had 40,000 troops in and around Kosovo, and nearly 300 tanks. So no force—there was no way to mobilize and implant a force quick enough to turn it back.

And somehow the suggestion that our moral position would have been improved if only a few more Americans had died, I think is wrong. Believe me, fewer Serbs died than would die if we had had to invade. We would have had to deploy a force of about 200,000. We would have put them at great risk just getting them into the country. That was actually the biggest risk. I don't think the combat, once in the country, was nearly as big a risk as the problems of deploying into Kosovo.

But I just don't accept that. I don't think that—we moved aggressively. We were criticized by some people in the Congress and elsewhere for starting the bombing too soon. And those who say that we should have used ground forces, even if we had announced on day one we were going to use ground forces, it would have taken as long as this bombing campaign went on to deploy them, probably longer.

Ground Forces

Mr. Lehrer. What about just the threat of ground forces? You were criticized—you and your fellow NATO leaders were criticized for taking it off the table at the very beginning, telling Milosevic all he had to do was hunker down.

The President. I was afraid that I had done that when I said to the American people that I did not intend to use ground forces. And shortly thereafter in an interview, I made it clear that I did not do that. And then repeatedly I said that, and I said I thought we ought to be planning for ground forces.

So I think the differences, for example, between the British position and ours and others were somewhat overstated, because we had done quite a lot of planning for a ground force, and we had made it explicit that we weren't taking the option off the table. And Chancellor Schroeder from Germany was reported as having done so. When I talked to him and examined the German text of what he'd said, it was obvious that there had been a little bit overstatement there.

So I don't think—I think that the NATO—my own view is if this had not worked, NATO would have put ground forces in there and that we were determined not to lose this thing, that we were determined to reverse the ethnic cleansing. I think the Europeans were especially sensitive, as I was, to the fact that it took 4 years to mobilize an action against Bosnia and that there were all kinds of arguments used about it, including the fact that U.N. peacekeepers were there, diplomacy was going on, any action would have upset all that, and they didn't want that to happen this time.

So the truth is that this action against ethnic cleansing was hugely more rapid and more responsive than what was done in Bosnia. And that's why there won't be nearly as many lost lives.

President's Moral Authority

Mr. Lehrer. On a more personal basis, Mr. President, some suggest when this operation began that the Lewinsky impeachment matter had weakened your moral authority to lead the country in a difficult situation like this. Were they wrong?

The President. Oh, I think so. I think the American people have been very good to me, and my family's been very good to me. And we went through a process which resulted in a decision by the public and by the Congress that I should serve. No one—no thinking American wants to have a President of either party and any philosophy who cannot fully serve and does not fully do his job or her job. And so I did what I was hired to do by the American people. And I believe, as strongly as I can say, it was the right thing to do. It was the moral thing to do. And our children will have a better world because we have now stood against ethnic cleansing, and not only that, in this case, we're going to be able to reverse it and let those people go home.

Congressional Support for Airstrikes

Mr. Lehrer. What is your analysis of why, for instance, the overwhelming majority of the Republicans in the House of Representatives did not vote to support this air war in the beginning?

The President. Oh, I don't know. I prefer to be grateful for those who did support it. And quite a number did. And we had very good support, a minority of Republicans in the Senate, but a substantial number supported us in a very vocal and effective way and were prepared to go even further to ground forces, as you know.

So I'm grateful for the support that we did have. A lot of very serious, thoughtful Republicans said they thought we were doing the right thing. Speaker Hastert voted with us, and I would remind you that we got a very good vote early on, with the help of the Speaker, for the deployment of American forces in a peacekeeping operation. And then they voted to support the troops and to fund the air war. So I'm grateful for that, and I leave it to others to interpret why they did what they did.

Criticism of President

Mr. Lehrer. Senator Hagel, Republican from Nebraska, who voted for—

The President. He did.

Mr. Lehrer. —when it was in the Senate, was asked why there were so many Republicans who were not supporting this, and

he said it had to do with trust. And he said, quote, "this President has debased the one currency we each have in this business, and that's trust, and he'll never get it back," end quote. That's what—his explanation as to why Congress didn't support you any more than they did.

The President. I think that's pretty self-serving: I'm not going to do what's right for my country because I don't like Bill Clinton. You know, that's—I think that's pretty self-serving.

You know, I was gratified when, a few years ago, a historian of the Presidency said that I had kept a higher percentage of my commitments to the American people than any of the last five Presidents who preceded me—an academic man at the time I'd never even met. And so I think that that element of the party devoted the better part of 7, 8 years almost—now 7 years, more than 7 years—to attacking me personally because they knew the American people agree with my ideas and the direction in which I was taking the country. And on one occasion, much to my eternal regret, I gave them a little ammunition. But I have been trustworthy in my public obligations to the American people, and I have been trustworthy in my dealings with them.

I have—I don't agree with them, and when I don't, I tell them. But you know, we've gotten quite a lot done when they have put aside their personal frustration in not owning the White House. The truth is, those folks ought to lighten up. They believe they had—they say—a lot of my Republican friends, you know, they rail against the entitlement programs. They don't like the entitlement programs. But the truth is, for a long time they thought the White House was an entitlement program. They never thought there would be another Democratic President in their lifetime. And they're all gearing up again because they think they're entitled to the parking spaces outside here and to the office space and all.

And this job here and this house, it doesn't belong to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party. The American people own this place. And we're all just here for a little while. And they ought to just relax and realize I'm a temporary tenant and that we're all

hired hands, and we ought to work for the American people, do our best, have the elections, and then let the people make their decision and go on again.

I think—that's what a lot of this is. They were—they've just been mad ever since I won because a lot of them really never believed there would be another Democrat in their lifetime. And attacking—if you can't beat somebody on the ideas and the issues and the philosophy and the direction of the country and if the country is doing very well, so you just get madder and madder when the country does well. Then all you have left is a personal attack and say, "Oh, I just don't trust the guy."

But that's not good for America. And you know, I don't attack them personally. I'm not going to get into it. My door is always open; my phone is always open; and I'm going to keep working with them in every way I can.

Mr. Lehrer. Since, just in the last 24 hours, since this thing has come to this critical concluding point, people who were criticizing this action, not just Republicans but pundits and people in foreign policy establishment, they're still criticizing you. They—does that surprise you?

The President. Gosh, no. I find that in Washington, in this sort of, what Professor Deborah Tannen has called this culture of critique, if I make a mistake, people want me to admit that I made a mistake. And I have tried to do that. I think it's quite therapeutic. It's hard to do, and I had to get hit upside the head to do it. But I did it, and it was good for me. But if they turn out to be wrong, they just change the subject or just keep insisting that it was, you know, just a fluke.

I think the most important thing is, were we right to take a stand in Kosovo against ethnic cleansing? Were we right to do it more quickly that we did in Bosnia? Should we set up—have a principle that guides us which says: Okay, in a world where people are fighting all the time over racial or ethnic or religious problems, we can't tell everybody they've got to get along; we can't stop every fight, like the fight between Eritrea and Ethiopia, or the struggles in Chechnya; but where we can, at an acceptable cost—that is, without risking nuclear war or some other terrible

thing—we ought to prevent the slaughter of innocent civilians and the wholesale uprooting of them because of their race, their ethnic background, or the way they worship God?

I think that's an important principle, myself. I think it's a noble thing. I think the United States did a good thing. Now, they may argue that I did it—went about it in the wrong way. They may—I've answered that, I hope. At least I'm confident that I did the right thing in the right way. And that's what—historians can judge that based on the long-term consequences of this. But I believe what we did was a good and decent thing. And I believe that it will give courage to people throughout the world, and I think it will give pause to people who might do what Mr. Milosevic has done throughout the world.

I feel awful that we were not equipped and able and on the job to stop what happened in Rwanda. And since then, I have done everything I could to train this Africa Crisis Response team—military from different countries in Africa—so that if that starts again—God forbid—somewhere, they can move in and stop it.

I think the world, the freedom-loving nations of the world need to be organized to try to stop this sort of thing. I mean, don't you think it's interesting that we're on the verge of a new century, and you're going to have all these millennial celebrations, and we're all going to talk about how 100,000 websites get added to the Internet every day, and we're going to unlock the mysteries of the human gene and what a modern, rapid world we're going to be living in, and here we are bogged down everywhere in the world by the oldest problems of human society: We fear people who are different from us; pretty soon we hate them; once we start hating them, we dehumanize them; then it's easy to kill them.

Now, it seems to me if we're going to reap the promise of the 21st century, if we don't want to go to Europe or some other place and have a bunch of Americans die in a bloody war, where we can nip this stuff in the bud, we ought to do it. And that's what I've tried to do. And I think it was the right thing to do.

President's Accomplishments

Mr. Lehrer. As we sit here right now, Mr. President, is this the best moment of your Presidency?

The President. Oh, no, I wouldn't say that. I don't know—you know, there's so many things that have happened here at home that have been important to me, passing the economic plan, passing the Brady bill and the assault weapons ban. So many things have happened internationally, the role that I was fortunate to be able to play in the peace process in the Middle East and in Ireland. But this could have the biggest long-term positive consequences if we do it right.

But frankly, I haven't—sometimes people say, "Well, do you feel vindicated." The answer is, no; I think America has been vindicated. I think what we stand for has been vindicated. But keep in mind, there have been lots of times in the past where people win a conflict and then squander the peace. So a lot of our work is still ahead of us. We've got to get those folks home. We've got to get those landmines up. We've got to work out these details on who's going to be involved in this peacekeeping mission. We then have to get this—we've got to organize police forces and a civil government for the Kosovars.

And then the really big thing over the long run—our European friends want to take the lead in this, but we ought to help them—we've got to get the World Bank and all these other people involved in a development plan for the Balkans that involves not just Kosovo but Macedonia, Albania, Bulgaria, Romania and, I hope some day, Serbia, if they have a government that respects freedom and democracy and human rights, so that these people have something pulling them together instead of these ancient ethnic troubles pulling them apart.

Now, if we get all that done, it might be perhaps the most satisfying thing because it might prove that people can lay down their hatreds of people who are different.

I, basically, think free people will figure out a way to make the most of their lives and work out their problems if they can get the rules of engagement right. That's why I gave somewhat of an extended answer to

what you said about the Republicans. Because I think—you know, differences are good. Nobody's got the whole truth. But you've got to get the rules of engagement right. And I think what we did in Kosovo was profoundly important.

Mr. Lehrer. Mr. President, thank you very much.

The President. Thank you.

NOTE: The interview began at approximately 6 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Lt. Gen. Mike Jackson, British Royal Army, Commander, Kosovo International Security Force; Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov of Russia; Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder of Germany; Deborah Tannen, professor, Georgetown University; and President Slobodan Milosevic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Videotape Address to the Kosovar Refugees

June 12, 1999

To all the people of Kosovo, who have suffered so much in the face of Mr. Milosevic's savage campaign of ethnic cleansing, I'm happy to say that the time of return is near. The Serb forces who drove you from your homes are leaving Kosovo. All are required to leave. The NATO-led troops who will protect you are beginning to go in. Mr. Milosevic has failed utterly in his efforts to erase your history, your culture, your presence from your land. Soon, you will be going home.

Now we must make sure you can return safely. I know you're anxious to reunite with your loved ones, to find out what condition your homes are in, to reclaim your land. But before you do, we must be certain all the Serbian forces have left and see to it that international forces are in place throughout Kosovo. We must start clearing the landmines, some of which may be in your homes, in your community buildings, along roads and bridges. We need to make sure there's enough food, water, and shelter to meet your needs. And we most urgently need to reach the desperate people who have been trapped in the hills and forests of Kosovo.

Until all of you can return in safety, we will provide aid in Albania and Macedonia. And we will not forget the kindness of the nations that have given you shelter, or their own needs for assistance and stability.

As you prepare to go home, I know you have many reasons to be bitter and full of anger. But I ask you not to let Mr. Milosevic have the victory of seeing your spirits broken and your hearts turn to stone. No one should do to the ethnic Serbs who live in Kosovo what their leaders did to you. Do not prove Mr. Milosevic right, that people of different ethnic and religious groups are inevitably enemies.

No human being should ever have to experience what you have been forced to endure. We will seek effective justice through law for the perpetrators of these crimes. But we must have an end to ethnic cleansing and the beginning of a Kosovo where every child can go to school, every family can practice its faith, every community can live a normal life in peace. That is what we fought for. That is what NATO peacekeepers will help build when they go in. That is the future we now have a chance to shape together.

I thank you for your courage and your endurance, and I look forward to seeing you go home.

NOTE: The address was videotaped at approximately 6:35 p.m. on June 11 in the Roosevelt Room at the White House for later broadcast on the U.S. Information Agency WORLDNET in the Balkan region. The transcript was embargoed for release until 2 a.m., e.d.t., on June 12. In his remarks, the President referred to President Slobodan Milosevic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). A tape was not available for verification of the content of this address.

The President's Radio Address

June 12, 1999

Good morning. Today I want to talk to you about what I believe we must do to ensure that more American families have the high quality health care they need to thrive. Our medical care is the best in the world, and we must make sure our health care system is, too. We all know this system is rapidly changing. Already, more than half of all

Americans are in managed care plans. On balance, I think managed care has been good for America, decreasing costs and increasing Americans' access to preventive care.

But clearly, we must do more to make sure that when health care plans cut costs, they don't cut quality and that the bottom line never becomes more important than patients' needs. That's why more than a year and a half ago, I asked Congress to pass a strong, enforceable Patients' Bill of Rights that ensures critical protections for Americans in managed care, from the right to see a specialist to the right to emergency room care, whenever and wherever you need it, to the right to hold health plans accountable for harmful decisions.

Using my authority as President, I've already acted to make these rights real for 85 million Americans who get their health care through Federal plans, from Medicare and Medicaid to the Veterans Administration health plan that serves millions of veterans and their families.

But until Congress acts, tens of millions of Americans in managed care are still waiting for the full protection of a Patients' Bill of Rights. Democrats in Congress have long been pressing to pass a strong, enforceable Patients' Bill of Rights and nearly every doctors' association, every nurses' association, every patients' rights group in America agrees that we need it now.

The Republican leadership in Congress has acknowledged that poor quality in managed care is a serious problem that needs to be addressed. I'm pleased that Senate Majority Leader Lott said he would bring managed care reform legislation to a vote on the Senate floor early this summer. Unfortunately, the Republican leadership's legislation falls far short of providing American families the protections they need in a changing health care system.

Because it only applies to some health plans, it leaves tens of millions of Americans without these guarantees. It doesn't ensure patients access to specialists, like oncologists and cardiologists. It doesn't prevent health plans from forcing patients to change doctors in mid-treatment. It doesn't provide adequate recourse when a health plan provides less than adequate care. And it does not make

clear, once and for all, accountants should not be able to arbitrarily overturn medical decisions.

A Patients' Bill of Rights that doesn't provide these important protections is a Patients' Bill of Rights in name only, and our people deserve better. Protecting our families should be an issue that brings us together. I've been encouraged that many Republicans have said they would work with Democrats to pass strong, enforceable managed care reform.

Today I ask the congressional leadership to move the right kind of managed care reform to the very top of their agenda. After all, we all get sick; we all need health care. No one asks us what our party affiliation is when we show up at the emergency room or the doctor's office. This isn't a partisan issue anywhere else in America; it shouldn't be in Washington, DC. Let's hold an open, fair debate and pass a real Patients' Bill of Rights that will strengthen our health care system, strengthen our families, and strengthen our Nation for the 21st century.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 4:57 p.m. on June 10 in the Roosevelt Room at the White House for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on June 12. The transcript was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on June 11 but was embargoed for release until the broadcast.

Commencement Address at the University of Chicago in Chicago, Illinois

June 12, 1999

Thank you very much. President Sonnenschein, members of the faculty, distinguished guests; to the family and friends and the graduates. I was very interested to hear the account of William McKinley's trip here and wondering how many of you would rather it had rained. [*Laughter*] You wouldn't be so hot, and you'd be assured of a short speech. [*Laughter*]

Let me say to those who have spoken before, to the three student speakers and to Dr. Fuchs, I appreciate what you said and I was very impressed by it. I'm also delighted

to see Dr. Janet Rowley here, to whom I recently presented the National Medal of Science, a great tribute to her and to this great institution.

I got asked a lot of interesting questions by the students as they were passing by and were shaking hands. Some were wondering what I could possibly be thinking about as 850 of you went by. One of the things I was thinking about was, how can I make this speech shorter for you? [Laughter] And I would like to summarize what I came here to say.

Originally, I wanted to come here to talk about the global economy in which you will live and work and the society which embraces it and what challenges we face in shaping it in the best possible way. I know that is of concern to a lot of people here because so many of the graduates went by with their little white stickers that said, "Fair trade, not free trade: I signed the pledge." Right? You did? [Applause] That's what that means; that means that we're worried about this global economy. We're not sure it's working in a way that's fair.

And I would like to speak primarily about that, but I also would like to say just a word or two in the beginning about what is happening in Kosovo, because I think it is systematic of the world that you will or will not face.

