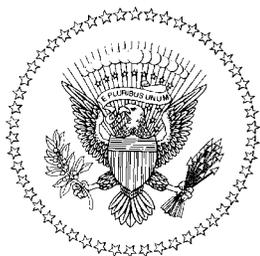


Weekly Compilation of
**Presidential
Documents**



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WEEKLY COMPILATION OF

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

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Week Ending Friday, November 26, 1999

**Statement on the Texas A&M
University Bonfire Tower Tragedy**

November 19, 1999

Today I spoke with Dr. Ray Bowen, president of Texas A&M University, to extend my deepest sympathies on the tragedy that occurred at the campus. This is a heartbreaking loss. America stands with the College Station community as it joins together during this difficult time. Hillary and I offer our thoughts and prayers to the families and friends of those who were injured or killed in this devastating incident.

NOTE: This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

The President's Radio Address

November 20, 1999

Good morning. I'm speaking to you from Istanbul, Turkey, where we just wrapped up a successful summit meeting of the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe, one that focused on the global challenges of the new century. At the same time, our administration has also wrapped up our work with Congress on the first budget of the new century.

Today I want to talk to you about what we achieved and highlight a little-known accomplishment that will make a big difference to people with disabilities who want to be part of our Nation's growing economy.

This week's budget agreement is truly a victory for the American people, a victory for children because it invests in world-class education that keeps us on the path to hiring 100,000 quality teachers to reduce class size. It doubles funds for after-school and summer school programs, and it provides help for communities to turn around failing schools or shut them down. It's a victory for families and neighborhoods, because it commits the

resources necessary to begin hiring another 50,000 community police officers to keep our crime rate, already at a 25-year low, coming down. It's a victory for future generations, because it protects the environment and preserves more natural areas, and it's a victory for American leadership in the world, because finally, it pays our U.N. dues and maintains our commitments around the globe to peace in the Middle East, to reducing the nuclear threat and chemical weapons threats, to helping relieve the debt of the world's poorest nations.

In short, we have delivered a 21st century budget that prepares for the future and lives up to our values. It also continues to pay down our national debt, because we walked away from that big \$792 billion tax cut that the Congress passed and I vetoed. So we got the best of all worlds.

Perhaps nothing better symbolizes just what we were fighting for than the historic progress made in the budget to open new doors of opportunity for Americans with disabilities.

Now, we're enjoying one of the strongest economies in generations. Yet even today 75 percent of Americans with severe disabilities who are ready, willing, and able to work aren't working. One of the biggest reasons is they fear they'll lose their health insurance when they get a job. And there's a good reason for this fear.

Under current law, many people with disabilities are eligible for Medicaid or Medicare coverage. But they can't go to work and keep that coverage. Yet when they do go to work, they can't get private insurance because of their disability. So there is a tremendous disincentive to work. Let me just give you one example.

I met a man in New Hampshire not long ago who is paralyzed as a result of an accident. He wanted to take a job that paid \$28,000 a year, but he would have lost his Medicaid health coverage, which would have

led to medical expenses of \$40,000 a year. Now, the taxpayers would actually be better off. We're going to pay the medical expenses one way or the other, but if he went to work, he'd become a taxpaying citizen. And, more important, he would have the dignity of work. No citizen should have to choose between going to work and paying medical bills.

I'm very proud this week that Congress, on a bipartisan basis, finally agreed on the historic "Work Incentives Improvement Act." It's bipartisan legislation to allow people with disabilities to keep their health care on the job. They can earn a salary, pay taxes, and be role models by proving what people can do if given a chance to live up to their God-given potential.

This will make a real difference, also, for people with potentially severe disabilities—those who are facing the early onset of diseases like AIDS, muscular dystrophy, Parkinson's, or diabetes. Right now they may be able to work, but their conditions aren't deemed severe enough to qualify for Medicaid. Yet because they have them, they still can't get private health insurance. In other words, they can't get any health care until they're too sick to work.

In the final hours of negotiations, we were able to further strengthen this legislation by getting \$250 million for a demonstration program to allow these Americans to buy into Medicaid, stay on the job, and stay healthier longer. I encourage all the States to take advantage of these new health care options.

Taken together, this initiative is the most significant advancement for people with disabilities since the passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act almost a decade ago. It is part of our administration's 7-year commitment to tearing down barriers to work and rewarding responsibility. Along with reforming welfare, increasing the minimum wage, increasing child care assistance, and doubling the earned-income tax credit, the "Work Incentives Improvement Act" is another milestone on the path to opening work and rewarding responsibility for Americans.

Now, I hope we'll stay on that course and take on America's still-unfinished agenda: commonsense gun safety legislation, a real Patients' Bill of Rights, meaningful hate crimes legislation, saving Social Security, re-

forming Medicare, adding prescription drug coverage, raising the minimum wage.

To Congress I say, we've done a good job for the American people by working together. Let's keep working together, build on our progress, and get the right things done for the American people.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 12:41 p.m. on November 19 in the Perge Room at the Conrad Hotel in Istanbul, Turkey, for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on November 20. The transcript was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 19 but was embargoed for release until the broadcast.

The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Konstandinos Simitis of Greece in Athens

November 20, 1999

Prime Minister Simitis. Ladies and gentlemen, with very special pleasure, the Greek Government and the Greek people and I, personally, are welcoming President Clinton and the American delegation. This visit is confirming the historic friendship relations between the two countries and between our two people, a relationship that has been kept alive by the Greeks who have lived and are still living creatively in the United States, by the common struggles in other times, by our close relationship and partnership within the North Atlantic Alliance, political solidarity, and cooperation, our cooperation for our common goals.

With President Clinton, we had a very friendly, open, and free discussion. During our talks we covered all issues, those which under the present situation have a certain importance from our country, for going from Greek-American relations to developments in the Balkans, Greek-Turkish relations, and the Cyprus issue. We agreed, as regards Greek-American relations, that there is still considerable margin for the improvement of the cooperation between the two countries.

Greece, thanks to its economic renewal these last few years, provides new major opportunities for investments, trade relations, relations in the field of technology, and other areas. For the Balkans, our conviction is that

the present situation entails certain risks. Stability is necessary in the region, respect of existing borders, and the strengthening of initiatives for the reconstruction of the region, and above all, the implementation of the Stability Pact.

As regards relations with neighboring Turkey, we have emphasized the need of deserving international law and international treaties and conventions. Rapprochement, steps towards rapprochement have been made recently. We believe that the most substantial answer is required on the part of Turkey to the initiatives of the Greek side.

We have agreed that Turkey's European perspective will help establish closer links based on peaceful development and cooperation. However, its candidature could not be accepted unless certain conditions are met for the settlement of existing problems. As regards the Cyprus issue, we have agreed that talks that have just started should be substantive in order to lead to the settlement of this issue.

The talks with the United States political leadership are, of course, self-understood. We have had a very interesting exchange of views, as I said, on all important issues for us. And we have also ascertained the friendly relations between the American and the Greek people, the close ties, not only at a political and economic levels but also at the levels of styles and culture where we believe our relations and cooperation should be extended. The friendship between our two peoples is confirmed by the substantial presence and role of a Greek community in the United States; successfully, it is making full use of all its rights as an American citizen.

Greece is a pole of democracy, political stability, social and political cohesion in the wider region. Its potential is much greater compared to the size of the country and its population. We have established that it is in the interest of both countries for our cooperation to safeguard and promote peace development and a network of relations in the region that would minimize tension, and this is why we will pursue and strengthen our cooperation with the United States.

This visit does not just confirm the past but also constitutes a guarantee for the future where, together, we can respond to the new

challenges, the new challenges of a new era, of a new reality that is taking shape at the end of this century based on mutual understanding, equal cooperation, common resolve, and determination to face problems together, provide new answers, build on the values of democracy, freedom shared by our people, which are defended by our people, the values that we want to promote.

President Clinton. First of all, Prime Minister, let me thank you and the members of your government for the very good meeting that we had today. I think the Prime Minister has summarized the results of our meeting quite well. I would like to add just a few words.

First, the Greek relationship is profoundly important to me and to the United States because of the values and history we share; because of the large role Greek-Americans play in our national life, as the Prime Minister said. But also because of two historic transformations that have occurred in the last decade.

The first is the transformation of southeast Europe from a battleground between East and West to a proving ground for democracy and tolerance in the post-cold-war world. The second is the remarkable transformation of Greece itself into a regional leader with a booming economy, a vibrant democracy, with the ability to help to pull its neighbors together and push them forward into 21st century Europe.

We spoke a lot today about the role Greece is playing in the Balkans, with its troops in Bosnia and Kosovo, with its support for economic development and reconstruction, with its private sector investment. Greece is carrying a heavier burden in this region than almost any other country, but the potential payoff is very large: an undivided, democratic Europe, in which wars like those we've seen in the former Yugoslavia no longer happen. And I want to pay a tribute to the Prime Minister and the people of Greece for all they are doing in the Balkans and pledge my support for the Stability Pact and the economic growth necessary for this to work.