Don't you think it's interesting—look around the senior class here; all of you that went through and got your degrees—as America grows more and more diverse, as we live in a world where, near as I can tell, the number of webpages on the Internet is growing by about a million a day, where soon the mysteries of the human genome will be unlocked and many of you when you have your first children will be able to get a roadmap to your child's health and the problems in ways that will preserve life and quality of life in a manner undreamed of just a few years ago, that in all this modern age, which embraces you, and toward which you look, that the biggest problem the world has today is really the oldest problem of human society: We are naturally afraid of people who are different from us.

And it is quite an easy thing for fear to be transformed into hatred, to be trans-

formed into dehumanizing the other, and then to be transformed into a justification for uprooting or killing them. That is what is going on in Kosovo.

We have—my administration and I, my wife and I, my Vice President and I, all of us—have personally committed ourselves for over 6½ years now to working for peace in the Middle East, in Northern Ireland, anywhere in the world where the United States could be a positive force to get people to lay down their racial, their ethnic, their tribal, their religious hatreds.

We intervened militarily in Kosovo because I believe that when ethnic hatred and fighting turns into the mass slaughter and uprooting of totally innocent civilians, if we have the power to stop it, we ought to. It took us 4 years before action was taken in Bosnia, when the same thing happened, and by that time a quarter of a million people had died, and 2½ million people had become refugees.

In Rwanda 700,000 people were slaughtered in just 100 days. We were caught flat-footed. And for 4 years I have worked to train the militaries of many African countries so that we can work together to stop anything like that from ever happening again on the continent of Africa.

And today, the NATO forces, the British defense, the Americans, and others to come, soon to be nearly 30 countries, moved into Kosovo. We are determined to reverse the ethnic cleansing. We look forward to working with Russia and others who may not have agreed with our military campaign but do agree with the proposition that all the people of that tiny land, Serb and Albanian alike, should be able to live in peace and dignity. You will have to decide. Thank you. [Applause]

One of the things that you will have to decide is how much you care about that. There are serious people who say that we should not have done this because, at least nominally, Kosovo is a part of Serbia; so no matter how lamentable the human suffering was, no one should have done anything about it. We should have just said, "We're very sorry. We wish you would stop, and if you want to do it, no one will stop you." I think

that would have been a terrible mistake. But you will have to decide.

Soon all of you will be in the position of responsibility, of decisionmaking. But if you just look around at the people who got their diplomas today, people from every conceivable culture, every country, all kinds of racial groups, doubtless every conceivable political view, free people will normally work out their differences and their challenges in a good and satisfactory way if the rules of engagement are fair and decent and people treat each other with respect and honor their fundamental human dignity.

I believe we did a good thing in Kosovo. It is perhaps the first conflict ever fought where no one wanted any land or money or geopolitical advantage. We just wanted to stop and reverse ethnic cleansing and stand up for the proposition that in the 21st century world all of us ought to be able to live and work together. Even when we don't get along, even if we fight, the innocent civilians should not be swept up, en masse, as they were there. I hope you will uphold that principle when you're in a position to make decisions.

Now let me give you a summary of what I meant to say—I came here to say, about the economy. All of you are already, by definition, having graduated from this great university, guaranteed winners in the global economy. It's an interesting place. Why? For one thing, you're almost certainly far more computer literate than any of your parents, in a world that is linked together increasingly by ties of both communication and commerce.

The world is growing increasing democratic, also increasingly digital, increasingly interactive. Listen to this: Every single day a half a million airline passengers, 1.4 billion E-mail messages, and \$1.5 trillion cross national borders. There are now over 7 billion E-mail messages every day just within the United States, but over a billion cross national borders; over \$1½ trillion moving around the world every day.

This is a world economy the United States had a lot to do with creating and one from which we have, doubtless, richly benefited, with the strongest economy we have enjoyed perhaps in our entire history. But it is not

an economy or a society free of challenges. So while we embrace the idea that free societies and free markets can create enormous economic opportunity, I wanted to come here to this campus, where long ago it was proclaimed that economic and political freedom are indivisible, to say that we now know, as a newer group of scholars here have told us, that the power and logic of the free market needs to fully succeed enduring, strong social institutions that preserve the integrity of work and family, of community and nation.

They do so by ensuring the integrity of the market, moderating the cycles of boom and bust, and building a social safety net and the opportunity for all to move up the ladder. A legal framework of mutual responsibility and social safety is not destructive to the market; it is essential to its success.

And all of us know that the problem with the new global economy is that it is both more rewarding and more destructive. More people are doing well, but more are also being left behind, sometimes whole countries left behind. The aggregate debt of sub-Saharan Africa, for example, today is twice the annual income.

So the question is, how can we create a global economy with a human face, one that rewards work everywhere, one that gives all people a chance to improve their lot and still raise their families in dignity and support communities that are coming together, not being torn apart?

It is, actually, the same question the United States was facing when President McKinley came here 100 years ago, except we were asking, "How can we create a national economy that can deal with this vast uprooting of people moving from the farm to the factory, from rural areas to the cities? How do we deal with the abuses of child labor? How do we deal with all the problems that were created when to be sure, vast new opportunities were established, but there was so much churning change, it was difficult to believe that there would be a net result in social justice for ordinary people?"

Well, through the Progressive Era, all the way through the New Deal, for more than 20 years, the American people worked through their Government to try to develop a national economy with a human face.

What did they do? They created the Federal reserve law. They then created the regulatory agencies that preserve the integrity of our markets, the securities and exchange laws, the commodities laws that govern the Chicago commodities market. They created economic policies to moderate the cycle of boom and bust. And they created a social safety net, to try to give everybody the chance to be a part of our life. They guaranteed the right of people to organize at work and to get a decent education, and after the Second World War, they opened up higher education to middle class people on a massive scale. And we're still living with the benefits in the United States of America.

Our task is to advance these same values in the international economy. I don't ask you to agree with my prescriptions, but I ask you to agree that this is a challenge. To pretend that all the answers are self-evident, after all we have seen just in the last 5 years, would be folly.

The first thing we have to do is to keep our own country on the cutting edge of progress and change. That means we have to continue legitimate investments in the research of tomorrow, just as Government support led to splitting the atom beneath Stagg Field a half a century ago, and Government support helped to create the Internet just a very few years ago, which set off a chain reaction that in its own way was more powerful than the chain reaction of the atom.

One study shows today the Internet economy generates \$300 billion in revenue, provides 1.2 million jobs. Seven new people join the Internet every second. So should the Government help to create the next generation of Internet, a thousand times faster than today, able to transmit the contents of the Encyclopedia Britannica every second? I think the answer is yes.

The spread of this technology to tens of millions of ordinary citizens will not only increase productivity; it will democratize economic opportunity. It will give us a freedom web in a world transformed.

The second thing we have to do is to figure out how to make the choice between the things on the sticker go away, free trade and fair trade. We have to figure out how to build a system that is both free and fair and not

just for workers in the United States but in other countries of the world.

I would like to say, first of all, a few facts. The United States has 4½ percent of the world's population, 22 percent of its income. We cannot sustain our standard of living unless we sell some things to other people. It won't happen.

Secondly, it is simply not true that trade has, on balance, been a negative for the United States or for other countries. Millions and millions, hundreds of millions of people have moved to middle class existences around the world because of more open borders and more open trade.

Third, it is true that trade can lead to disruptions and that some of them are not justified by economic forces. The problems facing the steel industry today, because of dumping into our markets after the collapse of the Asian economy and the Russian economy for the last 2 years, is a good example of that.

So the trick is to find a way, first of all, to help people who are unavoidably dislocated to start a new life if what they are doing cannot be sustained in the economy; secondly, to enforce our trade laws vigorously if people are unfairly discriminated against; and thirdly, to continue to expand trade but on terms that benefit all people.

I have long believed that a strong economy in a foreign land is not a threat to our jobs; it's a new market for America's products, an engine of human dignity and environmental preservation, a partner for peace and freedom and security. But I strongly believe that the only way to do that is to have trade agreements that lift everybody up, not pull everybody down. They shouldn't undermine labor rights or environmental standards. They should enhance labor standards and environmental protection all across the world.

Presidents have used trade talks to protect interests in intellectual property and interest in food safety. I want Congress to give me the ability to use trade talks to protect the environment and the rights of workers, as well.

I want us to stand for the right to organize against an end to forced labor and especially against abusive child labor. You know, in many, many communities around the world

tens of millions of children work in conditions that shock the conscience and send the products to us and to other wealthy countries.

Last year we increased by 10 times our efforts to stop abusive child labor around the globe. Today I'm directing all State and Federal agencies to make absolutely sure they're not buying any products of abusive child labor. Next week I am going to Switzerland to seek a worldwide agreement to ban the worst child labor in every nation in the world.

But I ask you to think about this. People will say, "Well, we're a poor country. We have to earn money however we can." If you could see the conditions these 8- and 9-year-old children are working in, if you want them to go to school, if you understand those countries will never grow until they begin to educate their children—the girls as well as their boys, which is a big issue in a lot of countries—we have to start with the abolition of child labor.

Meanwhile, I think we ought to continue to expand trade. We ought to enforce our agreements more vigorously. But I do not believe that a country with 4½ percent of the world's people can maintain its standard of living if we don't have more customers. We did it for a year last year, but we can't do it over the long run.

I want to do more with our friends in Africa and Central America and the Caribbean. I want to bring China into the World Trade Organization on fair and strong terms. I want to resist quotas but to vigorously enforce our trade laws. I do believe you can have fair and freer trade. But we'll have to work at it.

Very briefly, you heard me say that \$1½ trillion crosses national borders every day. There are now problems with the global financial economy, completely independent of the global trading system—\$1½ trillion is way more than the total value of trade in goods and services every day. There has become an independent market for money in itself, as you would imagine.

But what happens is, even though this free flow of capital has helped a lot of countries to grow wealthy, it has also increased the vulnerability to rapid ups and downs and shocks and instability. Over the long run, countries

that have suffered in the last 2 years, like Korea and Thailand, are still much better off than they were 10 years ago. But we have to do more to tame the cycles of boom and bust in the global economy, and we are working hard on that.

I'm going to Europe next week to talk to the leaders of the large industrial nations about the other steps we have to take. We have to spread the benefits of global growth more widely. It is in our interests for other countries to do better. The global community cannot survive as a tale of two cities: one modern and integrated, a cell phone in every hand, a McDonald's on every street corner; the other mired in poverty and increasingly resentful, covered with public health and environmental problems no one can manage.

We have to widen the circle of opportunity. We should invest more in the education of children around the world. We should invest more in helping people deal with public health problems, like AIDS, and helping people turn back their serious environmental problems. And we must reduce the burden of debt on the poorest countries of the world.

Today our Treasury Secretary, Bob Rubin, is putting forth a proposal to more than triple debt relief for the world's poorest nations, and then to target the savings they will get to the education, health care, and alleviation of poverty of their citizens. It is a good thing, and I hope the people of the United States will support it.

Finally, I believe perhaps the greatest thing that will occupy you for the next 20 to 30 years on this front is the need to find a way to grow the global economy and to continue to improve the environment and, specifically, to reduce greenhouse gases so that we can avert further global warming.

It's interesting to me that some people say this is not a problem at all, and others say it can only be solved by actions that will weaken our economy. I disagree. We now have the technology—for the first time in history, in the last few years—we have the technology to grow a big economy without industrial-age energy use.

This is a university of big ideas. If you want to leave here with just one idea, don't let anybody convince you that the only way

America can have a strong economy, the only way India can grow its economy, the only way China can grow its economy, is to maintain the same sort of energy use patterns, with huge emissions of greenhouse gases making big contributions to global warming, that we used for the last 50 years. It is not true.

And I have asked the Congress to provide tax incentives to the private sector and further research, to make sure we can make this technology widely available. I issued an order last week to the Federal Government that will cut our greenhouse gas emissions in Federal buildings by 30 percent over the next few years. I'm telling you, we can do this on presently available technology.

But we are in the grip of an old idea. Many people in America are. People all over the world are. We have got to join together to learn how to alleviate poverty around the world, expand the middle class everywhere, provide more economic opportunity for all of you who are so well-positioned, and still understand that we can reduce pollution and environmental problems and global warming. It is not true anymore that you have to destroy the environment to grow the economy, and you can lead the charge in turning the world away from that.

But that's what I want to say to you about the economy you're moving into. We have not made the adjustments, to put a human face on the global economy, that we made in the early decades of this century to put a human face on our national economy. It will require a trading system that is both freer and fairer. It will require the alleviation of debt in the poorest countries. It will require the respect of environmental and labor rights in all countries. It will require new investments in education and health care.

It will require a genuine commitment—a genuine commitment—to the proposition that societies should be free, but they should be coherent; that we should always be able to balance work with family and community; and that what unites us is profoundly more important than all of our differences. I hope that that is the world of your future, the world that you will make.

Thank you, congratulations, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:50 p.m. in the quad at the University of Chicago. In his remarks, he referred to Hugo F. Sonnenschein, president, Elaine Fuchs and Janet D. Rowley, professors, and students Ana Christina Faria, Thymaya O'Brien Payne, and Michael Rossman, University of Chicago.

Remarks to the Illinois Air National Guard in Chicago

June 12, 1999

Thank you very much. General Keistler, General Rezac, General Austin, ladies and gentlemen, it's a great honor for me to be here today with the men and women of the 126th Air Refueling Wing and its supporting units, the 217th Engineering and Installation Squadron, the 264th Combat Communications Squadron, the 566th Air Force Band, with all the families and friends.

I know this is an emotional day for you. This has been a very important installation to the people of Chicago. And when I told Hillary what I was doing today, she was very jealous that she couldn't be here with me, but she's in California bringing our daughter home from school. Those of you who've had your children go off to school know that's a pretty big day. But I am profoundly honored to be here at your final coming together before the Wing goes to Scott Air Force Base and others go to Peoria and to Springfield.

I wanted to come here more than anything else to thank you for your many years of service. I know the people of Chicago will miss you and that they, too, are especially grateful for their Chicago Air Guard. You have been a very important part of the life of this city, as well as the defense of your country. I know many of you must be relieved that the transition is almost over, not to have to make the umpteenth trip between here and Belleville. But I wanted to say that as difficult as it might be, this move, I believe, will work out well for all concerned. It will clearly be good for the economy of the city of Chicago, for the Air National Guard, and for our military because, as all of you know, in order to maintain the quality of life of our service personnel and to have adequate funds for modernization to keep our forces ready to defend

freedom, we have to streamline our infrastructure.

I wanted to come here to help mark this turning point for you, again, mostly to say thanks, but especially to do so now, when you and other Air Guard members all across America have done so much to help our operation in Kosovo succeed. Thank you so much for a job very well done there. You should be proud of yourselves.

I sometimes think the American people don't understand as much as they should about the role the Air Guard and our Reserve forces play in the defense of our country. You are an essential component in our total force. And in this case, once again America called on you, and you delivered. No one should be surprised. I think it is fitting to recall a little history at this last meeting.

The 126th has risen to security challenges for generations. Your predecessor unit went to France in World War I and served with the American Expeditionary Force there. You provided vital air defense in World War II. You were the first Air Guard unit in America to take up the challenge of air refueling. You took to the skies in Desert Shield and Desert Storm. You supported our efforts for peace in Bosnia and contributed to humanitarian relief operations. For more than two decades you have had aircraft on full alert, ready to go anytime, anywhere, to provide refueling and airlift support. In Operation Allied Force, you did the job once again, readying these KC-135 Stratotankers, flying sortie after sortie, fueling NATO's efforts.

Some of you may know that yesterday I went to Whiteman Air Force Base in Missouri to thank our B-2 pilots there. And all the B-2 pilots and their crews said repeatedly, "We could never have done this if it hadn't been for the people who ran the refueling operations." So again I say, thank you, thank you, thank you.

We prevailed in Operation Allied Force because of units like yours and the others in the United States military and those of our allies. But I would like to say today to you what I said yesterday in Whiteman. In addition to your power, I appreciate the power of your example. Troops from all across our NATO nations speak different lan-

guages, from different ethnic and religious backgrounds they come, they stand side by side for a world of justice and tolerance. But especially the American military reflects the kaleidoscope of peoples, the races, the tribes, the ethnic groups, the religious convictions that are increasingly being brought into closer and closer contact in this world.

Here in Chicago it is very important for me to say again, we have no quarrel with the Serbian people. They were our allies in World War II, and they fought bravely. And this country has been immensely enriched by the contributions of Serbian-Americans. I know and am very proud of the fact that in this very Wing you have ethnic Serbs and ethnic Albanians, some with relatives in Kosovo. You have people of Serbian and Albanian descent flying together, proving that we do find strength in our diversity, and we come together for the common good. That should not only make us proud to be Americans, it should convince us that the same thing can and should happen in the Balkans, in the Middle East, in Northern Ireland, in South Asia, wherever today people still find themselves bedeviled by their hatred of one another because of their different races, because, in the case of Africa, their different tribes, because of their different ethnic groups, because of the different ways in which they worship God.

I want you to think about that tonight and be especially proud. We want—we want—the people who live in the Balkans to be able to work together the way the people in this unit who come from the Balkans work together. We are all children of God, endowed with certain inalienable rights and entitled to mutual respect. And you do that, and I thank you for that.

Thanks to you and others, today our NATO troops entered Kosovo, the British, the French, and the Americans beginning. Eventually, there will be troops from nearly 30 nations there. We are working now with the Russians to ensure that we can work together with a unified command structure, as we have done so well in Bosnia. I think this is important, because if we can work there with the Russians as we have in Bosnia, we will demonstrate clearly our commitment as Americans to protect all the civilians of

Kosovo, the Serbs and the Albanians alike. That is what we have pledged to do; that is what we intend to do.

But today in the camps in Albania and Macedonia, in the villages and in the hills of Kosovo, where so many innocent people have had to hide and forage for food, among the Kosovar Albanians who have taken refuge elsewhere, including here in the United States, people are getting ready to go home. They will go back to their homes and their lives with safety and self-government.

And the United States will have stood for the proposition that we can't expect everyone to get along; we can't expect people never to fight; but we do expect that when we can stop it, innocent civilians will not be slaughtered, burned out of their homes, have their houses of worship blown up, have their personal records destroyed, have their children abused. We will not tolerate ethnic cleansing and killing. It should not be a part of the 21st century world, thanks to you.

And so let me say just one last time, as you prepare to leave O'Hare, to retire or head for your new homes and duties, the whole world is grateful to you. You have ended this chapter in the history of your Wing and your units on a truly triumphant note. You have helped to end this century, which has seen so much bloodshed and hatred, not with a feeling of helpless indignation at yet another travesty but instead with a ringing reaffirmation of the dignity of all human beings. You did it. It's quite a way to close out your stay here.

Thank you, God bless you, and God bless America.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:30 p.m. in Hangar 30 at Chicago O'Hare International Airport. In his remarks, he referred to Brig. Gen. Harold E. Keistler, USAF, Commander, 126th Air Refueling Wing; Brig. Gen. Frank D. Rezac, USAF, Commander, Illinois Air National Guard; and Maj. Gen. Richard G. Austin, Illinois National Guard, Adjutant General, State of Illinois.

Executive Order 13126—Prohibition of Acquisition of Products Produced by Forced or Indentured Child Labor

June 12, 1999

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, and in order to continue the executive branch's commitment to fighting abusive child labor practices, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Policy. It shall be the policy of the United States Government, consistent with the Tariff Act of 1930, 19 U.S.C. 1307, the Fair Labor Standards Act, 29 U.S.C. 201 *et seq.*, and the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act, 41 U.S.C. 35 *et seq.*, that executive agencies shall take appropriate actions to enforce the laws prohibiting the manufacture or importation of goods, wares, articles, and merchandise mined, produced, or manufactured wholly or in part by forced or indentured child labor.

Sec. 2. Publication of List. Within 120 days after the date of this order, the Department of Labor, in consultation and cooperation with the Department of the Treasury and the Department of State, shall publish in the *Federal Register* a list of products, identified by their country of origin, that those Departments have a reasonable basis to believe might have been mined, produced, or manufactured by forced or indentured child labor. The Department of Labor may conduct hearings to assist in the identification of those products.

Sec. 3. Procurement Regulations. Within 120 days after the date of this order, the Federal Acquisition Regulatory Council shall issue proposed rules to implement the following:

(a) **Required Solicitation Provisions.** Each solicitation of offers for a contract for the procurement of a product included on the list published under section 2 of this order shall include the following provisions:

(1) A provision that requires the contractor to certify to the contracting officer that the contractor or, in the case of an incorporated contractor, a responsible official of the contractor has made a good faith effort to determine whether forced or indentured child labor was used to mine, produce, or manufacture any product furnished under the contract and that, on the basis of those efforts, the contractor is unaware of any such use of child labor; and

(2) A provision that obligates the contractor to cooperate fully in providing reasonable access to the contractor's records, documents, persons, or premises if reasonably requested by authorized officials of the contracting agency, the Department of the Treasury, or the Department of Justice, for the purpose of determining whether forced or indentured child labor was used to mine, produce, or manufacture any product furnished under the contract.

(b) *Investigations.* Whenever a contracting officer of an executive agency has reason to believe that forced or indentured child labor was used to mine, produce, or manufacture a product furnished pursuant to a contract subject to the requirements of subsection 3(a) of this order, the head of the executive agency shall refer the matter for investigation to the Inspector General of the executive agency and, as the head of the executive agency or the Inspector General determines appropriate, to the Attorney General and the Secretary of the Treasury.

(c) *Remedies.*

(1) The head of an executive agency may impose remedies as provided in this subsection in the case of a contractor under a contract of the executive agency if the head of the executive agency finds that the contractor:

- (i) Has furnished under the contract products that have been mined, produced, or manufactured by forced or indentured child labor or uses forced or indentured child labor in the mining, production, or manufacturing operations of the contractor;
- (ii) Has submitted a false certification under subsection 3(a)(1) of this order; or

- (iii) Has failed to cooperate in accordance with the obligation imposed pursuant to subsection 3(a)(2) of this order.

(2) The head of an executive agency, in his or her sole discretion, may terminate a contract on the basis of any finding described in subsection 3(c)(1) of this order for any contract entered into after the date the regulation called for in section 3 of this order is published in final.

(3) The head of an executive agency may debar or suspend a contractor from eligibility for Federal contracts on the basis of a finding that the contractor has engaged in an act described in subsection 3(c)(1) of this order. The provision for debarment may not exceed 3 years.

(4) The Administrator of General Services shall include on the List of Parties Excluded from Federal Procurement and Nonprocurement Programs (maintained by the Administrator as described in the Federal Acquisition Regulation) each party that is debarred, suspended, proposed for debarment or suspension, or declared ineligible by the head of an agency on the basis that the person has engaged in an act described in subsection 3(c)(1) of this order.

(5) This section shall not be construed to limit the use of other remedies available to the head of an executive agency or any other official of the Federal Government on the basis of a finding described in subsection 3(c)(1) of this order.

Sec. 4. Report. Within 2 years after implementation of any final rule under this order, the Administrator of General Services, with the assistance of other executive agencies, shall submit to the Office of Management and Budget a report on the actions taken pursuant to this order.

Sec. 5. Scope. (a) Any proposed rules issued pursuant to section 3 of this order shall apply only to acquisitions for a total amount in excess of the micro-purchase threshold as defined in section 32(f) of the Office of Federal Procurement Policy Act (41 U.S.C. 428(f)).

(b) This order does not apply to a contract that is for the procurement of any product, or any article, material, or supply contained in a product that is mined, produced, or manufactured in any foreign country if:

- (1) the foreign country is a party to the Agreement on Government Procurement annexed to the WTO Agreement or a party to the North American Free Trade Agreement ("NAFTA"); and
- (2) the contract is of a value that is equal to or greater than the United States threshold specified in the Agreement on Government Procurement annexed to the WTO Agreement or NAFTA, whichever is applicable.

Sec. 6. Definitions. (a) "Executive agency" and "agency" have the meaning given to "executive agency" in section 4(1) of the Office of Federal Procurement Policy Act (41 U.S.C. 403(1)).

(b) "WTO Agreement" means the Agreement Establishing the World Trade Organization, entered into on April 15, 1994.

(c) "Forced or indentured child labor" means all work or service (1) exacted from any person under the age of 18 under the menace of any penalty for its nonperformance and for which the worker does not offer himself voluntarily; or (2) performed by any person under the age of 18 pursuant to a contract the enforcement of which can be accomplished by process or penalties.

Sec. 7. Judicial Review. This order is intended only to improve the internal management of the executive branch and does not create any rights or benefits, substantive or procedural, enforceable by law by a party against the United States, its agencies, its officers, or any other person.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
June 12, 1999.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., June 15, 1999]

NOTE: This Executive order was published in the *Federal Register* on June 16.

Letter to Congressional Leaders Reporting the Deployment of United States Military Personnel as Part of the Kosovo International Security Force

June 12, 1999

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

On March 26, April 7, and May 25, 1999, I reported to the Congress, consistent with the War Powers Resolution, concerning U.S. participation in the NATO air strikes against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) and in supporting operations in the region, in response to the FRY Government's campaign of violence and repression against the civilian population of Kosovo. In my report of June 5, 1999, under section 8115 of the Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1999 (Public Law 105-262), I noted the FRY had accepted the detailed set of principles for ending the conflict, as presented by Finnish President Ahtisaari along with Russian Special Envoy Chernomyrdin. I also stated that I had authorized the deployment of a significant contingent of military personnel to Kosovo as part of an international security presence (KFOR), provided it became clear that Belgrade had fully adopted NATO's conditions and was withdrawing its forces.

I can now confirm that the FRY has accepted NATO's conditions, and the process of implementing them has begun. On June 9, Lieutenant General Sir Michael Jackson, the NATO commander of KFOR, concluded a Military-Technical Agreement (MTA) with FRY authorities. The MTA specifies the detailed modalities and schedule for the full withdrawal of all FRY military, paramilitary and police forces from Kosovo. The MTA also details the role and authorities of KFOR, confirming that it can take the measures necessary to create a secure environment for the return of the Kosovars to their homes in safety and self-government. Among other authorities, KFOR is empowered to ensure that the withdrawal of FRY forces proceeds on

schedule, to protect KFOR and the civil implementation presence, and assist other international entities involved in restoring peace to Kosovo.

Conclusion of the MTA and the subsequent start of Serb force withdrawals paved the way for NATO to suspend its air campaign on June 10, 1999, and for the United Nations Security Council on the same day to adopt Resolution 1244 authorizing the establishment of the international security force.

In view of these events, I have directed the deployment of approximately 7,000 U.S. military personnel as the U.S. contribution to the approximately 50,000-member, NATO-led security force (KFOR) now being deployed into Kosovo. The KFOR will operate under unified NATO command and control, and with rules of engagement set by the Alliance. As part of the central NATO role that we have insisted upon, and consistent with the recommendations of my senior civilian and military advisors, U.S. personnel participating in these efforts will be under the operational control solely of officers from the United States or other NATO countries. In addition, a total of approximately 1,500 U.S. military personnel, under separate U.S. command and control, will deploy to other countries in the region, as our national support element, in support of KFOR.

I expect that after the withdrawal of all Serb forces from Kosovo and an initial stabilization period, KFOR will be progressively reduced as the security situation permits and international and local police forces are established. The KFOR ultimately will transfer responsibilities to the international provisional administration, local institutions, and other appropriate organizations.

I have taken this action pursuant to my constitutional authority to conduct U.S. foreign relations and as Commander in Chief and Chief Executive.

I am providing this report as part of my efforts to keep the Congress fully informed, consistent with the War Powers Resolution. I appreciate the continued support of the Congress in this action.

Sincerely,

William J. Clinton

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to J. Dennis Hastert, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Strom Thurmond, President pro tempore of the Senate. This letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on June 14.

**Executive Order 13127—
Amendment to Executive Order
13073, Year 2000 Conversion**

June 14, 1999

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, and in order to create the Information Coordination Center to assist the Chair of the President's Council on Year 2000 Conversion in addressing year 2000 conversion problems both domestically and internationally, it is hereby ordered that Executive Order 13073 is amended as follows:

Section 1. A new section 5 is added to the order and shall read "**Sec. 5. Information Coordination Center.** (a) To assist the Chair in the Y2K response duties included under section 2(c) of this order, there shall be established the Information Coordination Center (ICC) in the General Services Administration.

(b) At the direction of the Chair, the ICC will assist in making preparations for information sharing and coordination within the Federal Government and key components of the public and private sectors, coordinating agency assessments of Y2K emergencies that could have an adverse affect on U.S. interests at home and abroad, and, if necessary, assisting Federal agencies and the Chair in reconstitution processes where appropriate.

(c) The ICC will:

(1) consist of officials from executive agencies, designated by agency heads under subsection 3(a)(2) of this order, who have expertise in important management and technical areas, computer hardware, software or security systems, reconstitution and recovery, and of additional personnel hired directly or by contract, as required, to carry out the duties described under section 5 of this order;

(2) work with the Council and the Office of Management and Budget to assure that Federal efforts to restore critical systems are coordinated with efforts managed by Federal

agencies acting under existing emergency response authorities.”

(d) The Chair of the President’s Council on Year 2000 Conversion shall designate a Director of the ICC.

Sec. 2. The preexisting section 5 of Executive Order 13073 shall be renumbered as section 6.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
June 14, 1999.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 9:02 a.m., June 16, 1999]

NOTE: This Executive order was published in the *Federal Register* on June 17.

Remarks on Gun Control Legislation
June 15, 1999

The President. Please be seated, everyone. Welcome to the Rose Garden on this beautiful afternoon. I want to especially thank those who will be speaking after me, Representatives Connie Morella and Carolyn McCarthy and our leader of the Democrats in the House, Dick Gephardt. I thank the many Members of Congress who are here, and others for whom they speak who are not able to be here this afternoon.

I also want to thank Deputy Attorney General Eric Holder, Treasury Under Secretary Jim Johnson, Director of the Bureau of Justice Statistics Jan Chaiken, representatives of the law enforcement and faith communities, gun advocacy, and victims groups who are here today.

Five and a half years ago, here at the White House, I signed the Brady bill into law. I was especially pleased to be standing that day beside two great women fighters against gun violence, Sarah Brady and Attorney General Janet Reno. Today I am proud to be here with Congresswoman Morella and Congresswoman McCarthy and many other of the women Members of the United States House of Representatives, along with some men they allowed to come along today—*[laughter]*—and who appreciated being invited.

I think it is important to note that women Members of both parties in Washington and

women who belong to both parties in America, all over this country, have been in the forefront of this fight. They care about it as mothers, as sisters, as daughters, as citizens of this country. In the audience with us today are a number of mothers and fathers whose children have been victims of gun violence, and others who have personally suffered from it. Particularly to those who have been personally affected, I thank you for coming.

On that day when I signed the Brady bill, I said that our efforts to produce this bill proved once again that democracy can work. The American people and their grassroots demand for commonsense action against gun violence prevailed over the entrenched and very powerful Washington gun lobby. Now, in the aftermath of the terrible shootings at Littleton, our Nation is even more galvanized to act on every front to reduce crime, especially violence committed by and against our children.

In recent weeks, we’ve talked about the need to reduce our children’s exposure to violence in the media and have taken steps to do just that. We’ve talked about the need for parents to be more present in their children’s lives, and we are taking steps to give parents new time to do so. We’ve talked about the need for a national grassroots citizens effort to combat violence against children, and we’re in the process of establishing that. But we’ve also talked about the need to take new steps to keep guns out of the hands of juveniles, criminals, and others who shouldn’t have them.

Now is the time for those of us in Government to act by strengthening the Brady law. Congress has a chance to do that this week. Once again, the gun lobby is resisting with all its might. Once again, we’re battling not just for the safety of our families but for the soundness of our democracy.

Support for the Brady bill is as bipartisan, as broad as the American people. Teachers, doctors, law enforcement officials, even gun manufacturers, support it. About the only ones who are against it, still, are the NRA and its allies in Congress. It seems that every day they try another procedural or rhetorical trick to confuse everyone and avoid responsibility. These are the same kind of tactical smokescreens they threw up 6 years ago.

Back then—now let's just remember—I want every Member of Congress to think about this before they vote on Thursday—what did they say 6 years ago? They said the Brady bill threatened the right of citizens to own firearms. Well, today we know the second amendment, hunting, and sport shooting are alive and well in America, just as alive and well as they were in 1994. But we also know they said gun violence wouldn't be reduced if the Brady bill passed. But since 1993, gun crimes have fallen by over 25 percent. Police chiefs all across America believe the Brady law is vital to their efforts.

You remember the gun lobby said that requiring background checks at gun stores wouldn't keep guns out of the hands of criminals, because criminals don't buy guns at stores, they said. Well, that claim has now been disproved hundreds of thousands of times.

Periodically, the Justice Department estimates how effective the Brady law has been in keeping guns out of the hands of those who shouldn't have them. Today I'm pleased to announce the latest figures. Since it went into effect in 1994, the Brady law has blocked over 400,000 illegal gun sales. That's a pretty good record for the United States of America.

Two-thirds—two-thirds of those sales were to people indicted or convicted of felony crimes. Most of the rest were fugitives or had records of domestic violence, drug abuse, or mental illness. We have stopped over 400,000 gun sales that were dangerous since 1994 because Congress listened to the American people and not the NRA and passed the Brady bill. And I'll say again, every single, red flag they threw up about all the danger and all the burden and all the problems this would be to gun owners was wrong, wrong, wrong.

Now, Congress has another vitally important choice before it. Are they going to strengthen the Brady bill or weaken it? The Brady law has worked. It's worked so well, in fact, that criminals now have to buy their weapons at places not fully covered by the gun laws, like gun shows and flea markets.

Now, you remember when the NRA said in 1994, "We don't really need the Brady bill, because people don't buy their guns at gun

stores; these criminals don't buy their guns there." So, now they want to protect the sales at the places where the criminals do buy their guns, the flea markets and the gun shows. Someone ought to go back before we vote on Thursday and read them what they said in 1994 and remind them where they do buy the guns.

Earlier this year, I sent to Congress measures to close the loophole by expanding the background checks to gun shows and to flea markets where guns are sold along with other items. Last month the Senate passed these measures, thanks to a tie-breaking vote by Vice President Gore, and despite efforts by the gun lobby to shoot new loopholes in the Brady law. The Senate did the right thing, and the House should follow suit.