Of course, we also spoke about the road to reconciliation and lasting peace between Greece and Turkey and the issues in the Aegean and, of course, Cyprus. I told the Prime

Minister how pleased I am that the parties in Cyprus have agreed to start these proximity talks on December 3d in New York, and how determined I am that they be serious talks. The goal is to lay the foundation for meaningful negotiations toward a comprehensive settlement. We should have no illusions; there's a tough road ahead. But we will work closely with Secretary-General Annan to ensure that the talks are productive.

We talked about our growing trade and investment, about how we can strengthen our economic relationship further. Greece's economic renewal has made it one of the most attractive places in Europe in which to do business. I am very pleased that its progress in improving protection for intellectual property rights makes it possible to move rapidly toward settling our copyright case in the WTO.

Finally, let me just express the great sympathy and support of the American people to all those who lost their loved ones in the tragic earthquake last August. We will not forget the heroism of the Greek emergency teams who pulled survivors from the rubble, not only here in Athens but also across the Aegean in Turkey. I am very glad that our own Federal Emergency Management Agency has agreed with its Greek counterparts to work together to strengthen their preparedness for future disasters.

Let me say in closing, I am satisfied with the work we advanced today. We look to, as I said last night, we look to ancient Greece for inspiration but to modern Greece for leadership and for partnership. After this visit, I believe we have strengthened that partnership.

Thank you very much.

Turkey's Candidacy for European Union Membership

Q. From what we know, you did ask while you were in Turkey for some specific move by Ankara that would match the moves Greece has done in order, also, to make her candidacy for the European Union easier. Do you have anything concrete on that?

President Clinton. Well, I didn't think that was my role. Let me tell you what I did do. I spoke both at every opportunity, pub-

licly and privately, before the Turkish Assembly, before the business group, before the group of earthquake survivors, and in all my private meetings about the importance of resolving outstanding issues between Greece and Turkey, including Cyprus.

I specifically asked that the Halki seminary be reopened. I have pushed a lot of issues. And I came away believing that in the next few months, as all these issues are bubbling up—the start of the proximity talks, the debate over whether Turkey should be given candidacy status in the EU at Helsinki, and the continuing bilateral talks between Greece and Turkey—which I applaud the Prime Minister's government for his leadership in—that there will be an opportunity to resolve a large number of these issues.

I hope that my trip there was constructive in that regard. I believe it was. But I would not expect the Turkish leaders to let me be the conduit of their ultimate resolution of this. I think that I helped to improve the climate, and I dealt with a lot of the specific issues, and I feel good about that.

Prime Minister Simitis. Let me add two words for my part. During the meeting ahead with Mr. Ecevit and during Mr. Papandreou's meeting with Mr. Cem, we emphasized the need of certain movements and initiatives on the part of Turkey. And I believe that President Clinton's visit was important because he referred to that question, and it has helped, as well as the talks we had with the Turkish side on increasing awareness on the part of Turkey that things are not that easy. We cannot just expect for something to happen without doing or contributing anything for our part. You help yourself, and God will help you, as we say. We have to do something for our part, as well.

Greek Protests of President's Visit

Q. Sir, the demonstrations last night included extensive arson and damage. I want to know if you're concerned by the protests, and what you say to the Greeks who oppose your visit here?

President Clinton. What was the last part of your question?

Q. What's your message to the Greeks who are protesting, who oppose your visit here?

President Clinton. Well, first of all, I think that we have to—especially in Greece—reaffirm the right of people to protest in a democracy. Secondly, I strongly believe the protests should be peaceful, and therefore, I deeply regret the Greeks who had their property injured and who suffered losses through these demonstrations.

But I think that the important thing is that we reaffirm the value of the relationship between our two countries. I think that—I know most Americans deeply value the relationship with Greece, notwithstanding the fact that almost all of the people of Greece disagree with our policy in Kosovo and, before that, in Bosnia. I believe I did the right thing, and I think most Americans believe that we did the right thing to stand against ethnic cleansing.

But that doesn't affect our affection for and our support for the people of Greece and the Government of Greece. And I would hope that most Greek citizens would, like the Greek Government, believe that there is value in our relationship and our partnership; and that even if we have a disagreement, we can't allow that to undermine our relationship or our partnership.

I would just say, looking toward the future, I, personally, admire very much and support very strongly the leadership that Greece is exercising in the U.N. operations in Bosnia and in Kosovo and generally in the Balkans and throughout southeastern Europe. And I believe that if we can, the rest of us, do our part to help the economy grow there and provide a magnet that enables these nations to pull together, that Greece will lead them into a very different future in the new century.

Prime Minister Simitis. May I also point—Greece is a country, a democratic country where everyone can freely express his views and opinions. But as we had emphasized before President Clinton's arrival, our Constitution provides that these expressions of opinions and views should be made in a peaceful way and within the context of legality. And I'm sorry for the fact that certain people did not observe and respect this fundamental principle of law, the fundamental principle that allows our states to operate and function.

The friendship, however, between the two people and the partnership, our partnership with the United States, will not be determined by these protests, but by our common goals, our common objectives and pursuits, our efforts to handle and face problems together. And the meeting today has shown that we share common goals and common pursuits, and we're trying together. This is the foundation of a friendship.

Turkey's Candidacy for European Union Membership

Q. Mr. President, I followed your trip in Ankara, and you seemed to be mostly the strongest supporter of Turkey's candidacy in the European Union. So do you think that the permanent conditionality of Turkey's candidacy should be, first, the solution of the Cyprus problem and, second, the acceptance of the jurisdiction of Turkey, as far as the Court of Hague is concerned?

President Clinton. I'm sorry, I'm not sure I understood the question. Could you repeat both questions again?

Q. Yes, one question actually. You seem to be the strongest supporter of Turkey's accession in the European Union. So the question is, do you believe or think that the permanent conditionality for Turkey's candidacy in the European Union should be, first, the solution of the Cyprus problem and, second, the acceptance of the jurisdiction of a Hague Court from Turkey?

President Clinton. Well, first of all, I believe—I have said this already—I believe that the disputes in the Aegean between Greece and Turkey should be referred to the International Court of Justice in The Hague or to some other mutually agreed on and generally recognized international dispute resolution mechanism. It seems to me that that is the only way that either side can have a resolution of this without appearing to cave in rather than just to let a neutral party, respected, decide it.

Secondly, I strongly support a resolution of the Cyprus issue. You're right. I am probably the strongest supporter in the West of Turkey's membership in the EU. I think I've also been the most vocal consistent supporter for 7 years of a resolution of Cyprus. I have

worked as hard as I could on it and will continue to do so.

Now, when the parties meet in Helsinki, the members of the European Union—the United States is not a member—they will decide the conditions of Turkish candidacy if, in fact, they decide to grant Turkey candidacy.

But let me say, on the larger issue, my feeling is that the more Turkey is integrated into Europe and has the kind of dialog that we've seen recently with Greece, the more the climate improves, the more you can resolve these issues, the brighter the future for both countries will be. And as I told the Turks—I'm not saying anything to you I didn't say there—I do not think that bright future is achievable until there is a resolution of the Cyprus issue. These two countries need to go hand-in-hand into the future. And the festering disputes have to be resolved in order for that to happen.

Prime Minister Simitis. As I have indicated already, the Greek Government and I, personally, had a series of contacts. I have met and talked with all the Prime Ministers of the European Union member states on that issue. I have talked with them in order to determine what would be the best way that would allow us to overcome problems in the future. It would be counterproductive, I believe, if today, whilst these talks are ongoing, we were to focus on one or the other point or issue. This would not facilitate the discussion.

I believe that in the future the time will come for us to determine all these aspects. But at present, restriction to one or two or three issues is not helpful. We must have a global approach and look at the final aim of this overall effort.

Thank you.

U.S. Trade Policy and Gov. George W. Bush of Texas

Q. Mr. President, yesterday George W. Bush laid out his foreign policy priorities. Specifically on China and Russia, he said they should be viewed as competitors of the United States rather than as strategic partners. I'm wondering what your view is on that, and also, do you feel reassured that he

has a view of the world that would make him an effective President?

President Clinton. You know, you guys keep trying to get me into this election. I am not a candidate. I'm not always happy about that, but I'm not.

Let me say this. I think we did the right thing to negotiate the WTO agreement with China, and apparently, Governor Bush agrees with that. I think that, as with all great countries, we are both competitors and partners. I think there is a problem with characterizing a country as a competitor if that means we know for sure that for the next 20 years there will be an adversary relationship.

We will have certain interests in common with China; we will have certain things we disagree with. We will support a lot of their domestic developments. We still have great trouble when people—free speech or religious rights are restrained.