Now, I want to be fair to the House Members who are not here. This is a harder vote in the House, and we have to work harder to help them and to stand by them. Why? Because some of our Members who desperately want to vote for this bill come from congressional districts which are less populous than almost all States and where the influence of the NRA and their ability to promote scare tactics and misinformation is relatively greater. So, it's a harder vote, and we're going to have to work harder, all of us.

But look at what they're being asked to do. They're being asked to reject the measures that the Senate passed which were by any standard moderate and commonsense and, instead, adopt bills that were ghostwritten by the NRA. Listen to this: The gun lobby's bill would leave a gaping loophole in the gun show provision, would exempt flea markets from Brady checks altogether. Now, this is from the same group that told us in 1994 there was no point in regulating sales at gun stores because the criminals got their guns somewhere else. So, now we want to go somewhere else, and they can't wait to protect that. Someone should ask about this before we have a vote on Thursday.

This provision of theirs would invite felons, fugitives, and stalkers to buy their weapons at flea markets or walk out in the parking lot at the gun show. The gun lobby's bill

would shorten the time allowed for background checks, giving thousands of criminals a year the chance to slip through the system. They would let gun dealers ship weapons—now, listen to this—I want to say this again. Sometimes we get up here; we read these speeches; and I get too much in a hurry. I want you to listen to this. They would let gun dealers ship weapons directly to unlicensed buyers, across State lines, reversing 30 years of settled law that has helped to control interstate gunrunning.

I want the House to reject these bills, and pass legislation that will strengthen, not weaken, the Brady law. I want us to honor the sacrifices of those people in Littleton, Colorado, not turn our backs on them.

I also think the House should take further action to reduce gun violence, especially among the young. Yesterday the Vice President announced a new Government study showing that young people, age 18 through 20, make up just 4 percent of our population but commit 24 percent of all gun murders. We could save lives by raising the legal age of handgun possession from 18 to 21, and I ask the House to do that as well.

I also call on the House to mandate that child safety locks be sold with all new handguns as the Senate has done.

Let me say, I have been deeply encouraged by the comments we've been getting, the calls we've gotten here at the White House, from people identifying themselves as Republicans, as well as Democrats, people identifying themselves as long-time NRA members, who say, "This is crazy. Why are we out here fighting an attempt to close the loopholes in gun shows and flea markets? How can we be against child safety locks? Why should kids under the age of 21 be walking the streets with these guns?" America is in a different place than they were in 1994. The numbers are larger and more intense. We have all been sobered by what we have been through in these school shootings, and the 13 children a day that die by gun violence in ones and twos and never make the evening news.

This is too important an issue to be decided by strong-arm lobbying tactics in Washington. The heart and soul of America

is on the line. And out in America, this is not a partisan issue.

I would like now to introduce someone who embodies the best of our bipartisan efforts, Congresswoman Connie Morella, from the State of Maryland.

[At this point, Representatives Connie Morella, Carolyn McCarthy, and Dick Gephardt made brief remarks.]

The President. Ladies and gentlemen, we're about to adjourn. Congress has to go back to cast a vote. I want to thank Congresswoman Morella, Congresswoman McCarthy, Leader Gephardt, all the Members who are here.

I don't know what will be on the evening news tonight, but one thing I hope will be remembered—Carolyn McCarthy, who has earned a right to stand here before God and every American and say whatever she pleases about this issue, said that the Congress needed to hear from the American people in the next 2 days. And Dick Gephardt said that Congress needs to listen to its heart. Connie Morella said it is a nonpartisan issue. I hope those three things will be heard and remembered.

God bless you, and thank you for being here.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:10 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Sarah Brady, chair, Handgun Control, Inc.

Remarks Honoring Rosa Parks at the Congressional Gold Medal Award Ceremony

June 15, 1999

Thank you so much. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Gephardt, Senator Daschle, Representative Carson, Senator Abraham, Representative Clyburn, Representative Watts, to all the Members of the House and the Senate here, and those not here, who supported this resolution, I thank you for what you have done—Dr. Ogilvie, Dr. Ford, Reverend Jackson, members of the Cabinet and the civil rights community who are here—Dr. Height.

I'd like to say a special word of welcome to two members of the Little Rock Nine who

came here to honor Rosa Parks—Minnijean Brown Trickey and Robert Jefferson—welcome to you.

I want to thank the Howard University Gospel Choir and the incomparable Jessye Norman for their wonderful, wonderful music.

The previous speakers have spoken with great power, eloquence, and truth. In less than 200 days now, we will mark the end of another century. They have told you the story of one brave woman and the ripples of impact she had upon all the millions of people who lived in the United States. It is, in many ways, the quintessential story of the 20th century, a time with trials and tribulations which still, fundamentally, is the story of the triumph of freedom, of democracy over dictatorship, free enterprise over state socialism, of tolerance over bigotry.

It was a fight waged on the beaches of Normandy, on the islands of the South Pacific, at Checkpoint Charlie, behind the Iron Curtain, and countless known and unknown, large and small villages across the globe; here, at home, a fight waged in classrooms, lunch counters, and on public buses in the segregated South. For us, what has always been at stake is whether we could keep moving on that stony road, closer to the ideals of our Founders, whether we really could be a country where we are all equal, not only endowed by our Creator with, but in fact living with, the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Forty-four years ago Rosa Parks reminded us all that we were a long way from those ideals, that for millions of Americans, our history was full of weary years, our sweet land of liberty bearing only bitter fruit and silent tears. And so she sat, anchored to that seat, as Dr. King said, “by the accumulated indignities of days gone by and the countless aspirations of generations yet unborn.”

Rosa Parks said, “I didn’t get on that bus to get arrested. I got on that bus to go home.” [Laughter] In so many ways, Rosa Parks brought America home to our Founders’ dream.

You know, when we look across the history of the civil rights movement, we celebrate President Lincoln and the Congress of that era—for Constitutional amendments. We

celebrate William Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglass. In our own period, we celebrate President Eisenhower and sending the troops to Little Rock, the commitment of John and Robert Kennedy, the magnificent legislative achievements of President Johnson and that Congress, reaching across party lines.

But we know that in a funny way, people who have no position or money and have only the power of their courage and character are always there before the political leaders. We know that.

When Rosa Parks got on that bus in Alabama, I was a 9-year-old boy, living in Arkansas, going to segregated schools, riding public buses every single day, where all the colored people sat in the back. My family got a television when I was 9 years old, just a few months before it became worldwide news that Mrs. Parks had gotten on the bus. I thought it was a pretty good deal and so did my friends. And we couldn’t figure out anything we could do, since we couldn’t even vote. So, we began to sit on the back of the bus when we got on. [Laughter]

It seems like—I say this—now, this is a little thing. I say it only to say we must never, ever—when this ceremony is over—forget about the power of ordinary people to stand in the fire for the cause of human dignity and to touch the hearts of people that have almost turned to stone.

I thank the Congress for honoring Rosa Parks. I was honored, Rosa, to give you the Medal of Freedom, and I was thrilled during the State of the Union Address when you got that enormous, bipartisan ovation here. But remember, my fellow Americans, freedom’s work is never done. There are still people who are discriminated against. There are still people—there are still people that because of their human condition are looked down on, derided, degraded, demeaned, and we should all remember the powerful example of this one citizen. And those of us with greater authority and power should attempt every day, in every way, to follow her lead.

God bless you, Mrs. Parks, and God bless America.

Now—[applause]—thank you. Now, I would like to—again, this is my errand for

Congresswoman Carson and Senator Abraham and the Speaker and Mr. Gephardt and the other leaders here—I understand the actual medal has not been struck yet, but a “gold line” copy of the resolution that authorizes the medal has been struck, or prepared, for Mrs. Parks. And I’d like to ask all of you to look to my left, to your right, for a glimpse of the proposed design for the medal.

Could we—Julia, why don’t you go down there, and you and Spence can—*[laughter]*—wow, it’s beautiful. Really beautiful, isn’t it? *[Applause]*

Let’s give a big hand to Artis Lane, who was the artist who prepared this. Didn’t she do a wonderful job? *[Applause]*

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:10 p.m. in the rotunda at the U.S. Capitol. In his remarks, he referred to Lloyd J. Ogilvie, Chaplain of the Senate; James David Ford, Chaplain of the House; civil rights leader Rev. Jesse Jackson; Dorothy Height, chairman of the board, National Council of Negro Women; soprano Jessye Norman; Representative Julia Carson and Senator Spencer Abraham, who sponsored the act to authorize award of the medal, Public Law 106-26; artist Artis Lane, who submitted the design for the medal; and Minnijean Brown Trickey and Jefferson Thomas, members of the Little Rock Nine, students who integrated Central High School in Little Rock, AR, in 1957.

Remarks on the Proposed “Work Incentives Improvement Act”

June 15, 1999

That was a speech of a man who is not running for re-election. *[Laughter]* Since I’m not either, I can only hope to do as well. *[Laughter]*

I would like to point out something, since we are here in the LBJ Room, named for President Johnson, a room in which he worked for many good causes as Senate majority leader. Thirty-five years ago, he said, “I am convinced that it is morally right, that it is socially just, that it is economically sensible, that it is administratively feasible to open the door of employment opportunity to Americans with disabilities.”

Now, our country has done a lot on that road in the last 35 years, especially beginning with the Americans with Disabilities Act. In

1997 we dramatically strengthened the IDEA Act, and I’m very proud to have been a part of that with the people who are here. But the full promise of the Americans with Disabilities Act will never be realized until we pass this legislation.

I am profoundly indebted to all these Senators who are here, Senators Lott and Moynihan and, of course, to Senators Jeffords and Kennedy, but let me—I know most of you here understand this—but let me just give you one, specific example. I think it’s important to humanize this.

I had a town meeting about this issue in New Hampshire on February the 18th. And there was a man there who had been very badly injured in a skiing accident and was paralyzed, basically, from the chest down. And because of the special opportunity he had, he actually was able to keep his health care and work. His health insurance—his health care costs were \$40,000 a year, just to maintain him. But he worked very productively and very successfully for about 75 percent of that. That was his salary. Now, if he were not working, he’d still get the \$40,000 in health care, but he wouldn’t be working. He’d be much less happy, much less fulfilled. He wouldn’t be paying income taxes to the Federal Government. He wouldn’t be paying the other revenues through which we fund Medicare and Social Security, including, interestingly enough, the money from Social Security that goes to the disabled.

This is a crazy system that we have allowed to develop because you lose Government health insurance if you go to work and you make a certain amount of money. That’s what these fine people are trying to do. And I thought what Senator Kennedy said was great. I’d like it if it passed by Independence Day, but I’d like it, for sure, if we could get it up to the White House and have a signing ceremony by the 26th of July, which is the ninth anniversary of the Americans with Disabilities Act.

But I would like to ask all the members of the press that are here to make sure that our fellow Americans understand the practical impact. There are thousands of these stories. But with all the requirements of the Americans with Disabilities Act, you will never get the tens of thousands of people

who could come into the work force—maybe hundreds of thousands that aren't there—without this bill. This is a profoundly important piece of legislation.

And I would like to make one last economic argument. There's a lot of discussion now about how our economy can continue to grow even more with unemployment as low as it is without inflation. The only way to do that is to find new markets and new workers. And as nearly as I can tell, there are only two or three options. You can sell more American products overseas, or you can put people to work in high unemployment areas in America, in the urban and rural areas, or you can reach the unreached population of Americans who are dying to go to work, which are the remaining people on welfare who want to work and an even larger number—much larger number—the American disability community, fully capable of working in thousands and thousands and thousands of jobs—now, with them closed, because of the health care barrier.

We need to get this story out. The Senate is going to pass this bill. The House will have it, and we'll have a great celebration on July the Fourth and again on July the 26th.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:50 p.m. in the Lyndon Baines Johnson Room at the Capitol. In his remarks, he referred to the IDEA, Individuals with the Disabilities Education Act.

Statement on the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board Report on Security at the Energy Department Weapons Labs

June 15, 1999

On March 18, 1999, I asked the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, the PFIAB, to undertake a review of the security threat at the Department of Energy's weapons labs and the measures that have been taken to address it. PFIAB Chairman Warren B. Rudman presented the Board's

findings to me today. I have asked the PFIAB to make the report available to Congress and to the public.

I would like to thank Senator Rudman and the Board members who undertook this important study over a 90-day period, reviewing hundreds of documents and conducting dozens of interviews. As the report recognizes, the Department of Energy represents the best of America's scientific talent and expertise. The value of their contributions makes it imperative that we place a premium on ensuring that we have instituted the best possible measures for the protection of our nation's most valuable secrets at Department facilities.

This administration already has taken unprecedented steps to reduce the vulnerability of our secrets at the labs. Over a year ago I issued a sweeping directive to strengthen counterintelligence across the board at the Department of Energy, and Secretary Richardson has aggressively instituted new rules and procedures for counterintelligence and security at DOE facilities. The PFIAB has made a number of proposals which we will carefully review. We remain committed to taking the necessary steps to safeguard our Nation's secrets.

As these vital national security issues are addressed, we will be most successful if we continue our efforts in a bipartisan manner with close cooperation between the Executive and Legislative branches of Government.

Message to the Congress Transmitting the Report of the Commodity Credit Corporation

June 15, 1999

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the provisions of section 13, Public Law 806, 80th Congress (15 U.S.C. 714k), I transmit herewith the report of the Commodity Credit Corporation for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1997.

William J. Clinton

Message to the Congress Reporting on United States Participation in a Multilateral Guarantee of a Credit for Brazil

June 15, 1999

To the Congress of the United States:

On November 9, 1998, I approved the use of the Exchange Stabilization Fund (ESF) to provide up to \$5 billion for the U.S. part of a multilateral guarantee of a credit facility for up to \$13.28 billion from the Bank for International Settlements (BIS) to the Banco Central do Brasil (Banco Central). Eighteen other central banks and monetary authorities are guaranteeing portions of the BIS credit facility. In addition, through the Bank of Japan, the Government of Japan is providing a swap facility of up to \$1.25 billion to Brazil under terms consistent with the terms of the BIS credit facility. Pursuant to the requirements of 31 U.S.C. 5302(b), I am hereby notifying the Congress that I have determined that unique or emergency circumstances require the ESF financing to be available for more than 6 months.

The BIS credit facility is part of a multilateral effort to support an International Monetary Fund (IMF) stand-by arrangement with Brazil that itself totals approximately \$18.1 billion, which is designed to help restore financial market confidence in Brazil and its currency, and to reestablish conditions for long-term sustainable growth. The IMF is providing this package through normal credit tranches and the Supplemental Reserve Facility (SRF), which provides short-term financing at significantly higher interest rates than those for credit tranche financing. Also, the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank are providing up to \$9 billion in support of the international financial package for Brazil.

Since December 1998, international assistance from the IMF, the BIS credit facility, and the Bank of Japan's swap facility has provided key support for Brazil's efforts to reform its economy and resolve its financial crisis. From the IMF arrangement, Brazil has purchased approximately \$4.6 billion in December 1998 and approximately \$4.9 billion in April 1999. On December 18, 1998, the Banco Central made a first drawing of \$4.15

billion from the BIS credit facility and also drew \$390 million from the Bank of Japan's swap facility. The Banco Central made a second drawing of \$4.5 billion from the BIS credit facility and \$423.5 million from the Bank of Japan's swap facility on April 9, 1999. The ESF's "guarantee" share of each of these BIS credit facility drawings is approximately 38 percent.

Each drawing from the BIS credit facility or the Bank of Japan's swap facility matures in 6 months, with an option for additional 6-month renewals. The Banco Central must therefore repay its first drawing from the BIS and Bank of Japan facilities by June 18, 1999, unless the parties agree to a roll-over. The Banco Central has informed the BIS and the Bank of Japan that it plans to request, in early June, a roll-over of 70 percent of the first drawing from each facility, and will repay 30 percent of the first drawing from each facility.

The BIS's agreement with the Banco Central contains conditions that minimize risks to the ESF. For example, the participating central banks or the BIS may accelerate repayment if the Banco Central has failed to meet any condition of the agreement or Brazil has failed to meet any material obligation to the IMF. The Banco Central must repay the BIS no slower than, and at least in proportion to Brazil's repayments to the IMF's SRF and to the Bank of Japan's swap facility. The Government of Brazil is guaranteeing the performance of the Banco Central's obligations under its agreement with the BIS, and, pursuant to the agreement, Brazil must maintain its gross international reserves at a level no less than the sum of the principal amount outstanding under the BIS facility, the principal amount outstanding under Japan's swap facility, and a suitable margin. Also, the participating central banks and the BIS must approve any Banco Central request for a drawing or roll-over from the BIS credit facility.

Before the financial crisis that hit Brazil last fall, Brazil had made remarkable progress toward reforming its economy, including reducing inflation from more than 2000 percent 5 years ago to less than 3 percent in 1998, and successfully implementing

an extensive privatization program. Nonetheless, its large fiscal deficit left it vulnerable during the recent period of global financial turbulence. Fiscal adjustment to address that deficit therefore formed the core of the stand-by arrangement that Brazil reached with the IMF last December.