With regard to Russia, we have a difference, as you know, and the OSCE conference made clear over the present policy in Chechnya, but we have a common interest in working together where we can. We have served side by side with Russian soldiers in the Balkans; we have seen the Russians withdraw their troops from the Baltics; we have seen a dramatic reduction in the nuclear capacity, the nuclear threat there. The Congress just gave us the funds to continue to reduce the nuclear threat with Russia. And we have worked with them on economic reform.

So I would say that in both cases there will be instances of competition, instances of partnership. But what we should be looking for is a world in which nations, including very large nations, define their greatness by the achievements of their people and by their ability to profit in their relations with other nations by bringing out the best in them, instead of by the traditional 19th and 20th century great power politics terms of defining their greatness in terms of their ability to dominate their neighbors or coerce certain people into certain kinds of behavior.

So I think we have to imagine—I have a whole different view of this—we should imagine what would we like the world to look like 50 year from now; what major countries

will have an impact on that; how will we compete with them; how will we cooperate with them; what can we do that will most likely create the world we want for our grandchildren? That's the way I look at this. So I don't have an either/or view of Russia or China. I have a both view, I suppose.

Prime Minister Simitis. May I make a philosophical comment on this? We should not be afraid of competitors. We should be afraid of ourselves when we are afraid of others.

NOTE: The President's 184th news conference began at 1:20 p.m. in the Foyer at Megaron Maximou. In his remarks, the President referred to United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan. Prime Minister Simitis referred to Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit and Minister of Foreign Affairs Ismail Cem of Turkey; and Minister of Foreign Affairs Yeoryios Papandreou of Greece. Prime Minister Simitis spoke in Greek, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

Remarks to Business and Community Leaders in Athens

November 20, 1999

President Stephanopoulos; Prime Minister Simitis, thank you for that fine speech. Mrs. Simitis, Mr. Mayor, ministers of the government, members of the opposition, to all the leaders of the church who are here, the dean of the diplomatic corps, distinguished citizens of Greece, it is a great honor for all of us to be here—my wife and daughter, the Secretary of State, members of the White House, two Members of the United States Congress, Representatives Kingston and Maloney.

And I should say that, as I did last night at the state dinner, I have in my entourage here, ample evidence of the ties between our two countries. Not only the vast array of Greek-American business people who have made this trip either to hold my hand or make sure I made no critical error—[laughter]—but also a group of people who have served me so well in the White House, beginning with my Chief of Staff, John Podesta, my speechwriter, Paul Glastris, who helped to prepare these remarks today; Elaine Shocas, and Lisa Kountoupes—those are just four of the many Greek-Americans who have

worked for me in the White House, and as I have often said, the Greek-American community has been overrepresented in the Clinton administration, and America is better for it.

Early this morning, in the wind and the rain, I had the privilege of visiting the Acropolis. I was filled with a unique sense of awe but also familiarity, perhaps because the setting has been described to me so often and so glowingly by my Greek-American friends; perhaps because I studied the history of Athens and read Plato and Aristotle as a young man; perhaps because America has been so inspired and influenced by the ancient Greeks in everything from politics and philosophy to architecture.

For whatever reason, standing there in the rain on the Acropolis this morning, I was even more grateful for the deep ties of history, kinship, and values that bind America and other freedom-loving nations to Greece, ties that prove the truth of Shelley's famous line, *Eimaste olee Ellines*, "We are all Greeks." We are all Greeks, not because of monuments and memories but because what began here 2½ thousand years ago has at last, after all the bloody struggles of the 20th century, been embraced all around the world.

Today, for the first time in human history, more than half the world's people live under governments of their own choosing. Yet, democracy still remains a truly revolutionary idea; people still fight and die for it, from Africa to Asia to Europe. Its advance is still the key to building a better global society in this most modern of ages.

Another great civic virtue has its roots here in Athens—openness to the cultural differences among us that make life more interesting. In Thucydides' account of his famous funeral oration, Pericles declares, "We lay Athens open to all and at no time evict or keep the stranger away." Two and a half thousand years later Greece is still open to the world, and we pray that everywhere in the world someday everyone will say, "We do not keep the stranger away."

Meanwhile, as all of you know, Greeks have made their way into every corner of the world, and wherever they go, they adapt to local culture yet retain immense pride in

their traditions, their religion, their Hellenic identity. No nation has been more blessed by this phenomenon than the United States, with its vital and successful Greek-American community. This is true in ways large and small. Last night at the state dinner I had the opportunity to acknowledge the contributions of some of the most famous Greek-Americans, those who achieved wealth and fame and power and influence.

But what I want to say today is that I am even more grateful that Greek-Americans have enriched every single part and every single person in America. As a boy growing up in a small town in Arkansas, my very favorite place to eat with my father was the Pappas Brothers Cafe; and very best friend for 45 years was a man named David Leopoulos who, after 45 years, still every single week sends me an E-mail about Greece and Greek issues to make sure I don't stray too far from the fold.

The Prime Minister talked about the modern world in which we are living. I think it quite ironic that in this era of global markets and modern wonders, when more than half the world's people live in democracies for the first time in history, the world is still bedeviled by the oldest of human evils—the fear of the other, those who are different from us.

The clearest manifestation in modern times is the ethnic and religious hatred we see rampant, from Northern Ireland to the Middle East to the tribal wars in Africa to the Balkans. How much of our history has been shaped by the struggle between those who accept with self-confidence the interesting differences among people because they are strong enough to affirm the common humanity, which is more important, and those who live their lives in constant fear or loathing of those who are different?

My wife had, a few weeks ago, to the White House two brilliant men for a conversation. One of them was one of the founders of the Internet, the other is one of the most distinguished American scholars of the study of the human genome, the gene structure. The biologist said nothing could have been discovered about the structure of the gene without the computer revolution; but that all this high technology had revealed an

interesting fact, that all of us, all human beings, genetically are 99.9 percent the same, and furthermore, that if you take different groups of people—let's take the three most prominently here discussed, the Greeks, the Turks, the Irish—me. [*Laughter*] And if you put 100 Greeks, 100 Turks, and 100 Irish in 3 different groups, the genetic differences among the individuals within each group would be greater than the genetic profile between the Greeks or the Turks or the Irish.

Isn't it interesting how many bodies have been piled up over human history because of that one-tenth of one percent difference, when we should have been embracing all along the 99.9 percent. Whether we take maximum advantage of the unparalleled promise of the new millennium depends in no small measure on whether we can find a way to get beyond that one-tenth of 1 percent difference to the common humanity that unites us all.

I've been thinking a lot about what unites Greeks and Americans. In 1821, when the Greeks rose to reassert their liberty, they captured the imagination of Americans. Thomas Jefferson wrote to the Greek patriot and scholar Adamandios Korais these words: "No people sympathize more freely than ours with the sufferings of your countrymen. None offer more sincere and ardent prayers to heaven for their success."

Of course, we were still a young country then, preoccupied with our own experiment in democracy, reluctant to involve ourselves in distant, dangerous struggles. But thousands of ordinary Americans way back in 1821 sent money and supplies to Greece. A few actually sailed here and joined the freedom fighters, men like the brave Boston doctor Samuel Gridley Howe and a black former slave from Baltimore, Maryland, named James Williams. Over a century later, when fascism seemed ready to crush the last embers of freedom in Europe, it was Greece which said no and handed the Axis powers their very first major defeat in battle. America joined with Greece and the Allies and together, we won a mighty victory.

Twice since World War II, battles between democracy and despotism have again been played out on Greek soil; each time—thank God—democracy emerged victorious. I have

been thinking about that history today again in both its painful as well as its proud aspects. When the junta took over in 1967 here, the United States allowed its interests in prosecuting the cold war to prevail over its interests—I should say, its obligation to support democracy, which was, after all, the cause for which we fought the cold war. It is important that we acknowledge that.

When we think about the history of Greece and the history of the United States, all the troubled ups and downs just of the last 50 years, it is easy to understand why some of those people who have demonstrated in the last few days have done so and easy to understand the source of their passion. I can be glad as an American and as a free human being that they have the fundamental right to say their piece. If the people of every country, in the Balkans for example, had the institutions and habits of democracy, if they, too, could proudly express and settle their differences peacefully and proudly and democratically, if the fundamental human rights of all those people were respected, there might not have been a war over Bosnia or Kosovo.

I've been thinking about all this because, of all the people in the world, surely the Greeks know best that history matters. We cannot understand the present unless we know history. On the other hand, we cannot move into the future if we are paralyzed by history.

In this era of historic sweeping change, we cannot afford paralysis. That was implicit in the Prime Minister's remarks. Surely, the Greeks demonstrate this every day as you build a bustling modern economy with a booming stock market and one of the fastest growth rates in Europe, on the verge of joining the EMU. If there were Olympic gold medals for economic revival, Greece would surely get the very first one.

American companies and investors are taking notice that Greece clearly is on the right economic path. I believe we can do better, and so in the presence of all these business leaders today, I would like to make three modest proposals. First, I think we should double trade between our two countries in the next 5 years. Second, I ask Greek and American business leaders to match the

money our Government is putting into the Fulbright exchange program. And third, I ask that one of these grants honor Yannis Kranidiotis, the gifted diplomat and former Fulbright scholar. He was a great citizen, a great friend of the United States, who died with his son in a tragic accident while promoting peace in the Balkans. His life and work exemplify the positive, new role Greece has begun to play in this vital region of Europe.

The whole world is beginning to see Greece in a new light, no longer as one of Europe's poorest nations but as southeast Europe's wealthiest nation—its beacon of democracy, a regional leader for stability, prosperity, and freedom, helping to complete the democratic revolution that ancient Greece began, our long-held dream of a Europe undivided, free, and at peace for the first time in history.

And the remaining challenges to that long-held dream are all at play here in this region of Europe: the challenge of bringing stability, prosperity, and full democracy to the Balkans; the challenge of creating a lasting peace in the Aegean and genuine reconciliation between Greece and Turkey; the challenge of integrating a democratic Russia into Europe; the challenge of building bridges between and among the world's three great faiths which come together in southeastern Europe—Islam and the Eastern and Western branches of Christianity.

To finally create that Europe undivided, free, and at peace, we must help this region meet five main challenges. The first—and I would argue most urgent—is to stabilize Kosovo and the Balkans and build the democratic institutions necessary so that all the people of Kosovo can live in safety and freedom, including the Serbs of Kosovo.

I know there is still much anger and anguish in Greece about the course of action NATO took and about the leadership role of the United States in that action. I do not expect to change what many here believe. But I must say what I believe. I believe we made the right decision, because at the end of this tumultuous century, in which so much blood has been shed, at a moment when peace and democracy have triumphed almost everywhere else in Europe and increasingly

throughout the world, I do not believe we could have allowed an entire people to be exiled from their homes or extinguished from the Earth simply because of their ethnic heritage or how they worship God. I believe we had a moral and a strategic obligation to act, and that in acting, we saved thousands of lives and enabled almost a million people to go home.

In Bosnia, where the world showed more reluctance and took 4 years to act, Mr. Milosevic and his allies killed a quarter of a million people, created 2.5 million refugees, and many of them still have not gone home.

In spite of our differences, I want to thank the Greek Government for staying with its NATO Allies during a crisis which was far harder on you than on any other country in our Alliance. I want to thank you for getting aid to the civilians in Kosovo regardless of their ethnic backgrounds while the fighting raged. I want to thank you for committing resources to the reconstruction of Kosovo, just as you have contributed to the rebuilding of Bosnia and Albania.

Our work there is far from over. Together with the U.N., we must continue to build the democratic institutions that can provide safety and freedom to all the people of Kosovo. As we do, we can take pride in our troops from both countries serving together in the same sector to keep the peace holding.

Our second challenge is equally great. We have to strengthen the forces of democracy in Serbia and pave the way for Serbia's eventual integration into southeastern Europe and the European community as a whole. Greece can lead the revitalization of the economy and the political and civic life of southeastern Europe, but the work will never be complete until Serbia is a part of the process.

There is no reason this can not happen. The people of Serbia have a rich and noble history, a deep love of freedom, and a rightful place in the table of European unity. It is a tragedy they are not sitting at that table now, a tragedy that they have suffered and still suffer from fear and privation, an even greater tragedy that it might have all been so very different if not for the choices made by Mr. Milosevic. We may disagree about the

best way to have responded to the action of this now indicted war criminal, but surely we can agree that the people of Serbia deserve better than to be suffering under the last living relic of Europe's dictatorial past.

That is why the international community must maintain pressure on Mr. Milosevic's regime, while also aiding the democratic aspirations of the Serbian people; why America has invested nearly \$12 million since July to promote a free press, independent labor unions, a pro-democracy network of non-governmental organizations in Serbia, on top of the \$25 million we have devoted to humanitarian aid there. It is why we support the Serbian democratic opposition's call for early, fair, and free elections, and why we support lifting entirely the fuel oil embargo and flight ban on Serbia as soon as those free and fair elections are held.

The third challenge we face together in creating a stable, prosperous, and free southeast Europe is to help every nation in the region build the institutions that make modern democracy thrive. As the only member both of NATO and the EU in southeastern Europe, Greece is helping to guide this truly historic transformation. The Greek military is laying the foundations for peace through its role in southeastern Europe's multinational peacekeeping force and through NATO's Partnership For Peace. Greek companies are investing in the Balkans, creating jobs and higher living standards, and the rest of us must follow your lead.

The Greek Government is leading the transformation of the region's economy, committing \$320 million for reconstruction of southeastern Europe, and the rest of us must follow your lead if the Stability Pact is to have true meaning.

You are breaking down barriers to trade and transportation through the Southeastern Europe Cooperation Initiative and providing crucial seed capital through the Black Sea Trade and Development Bank. Thessaloniki is a city long known for its beauty and history. Now is it becoming known as the commercial hub of the Balkans. I am pleased that next month our Government will open in Thessaloniki our office for Balkan reconstruction. I have also asked the U.S.-Greece

Business Council to undertake an investment mission to the Balkans.

Finally, I am pleased to announce that our two Governments will fulfill a dream of Prime Minister Simitis by giving Greek and American companies a chance to jointly apply their technical knowledge to the region's challenges, from cleaning up pollution on the Danube to wiring Balkan villages for the Internet.

Our fourth challenge is to build a genuine reconciliation between Greece and Turkey. I know how much history lies behind that troubled relationship, but people in both nations are beginning to see the possibilities of forging a new and better future. The world will never forget the humanity Greeks and Turks displayed toward one another when the tragic earthquake struck you both in August and then in Turkey again last week.

But this is more than just seismic diplomacy. For several months, Foreign Ministers Papandreou and Cem have been holding a dialog on trade, tourism, and the environment. Prime Ministers Simitis and Ecevit had an important meeting just 2 days ago. Greek and Turkish troops in NATO have joined together in a southeast Europe peace-keeping brigade. You are serving together now in Kosovo. Greece has taken bold steps. In many ways, these steps have been harder for Greece than for Turkey, but both sides are now showing the vision necessary to move forward.

I believe it is very much in your interest to see Turkey become a candidate for membership in the European Union, for that will reinforce Turkey's secular, democratic, modernizing path, showing Turkey how much it has to gain by making progress on issues like Cyprus and the Aegean matters. It will prove to Turkey that there is a place in Europe for a predominantly Muslim country as long as it respects the rights of its people—all its people—and advances the cause of peace. For many of these same reasons, we in the United States have also strongly supported the EU's decision to start accession talks with Cyprus.

Now, I know that many Greeks are anxious that if Turkey becomes a candidate for membership, the momentum in improving its relationship with Greece and actually solving

these problems will slow. Having just spoken with President Demirel and Prime Minister Ecevit, I do not believe that will happen. But I can tell you this, I will do everything in my power to encourage both countries to continue building on the progress you have made.

I am going to keep working hard to promote a just and lasting settlement in Cyprus. I am very pleased that last Sunday the parties in Cyprus accepted Secretary-General Annan's invitation to start proximity talks, to prepare the ground for meaningful negotiations that will lead to a comprehensive settlement of the Cyprus problem. I hope these talks will bring us a step closer to lasting peace. I will keep pressing for a settlement that meets the fundamental interests of the parties, including real security for all Cypriots and an end to the island's division.

The status quo is unacceptable. I will say here only what I said in Turkey at every turn—before the Turkish National Assembly, before the business group, before earthquake survivors, and in every private meeting—I think it is very good for the future of the world for Turkey to be integrated into Europe. But Turkey cannot be fully integrated successfully into Europe without solving its difficulties with Greece. We must put these behind us.

Our fifth and final challenge is to renew the old and profoundly important partnership between our two countries and our two peoples. We should promote more tourism, more cultural exchanges. We should continue in the United States to supply our NATO Ally, Greece, with advanced weaponry. We should be working together to fight global threats that know no borders, including the scourge of terrorism. Terrorists have struck within the borders of the United States; they have struck here claiming American and Greek lives. The American people and the Greek people deserve justice and the strongest possible efforts by our Governments to end this menace. I am grateful that we are working more closely to do just that.

Let me say to you that as I have traveled this region, first in Turkey and now here in Greece, it is impossible for me, as it would be for anyone, not to feel the weight of history on the decisions all of you face today.

We are human. We can never wholly forget the injustices done to us, nor can we ever escape reminders of the mistakes we, ourselves, have made. But it is possible to be shaped by history without being a prisoner to it. That, too, is a Greek idea. It was wise Demosthenes who said, "It is necessary to think of the future to enable us to set our ways straight."