Despite Brazil's initial success in implementing the fiscal reforms required by this stand-by arrangement, there were some setbacks in passing key legislation, and doubts emerged about the willingness of some key Brazilian states to adjust their finances. Ultimately, the government secured passage of virtually all the fiscal measures, or else took offsetting actions. However, the initial setbacks and delays eroded market confidence in December 1998 and January 1999, and pressure on Brazil's foreign exchange reserves intensified. Rather than further deplete its reserves, Brazil in mid-January first devalued and then floated its currency, the *real*, causing a steep decline of the *real's* value against the dollar. As a consequence, Brazil needed to prevent a spiral of depreciation and inflation that could have led to deep financial instability.

After the decision to float the *real*, and in close consultation with the IMF, Brazil developed a revised economic program for 1999–2001, which included deeper fiscal adjustments and a transparent and prudent monetary policy designed to contain inflationary pressures. These adjustments will take some time to restore confidence fully. In the meantime, the strong support of the international community has been and will continue to be helpful in reassuring the markets that Brazil can restore sustainable financial stability.

Brazil's experience to date under its revised program with the IMF has been very encouraging. The exchange rate has strengthened from its lows of early March and has been relatively stable in recent weeks; inflation is significantly lower than expected and declining; inflows of private capital are resuming; and most analysts now believe that the economic downturn will be less severe than initially feared.

Brazil's success to date will make it possible for it to repay a 30 percent portion of its first (December) drawing from the BIS

credit facility and the Bank of Japan swap facility. With continued economic improvement, Brazil is likely to be in a position to repay the remainder of its BIS and Bank of Japan obligations relatively soon. However, Brazil has indicated that it would be inadvisable to repay 100 percent of the first BIS and Bank of Japan disbursements at this point, given the persistence of risks and uncertainties in the global economy. The timing of this repayment must take into account the risk that using Brazilian reserves to repay both first drawings in their entirety could harm market confidence in Brazil's financial condition. This could undermine the purpose of our support: protecting financial stability in Brazil and in other emerging markets, which ultimately benefits U.S. exports and jobs. Given that the BIS and Bank of Japan facilities charge a substantial premium over the 6-month Eurodollar interest rate, the Banco Central has an incentive to repay them as soon as is prudent.

The IMF stand-by arrangement and the BIS and Bank of Japan facilities constitute a vital international response to Brazil's financial crisis, which threatens the economic welfare of Brazil's 160 million people and of other countries in the region and elsewhere in the world. Brazil's size and importance as the largest economy in Latin America mean that its financial and economic stability are matters of national interest to the United States. Brazil's industrial output is the largest in Latin America; it accounts for 45 percent of the region's gross domestic product, and its work force numbers approximately 85 million people. A failure to help Brazil deal with its financial crisis would increase the risk of financial instability in other Latin American countries and other emerging market economies. Such instability could damage U.S. exports, with serious repercussions for our workforce and our economy as a whole.

Therefore, the BIS credit facility is providing a crucial supplement to Brazil's IMF-supported program of economic and financial reform. I believe that strong and continued support from the United States, other governments, and multilateral institutions are crucial to enable Brazil to carry out its economic reform program. In these unique and

emergency circumstances, it is both appropriate and necessary to continue to make ESF financing available as needed for more than 6 months to guarantee this BIS credit facility, including any other roll-over or drawing that might be necessary in the future.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
June 15, 1999.

**Remarks to the International Labor
Organization Conference
in Geneva, Switzerland**

June 16, 1999

Thank you very much, Director General Somavia, for your fine statements and your excellent work. Conference President Mumuni, Director General Petrovsky, ladies and gentlemen of the ILO, it is a great honor for me to be here today with, as you have noticed, quite a large American delegation. I hope you will take it as a commitment of the United States to our shared vision and not simply as a burning desire for us to visit this beautiful city on every possible opportunity.

I am delighted to be here with Secretary Albright and Secretary of Labor Herman; with my National Economic Adviser, Gene Sperling, and my National Security Adviser, Sandy Berger. We're delighted to be joined by the president of the American Federation of Labor, the AFL-CIO, John Sweeney, and several other leaders of the U.S. labor movement, and with Senator Tom Harkin from Iowa, who is the foremost advocate in the United States of the abolition of child labor. I am grateful to all of them for coming with me, and to the First Lady and our daughter for joining us on this trip. And I thank you for your warm reception of her presence here.

It is indeed an honor for me to be the first American President to speak before the ILO in Geneva. It is long overdue. There is no organization that has worked harder to bring people together around fundamental human aspirations, and no organization whose mission is more vital for today and tomorrow.

The ILO, as the Director General said, was created in the wake of the devastation of World War I as part of a vision to provide stability to a world recovering from war, a vision put forward by our President, Woodrow Wilson. He said then, "While we are fighting for freedom, we must see that labor is free." At a time when dangerous doctrines of dictatorship were increasingly appealing, the ILO was founded on the realization that injustice produces, and I quote, "unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperiled."

Over time the organization was strengthened, and the United States played its role, starting with President Franklin Roosevelt and following through his successors and many others in the United States Congress, down to the strong supporters today, including Senator Harkin and the distinguished senior Senator from New York, Patrick Moynihan.

For half a century, the ILO has waged a struggle of rising prosperity and widening freedom, from the shipyards of Poland to the diamond mines of South Africa. Today, as the Director General said, you remain the only organization to bring together governments, labor unions, and business to try to unite people in common cause: the dignity of work; the belief that honest labor, fairly compensated, gives meaning and structure to our lives; the ability of every family and all children to rise as far as their talents will take them.

In a world too often divided, this organization has been a powerful force for unity, justice, equality, and shared prosperity. For all that, I thank you. Now, at the edge of a new century, at the dawn of the information age, the ILO and its vision are more vital than ever, for the world is becoming a much smaller and much, much more interdependent place. Most nations are linked to the new dynamic, idea-driven, technology-powered, highly competitive international economy.

The digital revolution is a profound, powerful, and potentially democratizing force. It can empower people and nations, enabling the wise and farsighted to develop more quickly and with less damage to the environment. It can enable us to work together

across the world as easily as if we were working just across the hall. Competition, communications, and more open markets spur stunning innovation and make their fruits available to business and workers worldwide.

Consider this: Every single day, half a million air passengers, 1.5 billion E-mail messages, and \$1.5 trillion cross international borders. We also have new tools to eradicate diseases that have long plagued humanity, to remove the threat of global warming and environmental destruction, to lift billions of people into the first truly global middle class.

Yet, as the financial crisis of the last 2 years has shown, the global economy with its churning hyperactivity, poses new risks, as well, of disruption, dislocation, and division. A financial crisis in one country can be felt on factory floors half a world away. The world has changed, much of it for the better, but too often our response to its new challenges has not changed.

Globalization is not a proposal or a policy choice. It is a fact. But how we respond to it will make all the difference. We cannot dam up the tides of economic change any more than King Knute could still the waters. Nor can we tell our people to sink or swim on their own. We must find a third way, a new and democratic way, to maximize market potential and social justice, competition and community. We must put a human face on the global economy, giving working people everywhere a stake in its success, equipping them all to reap its rewards, providing for their families the basic conditions of a just society. All nations must embrace this vision, and all the great economic institutions of the world must devote their creativity and energy to this end.

Last May I had the opportunity to come and speak to the World Trade Organization and stress that as we fight for open markets, it must open its doors to the concerns of working people and the environment. Last November I spoke to the International Monetary Fund and World Bank and stressed that we must build a new financial architecture as modern as today's markets, to tame the cycles of boom and bust in the global economy as we can now do in national economies, to ensure the integrity of international finan-

cial transactions, and to expand social safety nets for the most vulnerable.

Today I say to you that the ILO, too, must be ready for the 21st century, along the lines that Director General Somavia has outlined.

Let me begin by stating my firm belief that open trade is not contrary to the interest of working people. Competition and integration lead to stronger growth, more and better jobs, more widely shared gains. Renewed protectionism in any of our nations would lead to a spiral of retaliation that would diminish the standard of living for working people everywhere. Moreover, a failure to expand trade further could choke off innovation and diminish the very possibilities of the information economy. No, we need more trade, not less.

Unfortunately, working people the world over do not believe this. Even in the United States, with the lowest unemployment rate in a generation, where exports accounted for 30 percent of our growth, until the financial crisis hit Asia, working people strongly resist new market-opening measures. There are many reasons. In advanced countries the benefits of open trade outweigh the burdens. But they are widely spread, while the dislocations of open trade are painfully concentrated.

In all countries, the premium the modern economy places on skills leaves too many hard-working people behind. In poor countries, the gains seem too often to go to the already wealthy and powerful, with little or no rise in the general standard of living. And the international organizations charged with monitoring and providing for rules of fair trade, and enforcement of them, seem to take a very long time to work their way to the right decision, often too late to affect the people who have been disadvantaged.

So as we press for more open trade, we must do more to ensure that all our people are lifted by the global economy. As we prepare to launch a new global round of trade talks in Seattle, in November, it is vital that the WTO and the ILO work together to advance that common goal.

We clearly see that a thriving global economy will grow out of the skills, the ideas, the education of millions of individuals. In each of our nations and as a community of

nations, we must invest in our people and lift them to their full potential. If we allow the ups and downs of financial crises to divert us from investing in our people, it is not only those citizens or nations that will suffer; the entire world will suffer from their lost potential.

It is clear that when nations face financial crisis, they need the commitment and the expertise not only of the international financial institutions; they need the ILO as well. The IMF, the World Bank, and WTO, themselves, should work more closely with the ILO, and this organization must be willing and able to assume more responsibility.

The lesson of the past 2 years is plain: Those nations with strong social safety nets are better able to weather the storms. Those strong safety nets do not just include financial assistance and emergency aid for poorest people, they also call for the empowerment of the poorest people.

This weekend in Cologne, I will join my partners in the G-8 in calling for a new focus on stronger safety nets within nations and within the international community. We will also urge improved cooperation between the ILO and the international financial institutions in promoting social protections and core labor standards. And we should press forward to lift the debt burden that is crushing many of the poorest nations.

We are working to forge a bold agreement to more than triple debt relief for the world's poorest nations and to target those savings to education, health care, child survival, and fighting poverty. I pledge to work to find the resources so we can do our part and contribute our share toward an expanded trust fund for debt relief.

Yet, as important as our efforts to strengthen safety nets and relieve debt burdens are, for citizens throughout the world to feel that they truly have a hand in shaping their future, they must know the dignity and respect of basic rights in the workplace.

You have taken a vital step toward lifting the lives of working people by adopting the Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work last year. The document is a blueprint for the global economy that honors our values: the dignity of work, an end to discrimination, an end to forced labor,

freedom of association, the right of people to organize and bargain in a civil and peaceful way. These are not just labor rights; they're human rights. They are a charter for a truly modern economy. We must make them an everyday reality all across the world.

We advance these rights first by standing up to those who abuse them. Today, one member nation, Burma, stands in defiance of the ILO's most fundamental values and most serious findings. The Director General has just reported to us that the flagrant violation of human rights persists, and I urge the ILO governing body to take definite steps, for Burma is out of step with the standards of the world community and the aspirations of its people. Until people have the right to shape their destiny, we must stand by them and keep up the pressure for change.

We also advance core labor rights by standing with those who seek to make them a reality in the workplace. Many countries need extra assistance to meet these standards. Whether it's rewriting inadequate labor laws or helping fight discrimination against women and minorities in the workplace, the ILO must be able to help.

That is why in the balanced budget I submitted to our Congress this year I've asked for \$25 million to help create a new arm of the ILO, to work with developing countries to put in place basic labor standards, protections, safe workplaces, the right to organize. I ask other governments to join us. I've also asked for \$10 million from our Congress to strengthen U.S. bilateral support for governments seeking to raise such core labor standards.

We have asked for millions of dollars also to build on our voluntary anti-sweatshop initiative to encourage the many innovative programs that are being developed to eliminate sweatshops and raise consumer awareness of the conditions in which the clothes they wear and the toys they buy for their children are made.

But we must go further, to give life to our dream of an economy that lifts all our people. To do that, we must wipe from the Earth the most vicious forms of abusive child labor. Every single day tens of millions of children work in conditions that shock the conscience.

There are children chained to often risky machines, children handling dangerous chemicals, children forced to work when they should be in school preparing themselves and their countries for a better tomorrow. Each of our nations must take responsibility.

Last week, at the inspiration of Senator Tom Harkin, who is here with me today, I directed all agencies of the United States Government to make absolutely sure they are not buying any products made with abusive child labor.

But we must also act together. Today, the time has come to build on the growing world consensus to ban the most abusive forms of child labor, to join together and to say there are some things we cannot and will not tolerate.

We will not tolerate children being used in pornography and prostitution. We will not tolerate children in slavery or bondage. We will not tolerate children being forcibly recruited to serve in armed conflicts. We will not tolerate young children risking their health and breaking their bodies in hazardous and dangerous working conditions for hours unconscionably long, regardless of country, regardless of circumstance. These are not some archaic practices out of a Charles Dickens novel. These are things that happen in too many places today.

I am proud of what is being done at your meeting. In January I said to our Congress and the American people, in the State of the Union Address, that we would work with the ILO on a new initiative to raise labor standards and to conclude a treaty to ban abusive child labor everywhere in the world. I am proud to say that the United States will support your convention. After I return home, I will send it to the U.S. Senate for ratification, and I ask all other countries to ratify it, as well.

We thank you for achieving a true breakthrough for the children of the world. We thank the nations here represented who have made genuine progress in dealing with this issue in their own nations. You have written an important new chapter in our effort to honor our values and protect our children.

Passing this convention alone, however, will not solve the problem. We must also work aggressively to enforce it. And we must

address root causes, the tangled pathology of poverty and hopelessness that leads to abusive child labor. Where that still exists, it is simply not enough to close the factories where the worst child labor practices occur. We must also ensure that children then have access to schools and their parents have jobs. Otherwise, we may find children in even more abusive circumstances.

That is why the work of the International Program for the Elimination of Child Labor is so important. With the support of the United States, it is working in places around the world to get children out of the business of making fireworks, to help children move from their jobs as domestic servants, to take children from factories to schools.

Let me cite just one example of the success being achieved, the work being done to eliminate child labor from the soccer ball industry in Pakistan. Two years ago, thousands of children under the age of 14 worked for 50 companies stitching soccer balls full-time. The industry, the ILO, and UNICEF joined together to remove children from the production of soccer balls and give them a chance to go to school, and to monitor the results.

Today, the work has been taken up by women in 80 poor villages in Pakistan, giving them new employment and their families new stabilities. Meanwhile, the children have started to go to school, so that when they come of age, they will be able to do better jobs raising the standard of living of their families, their villages, and their nation. I thank all who were involved in this endeavor and ask others to follow their lead.

I am pleased that our administration has increased our support for IPEC by tenfold. I ask you to think what could be achieved by a full and focused international effort to eliminate the worst forms of child labor. Think of the children who would go to school, whose lives would open up, whose very health would flower, freed of the crushing burden of dangerous and demeaning work, given back those irreplaceable hours of childhood for learning and playing and living.

By giving life to core labor standards, by acting effectively to lift the burden of debt, by putting a more human face on the world

trading system and the global economy, by ending the worst forms of child labor, we will be giving our children the 21st century they deserve.

These are hopeful times. Previous generations sought to redeem the rights of labor in a time of world war and organized tyranny. We have a chance to build a world more prosperous, more united, more humane than ever before. In so doing, we can fulfill the dreams of the ILO's founders and redeem the struggles of those who fought and organized, who sacrificed and, yes, died for freedom, equality, and justice in the workplace.

It is our great good fortune that in our time we have been given the golden opportunity to make the 21st century a period of abundance and achievement for all. Because we can do that, we must. It is a gift to our children worthy of the millennium.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:25 a.m. in the Assembly Hall at the United Nations Building. In his remarks, he referred to Juan Somavia, director general, Alhaji Muhammad Mumuni, conference president, International Labor Organization; and Vladimir Petrovsky, director general, United Nations Office at Geneva. The President also referred to the IPEC, International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor.

Statement on the Proposed "Work Incentives Improvement Act"

June 16, 1999

Nearly a year ago, I committed to working with Senators Jeffords and Kennedy to pass the "Work Incentives Improvement Act." In January, in my State of the Union Address, I urged the Congress make this historic, bipartisan legislation a top priority and fully funded it in the budget I sent to Congress. And on June 4th I challenged the Congress to send the work incentives bill to me by July 26th, so I could sign this legislation into law on the 9th anniversary of the enactment of the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA).

Today, in an overwhelming 99 to 0 vote, the Senate passed the work incentives bill. This impressive vote sends a strong signal that all Americans, including people with disabilities, should have the opportunity to

work. Americans with disabilities can and do bring tremendous energy and talent to the American work force, but the unemployment rate for all working-age adults with disabilities is nearly 75 percent. One of the most glaring problems is that people with disabilities frequently become ineligible for Medicaid or Medicare if they go back to work. This puts people with disabilities in the untenable position of choosing between health care coverage and work. The "Work Incentives Improvement Act" would improve job opportunities for people with disabilities by increasing access to health care and employment services.