Earlier this week in Istanbul, Hillary, Chelsea, and I had the honor of visiting the Ecumenical Patriarch. My heart is still moved by that experience and by the beautiful gift that His All-Holiness Patriarch Bartholomew presented to me, a magnificent piece of parchment on which is written, in Byzantine Greek lettering, one of my favorite Bible passages, the first verse of the 11th chapter of Hebrew: "Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things unseen."

Elsewhere in the Bible is the marvelous verse: "Where there is no vision, the people perish." Vision is to have faith and to imagine the things you hope for, and that faith is a real thing, unseen but real and tangible, more important than all the accumulated anxieties and wounds and worries and hurts, for it allows us to be human by going forward every day and looking toward a new tomorrow. With faith and sober realism, we can imagine a wonderful future for Greece, for southeastern Europe, for this whole part of the world, one in which Greek and Turkish business people work together, from the Balkans to central Asia; one in which Bosnians work across ethnic lines for a common economic and political future; one in which new democracies, from Slovenia to Romania to Bulgaria and, yes, to Serbia, meet the standards for entry into NATO and the European Union; one in which there is a Europe where everyone understands that being open and generous to those who are different does not diminish one's own identity but enhances it; a Europe where everyone practices an ancient Greek trait still alive in Greece today, *filoxenia*; one in which children can be raised to be proud of their heritage and proud of their faith without fearing or hatred, hating those who are different.

Soon, the world will have an opportunity to look at Greece and many to come to

Greece to participate in *filoxenia*, when they see Athens throw open the gates of the city to the Olympics in 2004. By then, I want all the world to see what we know today. Greece is a force for freedom, democracy, stability, growth, the dignity of the individual—assuming yet again the ancient role of the Greeks—to inspire a more humane world.

Two thousand four isn't that far away, and we have a lot of work to do. But I have faith that we can do it.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:15 p.m. in the ballroom at the Intercontinental Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to President Konstandinos Stephanopoulos, Prime Minister Konstandinos Simitis, and Minister of Foreign Affairs Yeoryios Papandreou of Greece; Prime Minister Simitis' wife, Daphne; Mayor Dimitrios Avramopoulos of Athens; Peruvian Ambassador to Greece Martin Yrigoyen, dean of the diplomatic corps in Greece; Minister of Foreign Affairs Ismail Cem, Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit, and President Suleyman Demirel of Turkey; United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan; President Slobodan Milosevic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro); Vinton G. Cerf, senior vice president for Internet architecture and technology, MCI WorldCom; Eric Lander, director, Whitehead Institute/MIT Center for Genome Research; and Representative Carolyn B. Maloney. The President also referred to the EMU, the European Monetary Union. The transcript released by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the remarks of the Prime Minister Simitis.

Statement on Congressional Action on the "Foster Care Independence Act of 1999"

November 20, 1999

Hillary and I are very pleased that the Congress today approved H.R. 3443, "Foster Care Independence Act of 1999." This legislation helps ensure that young people in foster care get the tools they need to make the most of their lives. It builds on proposals in my budget to empower those leaving foster care by providing them access to health care, better educational opportunities, training, housing assistance, counseling, and other support and services. We cannot let these young people walk their tough road alone.

Each year approximately 20,000 18-year-olds leave our Nation's foster care system without an adoptive family or other permanent family relationship. Without the emotional, social, and financial support that families provide, many of these young people are not adequately prepared for life after foster care. Unfortunately, Federal financial support ends just as they are making the critical transition to independence. This bill addresses that problem and will help these youth in their effort to become successful, independent adults.

I am also pleased that the Act provides additional funds for the adoption incentive payments, which are bonuses to the States for increasing the number of children adopted from public foster care. This additional funding will enable States to receive the full amount of the bonuses they have earned through outstanding performance.

Today's legislation is a fitting tribute to the late Senator John Chafee, who was a chief sponsor of the Act. A fierce champion of children, Senator Chafee paid particular attention to our Nation's most vulnerable young people. I am pleased that the bill renames the Independent Living Program in his honor.

I would also like to thank the House and Senate leadership, as well as Representatives Nancy Johnson and Ben Cardin, Chairman William Roth, Jr., and Senators Jay Rockefeller, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Charles Grassley, John Breaux, James Jeffords, Jack Reed, and Susan Collins for their hard work and dedication to this issue. I look forward to signing this bill into law.

Statement on Signing the Federal Financial Assistance Management Improvement Act of 1999

November 20, 1999

Today I have signed into law S. 468, the "Federal Financial Assistance Management Improvement Act of 1999." I strongly sup-

port the objective of this legislation—to make it easier for State, local, and tribal governments and nonprofit organizations to apply for and report on financial assistance. While different types of grant programs can and should have different applications, there is ample room for consolidation and streamlining of similar programs.

Nonetheless, I have strong reservations about some of the specific provisions in the Act. In particular, as my Administration has indicated to the Congress on several occasions, the Act does not provide resources for, nor allow sufficient time to accomplish even partially, the very ambitious overhaul of grant programs that it requires. In addition, the Act anticipates a common application and reporting system for Federal grant programs, but does not amend the many program statutes that establish different application and reporting requirements for different grant programs. Furthermore, the deadlines in the Act are inconsistent with other legislation and unlikely to be achievable in practice. For example, the Act requires agencies to create a common system for electronic processing of all grant programs, but on a schedule that is inconsistent with related requirements of the Government Paperwork Elimination Act of 1998. For these reasons, even an extensive effort may yield only minimal improvements in the simplification of the grants process and the administration of Federal resources.

I remain concerned that S. 468 may create expectations that will not be fulfilled, and tarnish the success of the efforts we have already begun. My Administration will, of course, continue its long-standing efforts to streamline, simplify, and consolidate application and reporting requirements.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
November 20, 1999.

NOTE: S. 468, approved November 20, was assigned Public Law No. 106-107.

Proclamation 7255—Thanksgiving Day, 1999

November 20, 1999

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Well over three and a half centuries ago, strengthened by faith and bound by a common desire for liberty, a small band of Pilgrims sought out a place in the New World where they could worship according to their own beliefs. Surviving their first harsh winter in Massachusetts and grateful to a merciful God for a sustaining harvest, the men and women of Plymouth Colony set aside three days as a time to give thanks for the bounty of their fields, the fruits of their labor, the chance to live in peace with their Native American neighbors, and the blessing of a land where they could live and worship freely.

We have come far on our American journey since that early Thanksgiving. In the intervening years, we have lived through times of war and peace, years of poverty and plenty, and seasons of social and political upheaval that have shaped and forever changed our national character and experience. As we gather around our Thanksgiving tables again this year, it is a fitting time to reflect on how the events of our rich history have affected those we care about and those who came before us. As we acknowledge the past, we do so knowing that the individual blessings for which we give thanks may have changed, but our gratitude to God and our commitment to our fellow Americans remain constant.

Today we count among our national blessings a time of unprecedented prosperity, with an expanding economy, record low rates of poverty and unemployment among our people, and the limitless opportunities to improve the quality of life that new technologies present to us. We can give thanks today that for the first time in history, more than half the world's people live under governments of their own choosing. And we remain grateful for the peace and freedom America continues to enjoy thanks to the courage and patriotism of our men and women in uniform.

But the spirit of Thanksgiving requires more than just an acknowledgment of our blessings; it calls upon us to reach out and share those blessings with others. We must strive to fulfill the promise of the extraordinary era in which we live and enter the new century with a commitment to widen the circle of opportunity, break down the prejudices that alienate us from one another, and build an America of understanding and inclusion, strong in our diversity, responsible in our freedom, and generous in sharing our bounty with those in need.

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 Thursday, November 25, 1999, as a National Day of Thanksgiving. I encourage all the people of the United States to assemble in their homes, places of worship, or community centers to share the spirit of fellowship and prayer and to reinforce the ties of family and community; to express heartfelt thanks to God for the many blessings He has bestowed upon us; and to reach out in true gratitude and friendship to our brothers and sisters in the larger family of humankind.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twentieth day of November, 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-fourth.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:43 a.m., November 22, 1999]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on November 23.

Remarks at a Dinner for the Conference on Progressive Governance for the 21st Century in Florence, Italy

November 20, 1999

Thank you very much. Professor Dorsen, Dean Sexton, President Oliva, to my fellow leaders, and especially to our hosts, Prime Minister and Mrs. D'Alema. Let me say a

special word of appreciation to my good friend Romano Prodi for the very good outline he has given us of the challenges facing not only the nations of Europe but the United States and all other economies more or less positioned as we are.

The hour is late, and what I think I would like to do is to briefly comment on why we're here and what exactly are the elements of progressive governance in the 21st century—what do we have consensus on, and what are the outstanding challenges facing us?—without going into any detail, in the hopes that that's what will be discussed tomorrow.

First of all, I think it's worth noting that it's entirely fitting that we're meeting here at this beautiful villa in this great city where the Italian Renaissance saw its greatest flowering, because we know instinctively that we now have a chance at the turn of the millennium to shape another extraordinary period of human progress and creativity.

There are many parallels to the Renaissance era in this time. For at the dawn of the Renaissance, Italy was a place of great economic ferment and change, rapidly expanding trade, new forms of banking and finance, new technologies and new wealth, more education, vibrant culture, broader horizons. Today, we have the Internet, the global economy, exploding diversity within and across national lines, the simultaneous emergence of global cultural movements, breathtaking scientific advances in everything from the human genome to discoveries about black holes in the universe.

We have, in addition, a much greater opportunity to spread the benefits of this renaissance more broadly than it could have been spread 500 years ago. But there are also profound problems among and within nations. Making the most of our possibilities, giving all people a chance to seize them, minimizing the dangers to our dreams, requires us to go beyond the competing models of industrial age politics. That's why we're here. We think ideas matter. We think it's a great challenge to marry our conceptions of social justice and equal opportunity with our commitment to globalization. We think we will have to find what has often been called a Third Way—a way that requires governments to empower people with tools and

conditions necessary for individuals, families, communities, and nations to make the most of their human potential.

In the United States, we have proceeded for the last 7 years under a rubric of opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and a community of all Americans. We have also recognized something that I think is implicit in the whole concept of the European Union, which is that it is no longer possible, easily, to divide domestic from global political concerns. There is no longer a clear dividing line between foreign and domestic policy. And, therefore, it is important that every nation and that all like-minded people have a vision of the kind of world we're trying to build in the 21st century and what it will take to build that world.

I think there is an emerging consensus which you heard in Romano Prodi's remarks about what works and what challenges remain. There is also a clearer consensus that no one has all the answers.

So let me briefly give you an outline of what I hope we will discuss tomorrow and in the months and years ahead. First, I think there is an economic consensus that market economics, fiscal discipline, expanded trade, and investment in people and emerging technologies is good economics. In the United States, it has given us an unparalleled economic expansion, the lowest unemployment rate in 30 years, the lowest inflation rate in 30 years, the lowest welfare rolls in 30 years, the lowest unemployment among our women in the work force in 46 years, the lowest poverty rates in 20 years, and the first back-to-back surpluses in our budget in over 40 years. But there are problems. I will get to them.

On social questions, I think there is an emerging consensus that we should favor equal opportunity, inclusion of all citizens in our community, and an insistence upon personal responsibility. In addition to low welfare rolls through welfare reform in the United States, it has given us the lowest crime rate in 25 years and unprecedented opportunities for women, racial minorities, and gays to serve in public life and to be a part of public discourse.

We have also worked particularly hard to reconcile the competing religious concerns of our increasing diverse communities of

faith in the United States. The challenges to this economic and social policy are, it seems to me, as follows—and this is where we have to close the gap.

Number one—what Mr. Prodi talked about quite a lot—the aging of all of our societies. In the next 30 years, the number of people over 65 in our country will double. I hope to be one of them. *[Laughter]* Now this is a high-class problem. In all the advanced economies, anyone who lives to be 65 today has a life expectancy of 82. Within a decade, the discoveries in the human genome project will lead every young mother—including Mrs. Blair—*[laughter]*—within a matter of years, young mothers will go home from the hospital with their babies with a little genomic map. And it will tell these mothers and the fathers of the children what kinds of things they can do to maximize the health, the welfare, and the life expectancy of their children. Many of our best experts believe that within a decade, children born in advanced societies will have a life expectancy of 100 years. Now, this is a terrific thing; but in the short run, it means that within 30 years, more or less, all of our societies will have only two people working for every one person retired—challenge number one.

Challenge number two, in spite of unprecedented economic prosperity in many places, there are still people and places that have been left behind. I'll give you the most stark example.

In America, we have the lowest unemployment rate in 30 years, 4.1 percent. On the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota, the home of the Lakota Sioux, the unemployment rate is 73 percent. And in many of our inner cities, in many of our rural areas, this recovery simply has not reached because of the lack of educational level of the people or because of the digital divide or because of the absence of a conducive investment environment. But every advanced society that seeks social justice and equal opportunity cannot simply rest on economic success in the absence of giving all people the chance to succeed.

Number three, there has, by and large, in all of our societies with heavy reliance on the market, been an increase in income inequality. I'm happy to say it is moderating in the

United States. In countries that have chosen to make sure that did not happen, very often there have been quite high levels of unemployment, which people also find unacceptable and which is another form of social inequality.

The next problem, with more and more people in the work force, both women and men, and more and more children being raised in homes that are either single-parent homes or two-parent homes where both the parents work, it is absolutely imperative that we strike the right balance between work and family. In this case, I think virtually every European country has done a better job than the United States in providing adequate family leave policies, adequate child care policies, adequate supports.

But let me just put it in this way. If most parents are going to work, either because they have to or they want to, then every society must strive for the proper balance, because if you have to choose between succeeding at home and succeeding at work, then you are defeated before you begin. The most important job of any society is raising children; it dwarfs in significance any other work. On the other hand—*[applause]*—yes, you may clap for that, I appreciate that. It does.

So if people at work are worried about the children at home or in child care, they're not going to be so productive at work. That means that either the economy or the social fabric will suffer. It is a profoundly important issue that will only grow more significant in the years ahead.

The next big issue, I believe, is the balancing of economic growth and environmental protection. And because of the problem of global warming, we will have to prove not only that we can maintain the quality of the environment, but that we can actually improve it while we grow the economy. I want to say a little more about that later, but it's a very important issue.

Finally, I would like to put another issue on the table. There is a political problem with achieving this vision, and I'll give you just three examples involving all of us here. In order to pursue this economic and social vision, if you start from a position of economic difficulty and you believe that fiscal discipline

is a part of your proposal that is necessary, then you're going to have upfront pain for long-term gain. And the question is, will we be able to develop a progressive governance that will be able to sustain enough support from the people to get to the gaining part? Because everybody likes to talk about sacrifice but no one likes to experience it. Everyone likes to talk about change, but we always want someone else to go first. And I have seen it. In our country, I was elected in 1992, and in 1993 I implemented my economic program, and in 1994 the public had not felt the benefits of it, and that's one of the big reasons we got a Congress of the other party.

Chancellor Schroeder is facing the same sort of challenges. President Cardoso is facing the same sort of challenges. So it's all very well for us to come here when—as in my case—that things are rocking along well in our country and the public is supporting us. But I think it's important that we acknowledge, if we believe in these ideas they will often have to be pursued when they are controversial in the knowledge that these difficult changes have to be made in order to have results over the long term.

And so one of the things I hope we'll be able to frankly discuss is how we can develop and sustain political support for like-minded people in all countries who are determined to pursue this approach that we all know works and has to be pursued in order to create the kind of future we want for our children and grandchildren.

Now let me just say a word about global politics. I believe there's an emerging consensus that it's good for the world to promote peace and prosperity and freedom and security through expanded trade; through debt relief for the poorest nations; through policies that advance human rights and democracies; through policies in the developing countries that expand the rights and opportunities of women and their daughters; through policies that stand against terrorism, against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; and against the spread of ethnic, racial, and religious hatred.

What are the specific challenges to this consensus? I'll just mention a few. How do you place a human face on the global economy? We're going to have a WTO ministerial

in Washington State in a few days. There will be 10 times as many people demonstrating outside the hall as there will be inside. And I understand more than half of them may not even be from the United States.

I personally think this is a good thing. Why? Because the truth is that ordinary people all over the world are not so sure about the globalization of the economy. They're not so sure they're going to benefit from trade. They want to see if there can be a human face on the global economy, if we can raise labor standards for ordinary people, if we can continue to improve the quality of life, including the quality of the environment. And if we believe—we, who say we believe in social justice and the market economy, really want to push it, we have to prove that the globalization of the economy can really work for real people. And it's a huge challenge.

Number two, we have to deal with the fact that about half the world still lives on less than \$2 a day, so for most of them, most of this discussion tonight is entirely academic, which is why debt relief is so important. We have to deal with the fact that while we talk about having smaller, more entrepreneurial government, the truth is that in a lot of poor countries, they don't have any government at all with any real, fundamental capacity to do the things that have to be done. Even in a lot of more developed countries, they have found themselves blindsided by the financial crisis that struck in 1997.

So we have to acknowledge while we, who say we are developing a Third Way—and in our case, we've been able to do it with the smallest Federal Government in 37 years—we have to acknowledge the fact that some countries need more government. They need capacity. They need the ability to battle disease and run financial systems and solve problems, and that it is fanciful to talk about a lot of this until you can basically deal with malaria, deal with AIDS.