Senators Jeffords, Kennedy, Roth, and Moynihan deserve special recognition for their leadership on this historic legislation. I urge the House to follow their lead. Under the leadership of Congressmen Bliley, Dingell, Waxman, and Lazio, I am confident that it will. I also hope and expect the Senate and House to find offsets for this bill that are acceptable to all parties. This bill will provide critical work opportunities to people with disabilities, and I look forward to signing this groundbreaking legislation.

Statement on the Proposed "Immigrant Children's Health Improvement Act of 1999"

June 16, 1999

I am pleased that today a bipartisan group of Senators, led by Senators Chafee and McCain and including Senators Graham, Mack, Moynihan, and Jeffords, have taken an important step in ensuring health care coverage for children by introducing the "Immigrant Children's Health Improvement Act of 1999."

When I signed the 1996 welfare reform law, I pledged to work toward reversing the unnecessary cuts in benefits to legal immigrants that had nothing to do with the goal of moving people from welfare to work. As part of the Balanced Budget Act of 1997 and the Agricultural Research Act of 1998, my administration worked with Congress to restore vital health, nutritional, and disability benefits to hundreds of thousands of vulnerable legal immigrants. Recognizing that more

needs to be done, my budget includes a \$1.3 billion proposal to restore health care benefits to children and pregnant women, nutritional assistance to elderly individuals, and disability and health assistance to legal immigrants who become disabled after they arrive in the United States.

The proposal introduced today, which is similar to the one in my budget, would provide health care coverage for over 55,000 children, allowing States to use Medicaid or the Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP) for pregnant women and children who are legal immigrants, regardless of when they came to the U.S. I look forward to working with Members of Congress on both sides of the aisle to enact this legislation to help many children lead healthier and more productive lives.

The President's News Conference With President Jacques Chirac of France in Paris

June 17, 1999

President Chirac. We wanted to have the Sun shine for President Clinton's visit, and I would like to welcome him most warmly for the meeting this year, in the framework of frequent contact and very pleasant contacts—always very pleasant contacts—whether it's over the phone or whether it's a friendly meeting such as today's. And I'm very pleased that President and Mrs. Clinton were able to take some time to come through Paris on the occasion of the President's trip to Cologne for the G-7/G-8.

Yesterday evening we had a very pleasant dinner. I can't say that we worked a great deal yesterday evening, to tell you the truth. But however, we did spend time which personally I very much enjoyed. So a bit yesterday evening and much more this morning, we, first of all, drew the lessons from the crisis in Kosovo, and we noted that our victory in Kosovo will be a complete victory only once refugees have been able to come back to their homes and when all the communities living in Kosovo are able to live in safety, namely, thanks to the vigilance of the military security force which is at present deploying in the region.

We also discussed a number of other problems: the European defense system, in particular, concerning recent events which have occurred in the Balkans, but also following positions taken at the Washington summit; the relaunching of the peace process in the Middle East, such as we very much hope for following the forthcoming appointment of the Government of Israel, and the role which Europe and France might play and the help we might contribute to those efforts made to ensure an effective launching of the peace process.

We also considered various problems on the agenda of our Cologne meeting, summit; the very important initiatives that we're taking on the eve of the next century concerning the debt owed by poor countries; the reinforcement and adjustment of the international financial system; the social dimension, which you know I'm very deeply attached to, of globalization and the consequence to be drawn from this.

And I also suggested to President Clinton that the G-8 summit consider the possibility of taking initiative in an area which is of great concern, namely to Europeans at present, and which is that of food security, safety of foodstuffs. Our people are increasingly concerned, worried, and I would like to suggest that the setting up of a global higher scientific council for food safety. I shan't go into the details, but I have proposed this to the heads of state government of the G-8, and I shall have an opportunity to develop this point in Cologne. But my wish is to have this considered by heads of state and government of the G-8, and we see whether it might be possible to find a solution able to better guarantee the health of Europeans—of all of the inhabitants of the world, of course.

And before giving the floor to President Clinton, I should like to say in concluding how very much I welcome the very good quality of Franco-American relations. Everybody knows, and it's obvious, occasionally we have differences of views. But we know how to deal with them, and have done so for some time and to resolve these differences in a spirit of friendship between partners who respect each other. And it is probably a fact

which is based on a very long, very long, century-old friendship between our two peoples and our two countries.

Bill, you have the floor.

President Clinton. Thank you very much, Mr. President. I will be brief. President Chirac has given you a good summary of the things that we discussed today.

I would like to thank him again, publicly, for the wonderful dinner that he and Mrs. Chirac gave to Hillary and to me last night. We had a terrific time. We did not discuss a lot of business. We mostly discussed archaeology, and endangered species around the world. But we had a wonderful dinner.

Let me say a few words about Kosovo. As of today, 26,000 Serb soldiers have left Kosovo, 15,000 of our KFOR forces have arrived. The refugees are coming home, indeed, in many cases, faster than we think safe, because of the landmines, which we are working hard to remove. But they want to go home.

It has been very moving to me to see the troops of all of our nations cheered by the people there; also moving to see our soldiers uncovering evidence of what we stood against, evidence of mass graves, evidence in the form of the piles of documents stripped from the refugees to erase their identities.

I'd like to pay particular tribute to President Chirac for his leadership and his firmness in this crisis. This was the longest operation in which NATO had engaged in 50 years. We had 19 countries representing hundreds of millions of people with all manner of different domestic situations. But we stayed together, and we will stay together, and we will continue our mission there until we succeed.

But the French President was especially adamant that, having begun, we had to stay until we won, and we had to do it in the right way and to do whatever it took to do that. And I am very grateful to him for the relationship that we have enjoyed personally and for the relationship that our countries have enjoyed and the solidarity we've had within NATO.

Now we have to finish the job. We have to help the Kosovars to restore their homes and the basic conditions of living, the institutions of civil society necessary for them to

exercise autonomy. We also have to help the region. We have made a commitment at the NATO Summit, which I know will be reaffirmed at the G-7 and G-8 meeting, and which the EU has already articulated, to try to build a different future, a more prosperous, more democratic future for the entire region. And we are all committed to doing that.

If we don't want the Balkans and south-eastern Europe to be torn apart in the future by ancient religious and ethnic hatreds, we have to give them a better tomorrow to work for. And we are strongly committed to that.

Now, we also discussed any number of other subjects, but I think it would be better for me to open the floor to questions. I would close by saying I was particularly moved by the discussion we had about the Middle East peace process. Hopes are high now, but we all know that we have to give the Prime Minister-elect the opportunity to put his government together and get off to a good start. But the reports we have about a broad-based coalition are quite encouraging, and I think it's fair to say that France and all of Europe, the United States, hope that we can play a constructive role in what we hope will be a productive next step in that.

NATO-Russia Negotiations on Kosovo

Q. President Clinton, what is the latest from the Russians? There is a report—

President Clinton. Go ahead, Sam [Sam Donaldson, ABC News].

Q. President Clinton, what's the latest on the Russians, sir? There's a report that they may have agreed on the command structure acceptable to NATO but are still insisting on something like a zone. What can you tell us?

President Clinton. Well, I can tell you that just before I came over here for my meeting with President Chirac, I got an update. You know that Secretary Cohen has been meeting with the Russian Defense Minister, Sergeev. You know that Secretary Albright left here and flew to Helsinki to meet with Foreign Minister Ivanov. And the atmosphere is pretty positive and pretty hopeful. President Chirac and I talked about it for a long time.

We want the Russians to be involved in this mission in a comprehensive way. We

think it is important. But we also think it is important that we maintain clear unity of command, under KFOR, according to the U.N. resolution. And they're working through that, and I hope and believe they will reach a successful conclusion.

I don't have any specific details for you because they're in the middle of trying to work this out. But I know that—I'm aware that there are two or three options they're working on, all of which would be acceptable to us and to our partners, including the French. So we're working on it.

Reconstruction of the Balkans

Q. In the reconstruction of Yugoslavia do you take into consideration the only full member state of the NATO having a direct border with Yugoslavia, Hungary, that applied many times for being the center and headquarters of the reconstruction?

[At this point, another question was asked in French, and no translation was provided.]

President Chirac. The certainty of France is that it is necessary to organize as soon as possible in the region a system which is democratic. It is by enabling democracy to put down roots that it shall be possible to create the conditions for tolerance. And it is tolerance that will allow communities that have clashed for a long time to live together at peace. It will take time.

Naturally, there is an objective. The objective is the possibility, calling for these countries to become members of the European Union and their interest to do so. And therefore, the prospect for France is to do our utmost to help the region to overcome the difficulties that presents but also to do our utmost to convince them that their future is the European Union, and this entails peace at home. And this peace can only be found thanks to development and to the enrooting of democracy.

President Clinton. You asked me a question about whether Hungary might be the center of the reconstruction efforts. Actually, I have—as you know, the Hungarian President was just in Washington for a state visit, and it was a wonderful success. And then I called your Prime Minister to thank him for

his solidarity with NATO during this very difficult period for Hungary.

Both of them expressed a willingness for Hungary to play a role in the reconstruction of Kosovo and the entire Balkans region. Both expressed some interest in being the center of the reconstruction effort. That decision is a decision which would have to be made by all of our allies, and not just by the United States, especially given the leading role the European Union has played in making commitments to the long-term redevelopment of the area.

But I think that because of Hungary's ties to Serbia, because of the large number of Hungarians in northwest Serbia and Vojvodina, I think it is very important that the Hungarians be very much involved in this.

Terry [Terence Hunt, Associated Press].

War Crimes Trials/Reconstruction of Yugoslavia

Q. Mr. President, now that the conflict is over, do you and President Chirac think that a full-court press should be made to bring Slobodan Milosevic to trial to answer for the war crimes indictment? And President Chirac, do you agree with President Clinton that there should be no reconstruction aid for Belgrade as long as Mr. Milosevic is in power?

President Chirac. Great democracies, in particular, and the international community, in general, have, as a rule, to give development aid to a country only if the country meets the democratic criteria which are usually retained. And there are still some countries, unfortunately, which are subject to embargoes, do not receive aid, precisely because they are not democratic regimes. And this is the reason why. Personally, I absolutely share the feelings of President Clinton; that is, that there can be no economic development aid to a regime which is not democratic and whose present leader, furthermore, has been indicted with crimes against humanity by the International War Crimes court.

Development aid is one thing; humanitarian aid is a different thing. What we wish to sanction is a regime that does not apply

democratic rules, obviously; it is not unfortunate Serbs who are also victims. Hence, humanitarian aid, yes; development aid, economic aid, no—so long as democratic criteria are not met.

President Clinton. Let me say, first of all, I—as you know, I agree exactly with what President Chirac has said, also on the humanitarian issue. I think there's some humanitarian support we should make available to all the people of the region, including the Serbs in Serbia. But on redevelopment, I believe what he just said; we're all together on that.

Even though I strongly support the decision of the War Crimes Tribunal—or the prosecutor, Mrs. Arbour, too, to make the charges she did, I think it's important that we not in any way mislead people about what happens next. Our heaviest responsibility, the NATO Allies, is to get the Kosovars back home in safety and then to give them self-government, autonomy, and rebuilding assistance, and then work on the region.

Under the rules that we have followed, any of us, if we had jurisdiction over Mr. Milosevic, would turn him over, or anyone else who had been charged, just as we do in Bosnia. If he remains in Serbian—inside the confines of Serbia, presumably he's beyond the reach of the extradition powers of the other governments.

But sometimes these things take a good while to bear fruit. I think we'll just have to wait and see how that develops. But I think, given the evidence that was presented by Mrs. Arbour and what we know to be the evidence, I think she made the right decision. I think it's a very important thing. But I do not believe that the NATO Allies can invade Belgrade to try to deliver the indictment, if you will.

And I don't think we should be—that does not mean that this is not an important thing, or that there won't someday be a trial, but we need to focus on our obligations, our fundamental humanitarian obligations to get the Kosovars home and to continue to uncover whatever evidence of war crimes there is in Kosovo as well.

Middle East Peace Process

Q. Mr. President, what are the steps that your administration intends to undertake to revive the Middle East peace process, and to what extent are you determined to achieve a major breakthrough before the end of your second term?

President Clinton. Well, as you know, I have spent an enormous amount of time on this, for 6½ years now. The major step I took to revive the peace process was 9½ days at Wye Plantation last year in the Wye peace talks. I don't believe that I will have to take any steps to revive the peace process. I believe when the new government takes office, if what we see in the press reports is right about the composition of this broad-based coalition government, I believe that there will be a vigorous pursuit of all channels of the peace process.

And the United States will do what it can, as I have for 6½ years, and as we have done as a nation before, to support the parties that are seeking peace and to provide whatever security and other—economic and other incentives we can to bring it to a successful conclusion. But I expect there to be a revival of the peace process generated by the parties themselves. And then I expect to support it very strongly, and I would expect that President Chirac and the European Union will do the same.

President Chirac. Allow me to add that Europe today unanimously—and Europe has shown this once again in Berlin—and France naturally, given the traditional ties France has with all countries of the region, are absolutely determined in this new context to give maximum support to the efforts made by the parties concerned and, obviously by the United States.

Serbian Withdrawal From Kosovo

Q. Mr. President, do you expect the Serbs to get the other 14,000 troops out by the Sunday deadline? And are you surprised that President Milosevic has kept his word so far?

President Clinton. The short answer I guess is, yes and no. Yes, I do expect them to meet the deadline, unless there is some practical reason they can't. And it's interesting, when the Serb military made the

agreement, we even got word from some of the Kosovars that they expected the agreement to be kept. They thought that if the Serbian military forces actually gave their word, they would keep it. And I thought that was a hopeful reaction in terms of our ability to see some work together in the future.

Now, as you know, General Jackson has already—our Commander in Kosovo—has already given permission at one phase of this withdrawal for a day's delay. So if General Jackson were to be asked and were to accede to some reasonable change because there were some fact that I'm unaware of, I wouldn't necessarily oppose that. I've got great confidence in him. But they are keeping to schedule.

And am I surprised that Mr. Milosevic is doing that? No, I'm not, not really, because—not only because of the impact of our military campaign but because we have forces going in on the ground.

Of the previous understandings that I have had over the last several years with Mr. Milosevic, the ones we had at Dayton, coming out of Bosnia have pretty much been honored. But the facts were the same; we had forces on the ground. And I believe that that has a way of reinforcing people's commitments, when we have our forces there.

Iraq

Q. Mr. President, is there still a strong disagreement with the United States as to how to get out of the crisis with Iraq—accept the principle of the French proposals on Iraq concerning the 100-day suspension of embargo on Iraq?

President Clinton. Well, as you know, there is some difference here. I think largely it's a difference over what is likely to be more effective. The United States supports the efforts of the British and the Dutch and the Security Council because we believe that without the strongest possible inspection mechanism, Saddam Hussein will attempt to rebuild weapons of mass destruction stocks, particularly in the chemical and biological areas and perhaps missile technology, as well.

President Chirac can speak for himself, but he believes that if the French-Dutch resolution were—I mean, the British-Dutch resolution were to pass, that it would simply be

not accepted by Saddam Hussein, and so we would still be at an impasse. So there is a difference of opinion there. We agreed that we would discuss it further at the G-8, and we would try to come to a conclusion on it.

This is not an easy issue, and I respect the efforts that the French are making, that the President is making. I can tell you generally what my concern is. It is not so much Saddam Hussein himself as my belief that 10 years from now the person who is standing here as President and the person who is standing there as the President of France will be—and all of you, those of you who will be here asking questions—one of the things that you will be really worried about is the spread of biological and chemical weapons, probably high-tech, small-scale weapons, into the hands of international terrorist groups and organized crime groups that have loose relationships with irresponsible countries that give them these things. And I think it will be a substantial problem for the first couple of decades of the next century. And I just think we ought to do everything we possibly can to minimize that problem.

But I think I have fairly stated the practical difference between our two positions, and I think the President should speak for himself.

President Chirac. Well, obviously, I have the same concerns as President Clinton. But I think that the most important is, today, to once again reestablish inspections on Iraq's weapons, international verification. And to do so, what we need, at the very least, is to reexamine the conditions of the embargo—what is necessary, in any case, it seems to me, for reasons that have to do with the very serious degradation of living conditions of the Iraqi people, who are the victims of the situation. So we shall discuss a way of synthesizing, bring together these concerns.

But let us not challenge the solidarity and the unity of the Security Council. If we are not convinced that we're going to reach a result and the present state of affairs, as President Clinton was saying a moment ago, that in any case Iraq will refuse the resolution which is, at present, being drafted, and therefore, it would be a somewhat pointless gesture which would not lead to any concrete results but might strain the solidarity of the Security Council. And you know how very

deeply France is attached to the U.N., in general, and the Security Council, in particular. Thank you very much.

President Clinton. Thank you.

Q. Mr. President, do you believe the Russians lied to you, sir?

Q. [Inaudible].

President Clinton. We're going to be out there some more tomorrow.

Gun Control Legislation

Q. [Inaudible]—NRA may win with the— [inaudible]—

President Clinton. I know. I got up at 5 a.m. and started making calls this morning. I'm doing my best.