You look at Africa, for example, AIDS consuming many African countries. But Uganda has had the biggest drop in the AIDS rates of any country in the world because of the capacity of the Government to deal with the problem. And I think we have to forthrightly deal with that.

Let me just mention a couple of other issues a little closer to home. We're going to have to deal with the conflict between science and economics and social values. Example: the conflict between the United States and Europe over genetically modified seeds and the growing and selling of food; the conflict between Britain and France over the sale of beef.

Listen, this is hot stuff now, but you can see that there's going to be a lot more of this. And we have to find a way to manage this if we're going to be in a global society with a global economy, where there are honest differences and real fears. We have to find a way to manage this that has integrity and that generates trust among ordinary people.

Another problem that I think is quite important is, all of us will have to decide how we're going to cooperate and when we separate in an interdependent world. I think, for example, our Congress did a very good thing to finally pay our U.N. dues and to enable the United States to participate in the global debt relief movement. And I think they made a mistake to defeat the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty. But every one of us will have to deal with these kinds of questions, because there will always be domestic pressures operating against responsible interdependence and cooperation.

And finally, I'll mention two other things. I believe that the biggest problems to our security in the 21st century and to this whole modern form of governance will probably come not from rogue states or from people with competing views of the world in governments, but from the enemies of the nation-state, from terrorists and drug runners and organized criminals who, I predict, will increasingly work together and increasingly use the same things that are fueling our prosperity: open borders, the Internet, the miniaturization of all sophisticated technology, which will manifest itself in smaller and more powerful and more dangerous weapons. And we have to find ways to cooperate to deal with the enemies of the nation-state if we expect progressive governments to succeed.

The last and most important point of all, I believe, is this. I think the supreme irony of our time, as we talk about a new renaiss-

sance—by the way, that would make New York University the successor of de'Medici—*[laughter]*—I think—consider this—the supreme irony of this time is that we are sitting around talking about finding out the secrets of the black holes in the universe, unlocking the mysteries of the human gene, having unprecedented growth, and dealing with what I consider to be very high-class problems—finding the right balance between unemployment and social justice, dealing with the aging of society—isn't it interesting to you that in this most modern of ages, the biggest problem of human societies is the most primitive of all social difficulties: the fear of people who are different from us. That, after all, is what is at the root of what Prime Minister Blair has struggled with in Northern Ireland, at the root of all the problems in the Balkans, at the root of the tribal wars in Africa, at the root of the still unresolved, though hopefully progressing problems in the Middle East.

A few weeks ago, Hillary invited two men to the White House for a conversation about the new millennium. One was one of the founders of the Internet, the other was one of our principal scientists unlocking the mysteries of the human genome, and they talked together—it was fabulous, because these guys said, number one, we would not know anything about the gene if it were not for the computer revolution because we couldn't have done the complex sequencing. And then the scientist said, now that they had done all this complex sequencing, the most stunning conclusion they had drawn is that all human beings were 99.9 percent the same genetically, and that the differences of individuals in any given ethnic group, genetically, were greater than the genetic differences of one ethnic group to another.

So if you had 100 West Africans and 100 Italians and 100 Mexicans and 100 Norwegians, the differences of the individuals within the groups would be greater than the composite genetic profile differences of one group to another.

Now, this is in an age where 800,000 people were slaughtered by machetes in 90 days in Rwanda a few years ago, when a quarter of a million Bosnians lost their lives and 2½ million more were made refugees.

So that's the last point I would like to make. We need a little humility here. What we really need to be struggling for is not all the answers, but a unifying vision that makes the most of all these wonders and relishes all this diversity which makes life more interesting, but proceeds on the fundamental fact that the most important thing is what it has always been: our common humanity, which imposes on us certain responsibilities about how we live, how we treat others who are less fortunate, how we empower everyone to have a chance to live up to his or her God-given potential.

If you ask me one thing we could do, it would not be all the modern ideas. If I had to leave tonight and never have another thing to say about public life, I would say if we could find a way to enshrine a reverence for our common humanity, the rest would work out just fine.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:43 p.m. in an outdoor tent at the Villa La Pietra. In his remarks, he referred to Oliva L. Jay, president, New York University; Norman Dorsen, professor, and John Sexton, dean, New York University School of Law; Prime Minister Massimo D'Alema of Italy and his wife, Linda; Romano Prodi, President, European Union; Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder of Germany; President Fernando Cardoso of Brazil; Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom and his wife, Cherie; Vinton G. Cerf, senior vice president for Internet architecture and technology, MCI WorldCom; and Eric Lander, director, Whitehead, Institute/MIT Center for Genome Research.

Remarks at Morning Session One of the Conference on Progressive Governance for the 21st Century in Florence

November 21, 1999

Well, first of all, let me say that I think, Prime Minister D'Alema, the morning session is well-named. We are concerned about equality and opportunity in the new economy.

Let us begin with the proposition that the new economy is powered by a revolution in technology, especially in information and telecommunications, and exponentially en-

hanced by the growing global trade. The new economy does best in a highly entrepreneurial environment where people with new ideas have access to capital and low barriers to establishing a growing business. More than in any previous time of economic expansion, job growth is disproportionately higher in the private, as opposed to the public, sector.

Now the good news is that there is an extraordinary potential for the growth of jobs, businesses, and wealth. We have in the United States been blessed, for example, with a stock market that has more than tripled in the last 7 years. But this is not free of challenges, both within and among nations.

Even though, for example, in our country we have the lowest poverty rate in 20 years, and the lowest poverty rate among households headed by single parents, principally women, in over 40 years, we know that there are the following problems with the new economy if you just have a laissez-faire policy.

Number one, the skill gap among people with high levels of education and low levels will lead to even more dramatic income inequality.

Number two, in a highly volatile environment where lots of jobs are being created and lots of jobs are being lost, it requires a special attention to the transition assistance needed to give people the skills and other support they need to move from one job to another.

Number three, there will be people and places that are completely left behind; I mentioned this in my remarks last night. The United States has the lowest unemployment rate we've had in 30 years, but if you look at some of our inner-city neighborhoods, the remote mountain places in Appalachia, for example, the Mississippi Delta, the Native America, the American Indian reservations, you find unemployment rates anywhere from 3 to 12 times the national average.

So if you wish to promote equality and opportunity, there must be a strategy, first, to close the skills gap, which means that there's a role for Government here. We have to spend more money, not less, than ever before on education. It needs to start sooner; it needs to last for a lifetime. And it needs to

be focused much more rigorously on results, so that it's not just a question of spending money, but you're actually getting a higher return for the money that's being spent. Number two, there needs to be a system of lifetime learning for people in transition. You have people at the age of 50 changing jobs now. They can still do quite well, but they have to have help and support. Number three, there needs to be a system for getting capital to those people and places that are left behind.

Let me just give you an example. One of the big debates we're having in America now is how long we can keep this economic expansion going. It is already the longest peacetime expansion in our history. In February, it will be the longest economic expansion in American history, including World War II. I believe that this is happening—I'd like to tell you it's because of my policies—I believe it's happening because we have underestimated the productivity gains of technology and underestimated the power of open borders and open trade to restrain inflation, which permits these economic expansions to go on if you have good policies.

Now how can we continue to grow the economy? You can bring investment to the places that are left behind. So I have before the United States Congress, now, a proposal essentially to set up the equivalent in America of our Export-Import Bank and our Overseas Private Investment Corporation to give American investors the same incentives to invest in the poorest areas in America we give them to invest in the poorest areas of Latin America or Africa, not to take away the foreign incentives but to mirror them in the very poor areas of our country. I think this is something that all advanced countries should look at.

Finally, let me say there is a big problem with the so-called digital divide. The people who have access to the Internet and technology have enormous advantages, and it has to be closed. We are now hooking up all of our classrooms to the Internet, and we should finish next year. But I think we should shoot for a goal in the developing countries, the developed countries, of having Internet access as complete as telephone access with-

in a fixed number of years. It will do as much as anything else to reduce income inequality.

Last point I want to make: There are not just problems in this economy dealing with equality and opportunity; there are opportunities, too, and let me just mention two.

Number one, technology has permitted us to say, for the first time since the industrial revolution, it is no longer necessary to grow an economy to burn more greenhouse gases to burn up the atmosphere. It is now possible to grow an economy and actually use less greenhouse gases and put less strain on the economy. That opens up the opportunity not only to save the environment but to create literally millions of new jobs around the world.

Number two, the Internet itself offers opportunities for people who don't have access to traditional jobs to make money. There is an American company that perhaps some of you have used, called eBay, and it's basically a place on the Internet where you can buy anything. It's like a great international market on the Internet. There are now over 20,000 people, including a lot of people who are on welfare, who are making a living on eBay—making a living on eBay.

So there are opportunities as well as problems in this economy. We should not be depressed about it. We should just realize that governance requires new policies.