Q. What's your view?

President Clinton. I don't know yet. I'm not close enough to have a good count.

Al Gore's Announcement of Candidacy

Q. How do you think Al Gore did yesterday?

President Clinton. Wonderful. I thought he was terrific.

NOTE: The President's 175th news conference began at 11:24 a.m. in the Garden at Elysee Palace. President Chirac spoke in French, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. In his remarks, President Clinton referred to Bernadette Chirac, wife of President Chirac; Prime Minister-elect Ehud Barak of Israel; Defense Minister Igor Sergeev and Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov of Russia; President Arpad Goncz and Prime Minister Viktor Orban of Hungary; President Slobodan Milosevic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro); Louise Arbour, independent chief prosecutor, International War Crimes Tribunal; Lt. Gen. Mike Jackson, British Royal Army, Commander, Kosovo International Security Force; and President Saddam Hussein of Iraq. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this news conference.

Memorandum on Strengthening Our Commitment to Service Through Voluntary Opportunities

June 17, 1999

Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies

Subject: Strengthening Our Commitment to Service Through Voluntary Opportunities

Volunteer community service is a great American tradition and a profound expression of the civic values that bind us together as a Nation. Nowhere is the spirit of volunteerism more alive than among employees of the Federal Government, thousands of whom serve their country with dedication at work and as volunteers in their local communities. On April 22, 1998, I directed Federal departments and agencies to expand community service opportunities for Federal employees by making maximum use of existing flexibility in work scheduling policies. Today, I am encouraging all departments and agencies with operations in the District of Columbia to apply those policies so that their D.C.-based employees can take advantage of a vitally important community service opportunity: helping D.C. public school students become better readers this summer.

From June 28 through August 6, an estimated 30,000 D.C. school children with low test scores will be in mandatory and enrichment summer school programs run by the D.C. Public School system. Students whose scores do not markedly improve risk being held back a grade. This is part of the District's ambitious plan to end social promotion while also giving children the extra help they need to meet higher standards—the kind of positive reform I have called on all school districts to adopt. As the District's largest employer, the Federal Government has a unique opportunity to help children improve their scores and rejoin their classmates this fall.

That is why I am pleased that the Corporation for National and Community Service is assisting Federal departments and agencies

in recruiting 1,500 Federal employees to become volunteer reading tutors through the *D.C. Reads This Summer* program. Employees who choose to sign up with *D.C. Reads This Summer* will receive training and be able to work one-on-one with students once a week for 6 weeks at one of 32 school- and community-based tutoring sites around the city. I encourage departments and agencies that have not already done so to inform employees of this rewarding volunteer opportunity and assist where possible in transporting employees to and from the sites. I also ask that you continue to encourage and support employees who choose to volunteer through other community programs. In addition to *D.C. Reads*, there are many excellent programs being run through libraries and religious and community centers throughout the D.C. area. Finally, I encourage you to maintain or strengthen any preexisting partnerships that your department or agency may already have with D.C. or other local school systems.

William J. Clinton

Remarks on Gun Control Legislation and an Exchange With Reporters in Paris

June 17, 1999

I would just like to make a brief statement. Sometime today the United States Congress will be called upon to vote on whether to close the gun show loophole. It seems to me there's a very simple, direct question. If we close the loophole and do background checks in a comprehensive fashion at the gun shows, will we succeed, as we have with the Brady bill, in keeping more guns out of the hands of criminals and others who shouldn't have them—at every little inconvenience to legitimate gun owners.

The answer to that question is, yes. Everyone knows the answer to that question is yes. Therefore, I hope that this vote will be cast by Congress in the spirit that has gripped the country after the tragedy at Littleton, thinking about those children and other children that we can still save.

Once again, I think that the gun lobby is just wrong about this. And we've seen several

gun manufacturers come forward and say that the gun show loophole ought to be closed. We've seen several individual Republicans, and members of the NRA, come forward and say this. They're just wrong here. And I hope and pray that Congress will do the right thing.

Q. Mr. President, have you talked to Mr. Dingell and why is he doing this to the Democrats?

The President. I don't think he thinks he's doing this to the Democrats. I believe that this is something on which we have a profound disagreement on. I believe that John Dingell believes he's doing the right thing. But I know that most Members of Congress in both parties agree that the gun show loophole, if closed, would keep more guns out of the hands of criminals. That's what they think. And of course, we have about 80 percent of the Democrats in favor of this, maybe more, maybe 90 percent—I don't know but way—the vast majority. And most of the Republicans are voting the other way, the vast majority. They feel a certain amount of gratitude to the NRA for putting them in the majority in the House in the first place, by frightening people over the Brady bill and the assault weapons ban. And I understand that.

But now we've got 5 years of experience with the Brady bill and the assault weapons ban. All lawful gun owners can still go hunting, can still engage in sport shooting, but we kept 400,000 guns out of the wrong hands with the Brady bill. And now they know that a lot of people with criminal backgrounds are trying to get guns at gun shows and flea markets and things of that kind. It is time to close the loophole—it's a simple, simple, straightforward question on the merits. And if everyone voted on the merits it would carry by 80 percent. And I think we all know that.

NATO-Russia Negotiations on Kosovo

Q. Mr. President, can you report any progress at all in the talks with the Russians and resolving the situation of their role in Kosovo?

The President. I just got an update. They're still talking. We haven't resolved all the issues, but they have made pretty good progress today. I'm pleased, and I would urge

them to keep working, and I think we'll bring this to a successful conclusion in the next little while—the next day or so I think we'll get it worked out. There has been progress today. I'm pleased with that.

Q. Does that progress relate to control of the airport?

The President. I think that until we have it all worked out—I don't want to get into what's been done and what hasn't. But I have—I can tell you that there has been substantive progress on very important issues. We've still got, I think, maybe just one issue, maybe two to resolve. But we're making progress. Everybody is working in good faith, and I expect it to be done.

Q. When do you think it will get worked out?

The President. Soon. They know we don't have a lot of time, and they know that we need to be—all of us need to be putting all of our energies on rapid, comprehensive deployment so that we can provide security to everyone and begin to work on building the institutions of civil government in Kosovo that will treat all the citizens of Kosovo in a fair and equitable way. And the quicker we get to work on that, the better.

Now, we're doing that now. We've got, as I said, we've got, I told you today, earlier, we've gotten 15,000 of our troops in there; we're deploying as rapidly as we can. We've been working like crazy on this mine problem; we don't want to lose any more of the refugees coming home to landmines. They desperately want to come home. They love their country. They want to be there. And so that's what I want us to focus on. That's what I want all of us to focus on.

We had a very, very good partnership with the Russians in Bosnia, and I think once these agreements are made, people on all sides will keep all the commitments, and we'll have a good partnership here.

Gun Control Legislation

Q. Mr. President, you said several times today that the gun vote is difficult for many Members. You've been talking to Members, presumably to Democrats it's most hard for. Why is it so hard for them? What are they telling you?

The President. Well, I think that a lot of them who represent rural districts, where there are a lot of gunowners, know that in 1994 the NRA beat somewhere between 12 and 20 of our Members. I mean, let's just put it—and they did it by scaring legitimate gunowners into thinking the Brady bill and the assault weapons ban were going to do terrible things to them and would do no good in fighting crime.

But 5 years later, I'd like to point out, number one, it didn't do terrible things to legitimate gunowners. Number two, it kept 400,000 guns out of the wrong hands. And number three, the country has moved on this; rural people have moved on this. And Littleton galvanized the country. This is crazy for the United States to be the only advanced country in the world that doesn't take comprehensive, sensible, thorough steps to keep handguns out of the hands of criminals. It's just—it doesn't make any sense.

So I think that—my belief is that if a Member in a difficult district is willing to cast this vote and then aggressively defend it, there will be no losses. In fact, they will be rewarded for doing this, even in the difficult districts, in 2000. But I have told them all—you know, I've had very honest, non-pressure oriented conversations. This is something I care deeply about. I come from a State where this is a big issue. I was profoundly proud that every Southern Democrat voted to close the gun show loophole in the United States Senate. And that means not only that they know it's the right thing to do; it means that they're confident they can go home to our part of the country and defend it. And I believe that.

And I don't believe—again, I don't believe this is a big partisan issue anywhere but Washington, I think that's at least like the Patients' Bill of Rights I think—you know, I had a friend of mine from the Intermountain West in Washington last week, whose brother owns an arsenal of weapons, literally, including semi-automatic weapons. He's a big collector of guns. And his brother, he sent me a message, he said, "You know, this ought to be passed. I keep my guns locked. I'm trained to use them. I'm careful about them. I don't want anybody to have

any of this stuff they shouldn't have, and this is wrong."

So I think that serious—I'm amazed by how many people have called into the White House on our comment line and identified themselves as NRA members, identified themselves as Republicans, who disagree with me on my things, encouraging us to go forward on this. The country has moved on this. And everybody knows that the only way anyone can get bead on this is if the facts are misrepresented to the voters. Now, there were some voters that were in a—they weren't in a most positive frame of mind in '94, anyway. But the public is in a positive frame of mind now. They know our economy is working. They know our crime rate is down. They know our welfare rolls are down. They know our social problems are diminishing. And they are profoundly moved by what happened at Littleton. They don't want these children to have died for nothing.

And this should not be a partisan issue. There are some people, like Mr. Dingell, who honestly disagree. They ought to have a chance to vote their convictions. But you know and I know and everybody that covers the Congress knows that the overwhelming majority of the Congress believes that if we close the gun show loophole, that we'll keep more guns out of the hands of criminals; we'll save more lives; and we won't inconvenience legitimate gun owners. Everybody knows that's the truth on the merits. So I just pray that they'll go in there and vote on the merits. Then if they'll defend their votes in the election, none of them, Republicans or Democrats, will be defeated.

Thank you.

NOTE: The exchange began at 6:03 p.m. at the U.S. Ambassador's residence. In his remarks, the President referred to Representative John D. Dingell. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

Memorandum on Suspension of Limitation Under the Jerusalem Embassy Act

June 17, 1999

Presidential Determination No. 99-29

Memorandum for the Secretary of State

Subject: Suspension of Limitation Under the Jerusalem Embassy Act

Pursuant to the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States, including section 7(a) of the Jerusalem Embassy Act of 1995 (Public Law 104-45) (the "Act"), I hereby determine that it is necessary to protect the national security interests of the United States to suspend for a period of 6 months the limitation set forth in section 3(b) of the Act.

You are hereby authorized and directed to transmit this determination to the Congress, accompanied by a report in accordance with section 7(a) of the Act, and to publish the determination in the *Federal Register*.

This suspension shall take effect after transmission of this determination and report to the Congress.

William J. Clinton

NOTE: This memorandum was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on June 18.

Exchange With Reporters Prior to Discussions With Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi of Japan in Cologne, Germany

June 18, 1999

Prime Minister Obuchi. I look forward very much to meeting you again next summer, in July, when we host the Kyushu-Okinawa summit. I hope to see you there.

President Clinton. And I'm very pleased that it's going to be in Okinawa. That's great.

Gun Control Legislation

Q. Mr. President, as you know, Dingell won and McCarthy lost, and the NRA is crowing that they beat you. What's your reaction?

President Clinton. They did. But they didn't beat me, they beat the American people. When the NRA got the House leadership to put the vote off a month, past the Memorial Day recess, so that the memories of Littleton would fade and they could wear the Members out—from these districts where they were vulnerable—they were given a terrific advantage. And they did what they always do with backroom politics; they made the most of it.

But I noticed even last night they kept putting the vote off. When did they vote, 1:30 a.m.? After, so it wouldn't be on the evening news, in the hope that no one would find out that they are still running the Congress, this Congress, for their own convenience, instead of for the interest of the people.

They did win, and it's a great tribute to their money and their power. But it's not a tribute to the children or the future of America. So one more time the Congress of the United States, with the majority in the lead, says, "We don't care what's necessary to protect our children. We can't possibly bear to make anyone in the NRA mad." And the American people are going to have to send them a signal some way or another. Because the NRA can always produce several hundred telephone calls for every one an ordinary citizen would make. The people who feel strongly about this are not organized. They don't have a lot of money, and they don't normally threaten people in public life the way the NRA threatens them.

So now they say, "Okay, if you go to a gun show and you'd rather not have your background checked, just walk outside and swap guns and money and everything is fine." I think when the American people figure out what they did in the dead of night, they will be bitterly disappointed; they'll be shaking their head; and they'll wonder what in the world is going on in Washington. What is going on is business as usual. And it was a great victory for the NRA, but it was a great defeat for the safety of our children.

There's a reason they did this at 1:30 a.m. They will never be able to explain why it's okay not to have a background check if these guys go outside, or why it's okay to have a background check that the FBI has already told them will let over 20 percent more criminals get handguns. They'll never be able to defend it, so they did it at 1:30 a.m.

NATO-Russia Negotiations on Kosovo

Q. Mr. President, what do you hear from Helsinki this morning?

President Clinton. That they're still working, that they've got almost all the issues resolved, that there are still some matters still to be resolved. When I was briefed this morning it didn't seem to me that it would take too much longer, given the nature of the issues.

Q. Mr. President—[inaudible]—you and President Yeltsin to solve the issue?

President Clinton. Well, I think the important thing right now, insofar as possible, is to focus on making decisions that will work. I don't think that—it may be necessary for this to be resolved not only at our level but the involvement of Prime Minister Blair, President Chirac, Chancellor Schroeder, and others. But I don't think so, I think the Defense Ministers are working. Secretary Cohen is consulting, basically, all the time with our Defense Ministers and NATO.

The thing that I think we need to focus on is what is necessary to make this work. You know, you folks have done—the news media has done a stunning job in the last day or 2 in reporting what our people are finding, now that they're finally in Kosovo, about the dimensions of the wholesale slaughter that went on there. We must not make any decisions which will in any way, shape, or form, undermine the ability of the Kosovars or the willingness of the Kosovars to come home.

So we can work through all this. We want to protect the Serb minority, they deserve that. We want this to be a balanced force, but we have got to achieve our objectives. And certainly the horrible, horrible stories that have been coming out in vivid detail in the last 2 days should reinforce that in the minds of all of us, including, I would hope,

the Russians. So I expect we'll get this worked out today.

Economic Recovery in Japan

Q. Mr. President, do you think the Japanese economy has turned the corner with the strong—[*inaudible*]—

President Clinton. [*Inaudible*]—they had good news, I certainly hope so. I want to talk to the Prime Minister about it. His opinion would be better than mine, but I was thrilled by their economic performance in the last quarter. And I think it's a tribute to the steadfast economic reform program of the Prime Minister. I hope that they will be able to keep doing that. I think it's good for the world for Japan to have this kind of growth. And the United States should welcome it, too, because as one part of it, as you probably know, is that there has been a substantial drop in the trade deficit we had with steel, imported Japanese steel which, as you know, has been a huge bone of contention in America.

So I hope we can keep making progress on that, and I hope they can keep growing, because I think it's good for the world, as well as for the Japanese people.

Q. So do you think Mr. Obuchi's economic policies are paying off now, with the 7.9 percent economic growth—

President Clinton. It's very good news. I know that he wants to see it continue, and so do I. But I think—you know, this is good news. The people of Japan have endured a lot of disappointing quarters. They must be very happy about this, and the people in the United States, we're all pulling and hoping that this is a trend and that we'll see more of it.

NOTE: The exchange began at 10:21 a.m. at the Hyatt Regency Hotel. In his remarks, the President referred to President Boris Yeltsin of Russia; Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom; President Jacques Chirac of France; and Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder of Germany. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

Remarks Prior to Discussions With Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom and an Exchange With Reporters in Cologne

June 18, 1999

Situation in Kosovo

President Clinton. I would just like to make a brief comment. The Prime Minister and I are looking forward to having a discussion about the next steps on Kosovo. But I think it's important to point out, and I think we should all just take a moment to reflect on the fact that this is the eighth day of the agreement; 35,000 Serb troops have left Kosovo; 19,000 KFOR troops are in there. They're going about their work, and they're busy establishing security.

The refugees are beginning to come home, some of them even before we think it's safe. But the three things that we've fought for 79 days to achieve, the Serb forces out, the international force with NATO at its core, and the refugees coming home, are being achieved. And I am profoundly grateful for that and very grateful for the strong voice of Prime Minister Blair in our common endeavor.

Do you want to say anything before we start?

Prime Minister Blair. Well, I would simply like to echo those words and say to you that, as we see the full horror of what went on in Kosovo, I think we can see how important it was that we took the action that we did and that we were prepared to see this conflict through to a successful conclusion. And there couldn't be any better testament to the new spirit there is in the world than the fact that we were prepared to stand up for the values of civilization and justice as we approach the 21st century. It's a good basis upon which to kick off the new millennium.

Let me just say one other thing. I think the other thing that was important was the unity of the NATO Alliance throughout this period of time, and I give my thanks to all my European colleagues. But in particular, I would like to thank President Clinton for

his leadership and for his courage and his support throughout this time, because without the United States of America, without your leadership and without the American people's support, we simply couldn't have brought this to a successful conclusion. And again, there couldn't be any better illustration of the unity that there is that we managed to bring this about.

Q. Mr. President, do you really think it is possible to build a multinational Kosovo now, knowing the horrors of the torture chambers and so on that we've seen and the departure of the Serbs?

President Clinton. I think the important thing is to get the truth out and make all the people safe. And then I think we will have to do a lot of work. I think we'll have to give a lot of care to the emotional and the psychological scars of the Kosovars, especially the children. I think that we will have to bring religious leaders together from both their traditions and perhaps others around the world. I think people who have gone through this in South Africa and other places will have to be asked to help.

But yes, I do. And finally, let me say I think—I know the Prime Minister and I feel especially strongly about this—we have to give them a different tomorrow to work for. We have to not only rebuild Kosovo, we've got to rebuild southeastern Europe in a way that gives them the incentive to work together and to accommodate their differences.

You see this happening in Romania and Hungary and other places. Yes, it can be done. But it's going to be a great challenge. The main thing is, we've reversed the ethnic cleansing, and we're getting to the truth here. As Prime Minister Blair said, it is a worse truth than we had dared dream of and we had hoped we would find, eerily reminiscent of what happened in Bosnia. But as least we acted more quickly here. We have reversed it, and I think that's the important principle.

Gun Control Legislation

Q. Mr. President, do you accept the fact that the NRA seems to have beaten you fair and square on the gun issue, on gun shows? Or is there another throw of the dice here?

President Clinton. Well, for one thing, I've been working on this for years. And I think the thing I'm worried about is, I don't want the American people defeated here. I have a simple question after this vote: Will this vote mean that we're going to permit criminals who otherwise would never have gotten handguns to get them because of the NRA, because of the relentless pressure they put on Members of Congress? Does that mean that people will be shot and maybe some people will die, and we could have saved their lives and lowered the crime rate further? I think the answer to that is clear.

So sometimes it's a good thing to lose if you're fighting for what you believe in. It's better than not making the fight. And I have found that if you just keep working at it, we keep making progress. Now, look at the Brady law. We've kept 400,000 improper sales from occurring. So everybody knows more and more the criminals are turning to the gun shows and to the flea markets. Therefore, there ought to be the same sort of background checks. That's my position. That's the position of the overwhelming majority of the American people.

The pressure and the effective lobbying of the NRA has kept the Congress from embracing that position. I understand that. They beat a lot of people in '94 who stood up for the Brady bill. And I hope those people sleep better at night because of a lot of Americans are alive because they were willing to take on the NRA. So I just intend to keep on fighting. I think we'll keep making progress because we're right.

The United States is a great country, but it is the only country in the world that's still living as if you don't have to take reasonable precautions to keep guns out of the hands of children and criminals. This has nothing to do with the second amendment, and we've made a lot of progress—that's why we've got the lowest crime rate in 30 years—we're going to make some more. I'm just getting warmed up. I'm energized for the fight, and I hope Carol McCarthy is and Sarah Brady and all of our allies. We'll just keep working on it.

Reconstruction of the Balkans

Q. Mr. President, you spoke of rebuilding. Do you believe Europe should carry the bulk of the cost of that rebuilding in southeastern Europe, as has been reported?

President Clinton. Yes, but I think the international financial institutions should do a lot of it, and I think the United States should contribute. But keep in mind, what we want is to see what happened—the Marshall plan analogy is overused, but one big thing about the Marshall plan was that in order to participate in the Marshall plan, all the European countries had to file a joint plan to redevelop.

So if you just look more on the scale of what was done for Hungary, Poland, and the Czech Republic after the Berlin Wall fell, and you add to that the notion that these countries should plan together for their future—and the European Union has been very forthright in saying that there should be more integration within the Balkans, within southeastern Europe and then a closer relationship to the European Union—that, it seems to me, to be—is the direction we ought to follow.

A lot of this can and should be done through the IMF, the World Bank, and I think the United States should contribute to this because I think it's in our interest. But I think when it's all said and done, I think all of this will more or less balance out. We've paid for most of the air campaign, but we're only providing 15 percent of the troops to KFOR. So Europe's paying for most of that. But we'll balance this out.

I think we need to do it in a fair way and we need to stay together and we need to keep our eye on the ball, which is achieving the objective.

Press Secretary Joe Lockhart. Thank you.

Q. Prime Minister, may I ask you if you agree that Europe should supply the vast bulk of the funds for the reconstruction work necessary in Kosovo? And on the question of debt relief at this summit, why all the pussyfooting, why not right now go ahead and wipe out the debts of all the poorest developing countries?

Prime Minister Blair. Firstly, on that issue, we are, in fact, going to take a huge

step forward at this summit in terms of debt relief for those that are the poorest countries in the world. We will be writing off literally billions of dollars worth of debt, and I believe this summit will mark, probably, the single biggest step forward in debt relief and help for the poorest countries that we've seen in the international community for many years.

Now of course, there are things that we can do that go even further than that, but I don't think we should pause from the subject without acknowledging the huge step forward that will be taken by agreement at this summit.

Secondly, in relation to reconstruction, I agree entirely with what the President has said. And do understand, you've got to balance this out, as he was saying, across a whole range of issues. America has provided enormous help and, indeed, the bulk of the help and the costs in terms of the military action. We acknowledge our responsibility in relation to reconstruction. There's a different set of balances in relation to the cost of the troops that are going in now, and you've got to look at everything in the round.

But I think the main point is this. I mean, we will obviously work this out and negotiate it amongst ourselves. But the main point is this: All the way through this conflict, we derived huge support from those frontline states that in circumstances of real difficulty and real political pressure stood by us and allowed us to do the job of reversing this ethnic cleansing.

Now, we said all the way through that we would help them to reconstruct the Balkans, to make the Balkans a place of peace and security within Europe in the future, not a region that's based on ethnic conflict. Our job is to make sure that the promises that we made to them during the course of the conflict we now honor post-conflict.

So as I say, I think we can debate about the cost and balance it out in terms of the overall military campaign, how we deliver the proper administration in Kosovo, how we then reconstruct the Balkans. But the key thing about this is our determination to make sure that reconstruction actually happens.

NOTE: The exchange began at 1:42 p.m. at the Hyatt Regency Hotel. In his remarks, the President referred to Representative Carolyn McCarthy and Sarah Brady, chair, Hand Gun Control, Inc. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

Exchange With Reporters Prior to Discussions With Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder of Germany in Cologne

June 18, 1999

Character Education in Public Schools

Q. Mr. President, in another House action, the House has passed a measure which would permit the Ten Commandments to be posted in public schools. Do you think that's constitutional?

President Clinton. I think it raises constitutional questions. I think what they're trying to do is to say that the schools ought to teach basic elements of character education, and I agree with that. And Secretary Riley and I have worked on that for several years, now. So I would—what I would like to do is to—rather than get into a big constitutional fight, is to have the Secretary meet with the Members of Congress, show them what we're trying to do in this area that is plainly constitutional, and maybe get them to support that, so we can intensify our efforts.

And the idea that the schools ought to build the character of children I think is a very good idea. But it ought to be done in a way that respects the wide diversity of our student body and that doesn't lead to a long, drawn-out legal challenge.

I understand the impulse behind it, and I think the impulse is good. We just have to be—we don't want to raise constitutional questions. There is another option here that I think achieves their objective. I'm going to—when I get home I'm going to talk to them about it.

NATO-Russia Negotiations on Kosovo

Q. [*Inaudible*—you think there will be a solution with the Russians concerning the problems in Kosovo?

President Clinton. I do. The Chancellor and I—we're going to talk about it.

I'd like to begin by thanking the *Bundeskanzler* for hosting this and for doing such an outstanding job, not only leading the G-8 but also leading the EU in this period and for being a wonderful leader in our Alliance in the campaign in Kosovo.

We have been working very hard in the last days, as you know, to get our troops in as the Serbs leave. Today, we have 19,000 in; 35,000 of theirs have gone. And this is a good day. And I do believe, based on what I have just heard, that we have a good chance of reaching a resolution today on the role in the Russians in our KFOR. So we have to discuss this, but I think if we can get everybody together on this in the next couple of hours, we'll have an agreement. I'm hoping.

Debt Relief

Q. Chancellor Schroeder, the indebted nations want debt forgiveness now, about \$100 billion. Is that doable?

Chancellor Schroeder. I think that sum will certainly not be achieved, whatever it will get to. But we certainly get together here during the summit to talk about the fact that we would like to assist the poorest countries with their development and their debt problems.

We, of course, have to—we're at the beginning of the summit—have to go in and discuss the more finite detail, and then we'll come up with a result which we'll share with you at the end of the summit, and not now, at the beginning. [*Laughter*]

NOTE: The exchange began at 2:51 p.m. in the Isabellensaal Room at the Gurzenich. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

Statement on House Action on Gun Control Legislation

June 18, 1999

Instead of closing the deadly gun show loophole, the House of Representatives voted in the dark of night to let criminals keep buying guns at gun shows. This vote will not stand the light of day. I will keep working until the Congress stands up to the gun lobby and makes the commonsense measures passed by the Senate the law of

the land. We owe it to the families of the children who died in Littleton to give all Americans the safety they deserve.

Statement on House Action on Gun Control Legislation

June 18, 1999

This week, instead of listening to the American people and strengthening our gun laws, the House of Representatives listened to the gun lobby and did nothing at all. The House leadership gutted this bill in the dark of night to keep commonsense gun legislation from seeing the light of day.

The American people will not stand for this. Our Nation is waiting for Washington to pass a real law that keeps guns away from children and out of the hands of criminals. I call on the Congress to stop playing politics and start living up to its responsibility to help save lives.

Proclamation 7205—Father's Day, 1999

June 18, 1999

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Each year on Father's Day, Americans take special joy in remembering the many cherished moments they have shared with their fathers through the years. Reading stories before bedtime, playing catch after dinner, camping out in the backyard, sharing driving lessons—at these moments and countless others throughout a lifetime, devoted fathers are there to guide their sons and daughters, to instill confidence in them, and to provide for them and protect them in times of need.

The impact of these moments on children's development and future is immeasurable. Although children may not understand it until they become parents themselves, these are the times when fathers impart to their sons and daughters strong values and teach them important lessons about love, responsibility, faith, hard work, and determination. In these moments, fathers imbue

in their children the strength and self-esteem they need to achieve their full potential.

As children grow and mature—from toddlers carried on their fathers' shoulders to teenagers who need help navigating the challenges of adolescence to young men and women who need guidance on life, love, family, and career—their relationships with their fathers change as well. Yet, the need for a father's friendship and wisdom continues to grow; and throughout all the seasons of life, fathers remain role models, teachers, heroes, and friends.

Vice President Gore and I have challenged fathers to be actively involved in their children's lives and to provide both emotional and financial support. Last June, the Vice President released a report showing that children who grow up without fathers are more likely to do poorly in school, to get into trouble with the law, and to have difficulty in getting and keeping a job. But our fathers cannot always meet their responsibilities to their children without help. That is why it is crucial that we lift up our fathers through efforts like the reauthorization of the Welfare-to-Work program so that more low income fathers can work, pay child support, and become more involved with their children.

We can never truly repay our fathers—whether biological, adoptive, foster, or step-father—for their many precious gifts to us, for their steadfast faith in our potential and abilities, for their unwavering devotion and unconditional love. We can, however, express our deep appreciation for all they have done and thank them for the many sacrifices they have made to create a better life for us. There is no more fitting national tribute to fathers than reserving a day in their honor, and there is no more appropriate celebration of their profound impact on the lives of their children and the strength of our Nation.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, in accordance with a joint resolution of the Congress approved April 24, 1972 (36 U.S.C. 142a), do hereby proclaim Sunday, June 20, 1999, as Father's Day. I invite the States, communities across the country, and all the citizens of the United States to observe this

day with appropriate ceremonies and activities to express our deep appreciation and abiding love for our fathers.

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

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., June 22, 1999]

NOTE: This proclamation will be published in the *Federal Register* on June 23.

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.

June 12

In the morning, the President traveled to Chicago, IL, and in the evening, he returned to Washington, DC.

June 13

In the evening, the President and Hillary Clinton attended "An American Celebration" at the Ford's Theatre.

The President had a telephone conversation with President Boris Yeltsin of Russia concerning NATO peacekeeping efforts in Kosovo.

June 14

The President had separate telephone conversations concerning NATO peacekeeping efforts in Kosovo with the following foreign leaders: President Boris Yeltsin of Russia, President Václav Havel of the Czech Republic, Prime Minister Ivan Kostov of Bulgaria, Prime Minister Ljubco Georgievski of Macedonia, and Prime Minister Radu Vasile of Romania.

The President also had separate telephone conversations with President Hugo Chavez

of Venezuela concerning regional issues and cooperation on counternarcotics efforts, and Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee of India concerning the situation in Kashmir.

The White House announced that the President will travel to Connecticut and New York City on June 28; Chicago, IL, on June 30; Miami, FL, on July 13; and Cincinnati, OH, and Aspen, CO, on July 23.

June 15

In the evening, the President and Hillary and Chelsea Clinton traveled to Geneva, Switzerland, arriving after midnight.

The President announced his intention to nominate Jerry Florence to be a member of the National Museum Services Board.

The President announced his intention to appoint Dr. Gary Vikan as a member of the Cultural Property Advisory Committee.

The President announced his intention to appoint Thomas J. Donohue, Gerald Greenwald, Louis V. Gerstner, Jr., Rhonda Karpatkin, and Robert Shapiro as members of the Advisory Committee for Trade Policy and Negotiations.

June 16

In the morning, the President met with President Ruth Dreifuss of Switzerland concerning the situation in Kosovo.

In the afternoon, the President and Hillary and Chelsea Clinton traveled to Paris, France. While en route aboard Air Force One, the President had separate telephone conversations with Rep. Nick Lampson and Rep. Bob Etheridge concerning proposed gun control legislation.

The President announced his intention to appoint Greta Dicus as Chair of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission.

June 17

In the evening, the President traveled to Cologne, Germany.

The President announced his intention to nominate Michael A. Sheehan to be Coordinator for Counter-Terrorism with the rank of Ambassador at the Department of State.

June 18

The President announced his intention to nominate Dr. A. Lee Fritschler to be Assistant Secretary for Postsecondary Education at the Department of Education.

The President announced his intention to nominate Robert S. Gelbard to be Ambassador to Indonesia.

The President announced his intention to nominate Sally Katzen to be Deputy Director for Management at the Office of Management and Budget.

The President announced his intention to appoint Victoria Catchett, Carl Feen, Christine Warnke, and Cynthia Yorkin to the President's Advisory Committee on the Arts of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

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.

Withdrawn June 15

Richard A. Grafmeyer, of Maryland, to be a member of the Social Security Advisory Board for the remainder of the term expiring September 30, 2000, vice Harlan Mathews, resigned, which was sent to the Senate on January 6, 1999.

Submitted June 17

Maryanne Trump Barry, of New Jersey, to be U.S. Circuit Judge for the Third Circuit, vice H. Lee Sarokin, retired.

James E. Duffy, Jr., of Hawaii, to be U.S. Circuit Judge for the Ninth Circuit, vice Cynthia Holcomb Hall, retired.

Stuart E. Eizenstat, of Maryland, to be Deputy Secretary of the Treasury, vice Lawrence H. Summers.

Elena Kagan, of the District of Columbia, to be U.S. Circuit Judge for the District of Columbia Circuit, vice James L. Buckley, retired.

F. Whitten Peters, of the District of Columbia, to be Secretary of the Air Force, vice Sheila E. Widnall, resigned.

Michael A. Sheehan, of New Jersey, to be Coordinator for Counterterrorism, with the rank and status of Ambassador at Large (new position).

Withdrawn June 17

James W. Wetzler, of New York, to be a member of the Internal Revenue Oversight Board for a term of 3 years (new position), which was sent to the Senate on May 27, 1999.

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 June 14

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Joe Lockhart

Transcript of a press briefing by Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, National Security Adviser Samuel Berger, and National Economic Council Director Gene Sperling on the President's upcoming visit to Europe
Statement by the Press Secretary: Presidential Delegation to South African Inauguration

Released June 15

Announcement: Official U.S. Delegation for President Clinton's Trip to Europe, June 15–June 22

Released June 16

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Joe Lockhart

Transcript of a press briefing by National Economic Council Director Gene Sperling

and Deputy Under Secretary of Labor for International Labor Affairs Andrew Samet on the President's remarks to the International Labor Organization Conference in Geneva, Switzerland

Released June 17

Announcement of nominations for U.S. Court of Appeals Judges for the Third Circuit, the Ninth Circuit, and the District of Columbia Circuit

Released June 18

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Joe Lockhart

Transcript of a press briefing by National Security Adviser Samuel Berger and National Economic Council Director Gene Sperling on the President's bilateral meetings with foreign leaders

Transcript of a press briefing by Deputy National Security Adviser Jim Steinberg and

National Economic Council Director Gene Sperling on the meeting of the G-7 and G-8

Statement by the Press Secretary: Jerusalem Embassy Act Waiver

Fact sheet: The Cologne Debt Initiative

Fact sheet: Strengthening the International Financial Architecture

**Acts Approved
by the President**

Approved June 15

H.R. 1379 / Public Law 106-35
Western Hemisphere Drug Elimination
Technical Corrections Act