Mr. Prime Minister, you asked us to talk about the domestic issues first, and there are a whole lot of global issues I'd like to deal with, but this is what I would like to say about the domestic issues. We have to deal with more investment in education, more investment in transition aid, a strategy to get capital to people in places left behind, a strategy to close the digital divide. And we have to make the most of the new technologies, especially in the environmental areas, and the new opportunities for isolated people and places to make money because of the Internet, not in spite of it.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:45 a.m. in the Room of Five Hundred at the Palazzo Vecchio. In his remarks, he referred to Prime Minister Massimo D'Alema of Italy. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

**Remarks at Afternoon Session One
of the Conference on Progressive
Governance for the 21st Century in
Florence**

November 21, 1999

So many wise things have been said, I feel ill equipped to compete with lunch. But I would like to very briefly, and in summary fashion, address two subjects which we have discussed: first, how we are dealing with this new economy among ourselves. I agree with what Lionel Jospin said. We are here because we affirm the importance of the nation-state as necessary to provide the conditions of community and humanity in this very different world. The question is what Tony Blair always says—we have to do to what works. We have to do something that enables us to fulfill our traditional mission in a very different world.

Now, let me just make a couple of very specific suggestions for where our work might go. I don't think we have studied enough what each other has done and how it might relate to our own experience. For example, in the countries here represented, taking Brazil to the side a moment—just let's take the EU and the U.S. and Canada. We all take somewhere between 30 percent and 45 percent of national income for government purposes. But we spend this money in very different ways.

Now, we know that if you look at France and Germany, you can achieve quite a high level of growth with GP expenditures in the public sector above 40 percent. You can still have high growth. But we haven't looked enough—the right will say, “Well, the more you spend, the worse it is.” What we should do is analyze how this money is spent. I would like to know, for example, more than I know about how the unemployment support system in Germany differs from the unemployment support system in France or Britain. I think these things would help us a lot.

We're sitting here in this wonderful medieval building, built in the late 13th, early 14th century. I would like to know why northern Italy has the highest per capita income in Europe and whether it has anything to do with the combination of creativity and

cooperation in business that is rooted in the medieval guilds that flourished in Florence hundreds of years ago and that are replicated now in many of the business practices here.

We don't know enough about what is actually going on in our own countries and how it compares with other countries to make the best decisions about what the way forward is. And I think we ought to make sure that when we leave here, we have a strategy of finding that out.

Now, let's go to the global issues and the issues represented here by Brazil. And I would like to talk very briefly about, one, international institutions; two, what the emerging economies, themselves, have to do; and three, what the rich countries ought to be doing.

First, on the international institutions, I completely agree that the IMF, the World Bank, the multilateral development banks were inadequate to the financial crisis of the 1990's, and particularly the Asian financial crisis—which collapsed Russia as well—and which have terrible effects on totally innocent bystanders, especially in Latin America and particularly Brazil.

Now, what caused this? Number one, as Tony Blair pointed out, you can't run a modern economy without a global financial system that moves money around—a lot of money in a hurry. The volume of currency trades every day is roughly 15 times the volume of trade and goods and services—over \$1 trillion every day. We have to do that. The system won't work without it.

Now, what caused the problem? A lot of loans were made which should not have been made because there was not an honest system of risk assessment. And then, when those loans went bad, two things happened. One, market panic—so it's like the old phenomenon of, once a cat gets burned sitting on a hot stove, it won't sit on a cold stove, either. So if we lost money in a developing economy in Russia, or in Asia, then we better take our money out of central Europe and Latin America.

The second thing that happened, which has been less analyzed, is that a lot of these loans were highly leveraged, through derivatives and other mechanisms, so that people who lost their money in Russia, let's say, had

to cover their losses, when they had only put up 10 percent of their losses. So they were very often liquidating their investments in Latin America through no fault of Latin America, but because they had to have cash to pay off their debts.

Now, in the last 2 years the truth is that all of our nations have worked very hard to deal with this. The IMF and the World Bank, we have made some substantial changes in policy—not everything we need to do, but I think that a lot of reforms have been made.

Now, the question is, can domestic economies—can Henrique do things that would help this? Chile had a capital control system that worked pretty well, to try to regulate radical movements of money in and out of the country. But the only reason it worked well is, Chile had a system that was recognized as having integrity and effectiveness, so that people still wanted to put their money there even if there was some control on how rapidly it could move in and out. The same with Malaysia in the Asian financial crisis—people thought you could make money in Malaysia, so they would put up with the capital controls. On the other hand, if when the Russians tried to control money—even the Russians were sending money out of Russia, in record amounts, because they didn't believe at the moment that the system would work.

So should we continue to reform the IMF and the World Bank and the multilateral development banks? Absolutely. But we should not minimize the fact that you've got to move a lot of money around every day.

Second thing: domestic systems matter. Governments have to have good, honest financial systems, because you can't make people put their money in a place they don't want to spend it, and you can't make people keep their money in a place they no longer have confidence in. And governments have to have greater capacity; this is something the old—the so-called old left and the new left ought to agree on. The truth is, in most developing countries, governments are too weak, not too strong.

Why is Uganda the only country in Africa that can drive the AIDS rate down? How can—why shouldn't we be out there promoting a system where once a country in a

developing area of the world solves a problem we more speedily make sure that is done everywhere else, and we help people do that. This is crazy. I mean, just—AIDS is just one example, but, I mean, it's convulsing African countries—but here's Uganda proving that you can get the rate down, and, oh, by the way, they have economic growth at 5 percent or 6 percent a year. So national policies matter.

The third thing is, what are we going to do to help? Very quickly. One, we ought to support everybody, from the Pope to Bono, who's recommending debt relief for the poorest countries in the world. It's insane to keep these poor countries spending all their money making interest payments—they can't even pay off the principal. They'll never be able to grow, and they have no money to buy our products. So the G-8 initiative on debt relief is right. We should do that. Two, we ought to vigorously support economic empowerment initiatives that work in developing nations. I have been in Sao Paulo and Rio, two of the largest cities in the world, two of the most wonderful places on Earth. But there are millions of children there that will have no future unless their families can make a decent living.

Now, the United States, this year, funded 2 million microenterprise loans, mostly to poor urban and rural village women. We know what works in poor developing economies. I wish we were funding 20 million loans. I think the rich countries should be funding literally 2 or 3 hundred million microenterprise loans a year. If you wanted to do something useful at an average of \$50 or \$100 apiece in Europe—I mean, in the poor countries of Latin America and Asia and Africa, and even the poorest countries of Europe, that would make a huge difference.

Three, we ought to do everything we can to get more cell phones and computer hook-ups out there. The people in Africa are no different from the people in America. If you give people access to technology, a lot of smart people will figure out how to make a lot of money. And the more you can make dense the availability of cell phones and computers in poor countries, the bigger difference it would make.

Four, we ought to all ratify the Child Labor Convention and do more to protect the interest of women and young girls. Get the girls in school, end child labor, put women in the work force. Example: in Pakistan—we worked with Pakistan to put thousands of their children back in school who were making soccer balls. And they discovered that, when they got the kids back in school, they made thousands of jobs for poor village women who were dying to go to work, and began to sustain their families. The rich countries of the world ought to ratify the Child Labor Convention and do more to help women and to get little girls in school.

And finally, I think the WTO coming up ought to lead to more open markets. We ought to buy products from these countries. If we—you know, it's politically sensitive, but if you want to help these poor countries, they have to make a living. We've got to buy more of their stuff.

And—last point before we go to lunch. Gerhard Schroeder said something that I want to reemphasize. The liberal left parties in the rich countries should be the parties of fiscal discipline. It is a liberal, progressive thing to balance the budget and run surpluses if you're in a rich country today. Why? Unless you have total deflation like Japan, you should always be running a balanced budget.

Why? Because it keeps interest rates down for your own people, which creates jobs and lowers costs. The average American has saved \$2,000 in home mortgages, \$200 in car payments, and \$200 in college loan payments since we cut the deficit.

Two—this is the most important point for Henrique—if all the rich countries in the world were running a surplus in times of growth—just when we're growing—then we not only would lower the cost of capital for our own business communities, we would make it so much cheaper for Henrique to get money in Brazil. It's the number one thing we could do to get money to poor countries at affordable rates is to start running surpluses.

I am trying to convince both parties in my country, before I leave office, to make a common commitment to pay off the public debt of America over the next 15 years for the

first time since 1835. This is now a liberal thing to do—it helps poor people, it helps working families, it helps the poor countries of the world. If we could embrace that goal, I think it would be a very good thing to do.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:23 p.m. in the Room of Five Hundred at the Palazzo Vecchio. In his remarks, he referred to Prime Minister Massimo D'Alema of Italy; Prime Minister Lionel Jospin of France; Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom; President Fernando Henrique Cardoso of Brazil; Pope John Paul II; Irish musician and peace activist Bono; and Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder of Germany. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks at Session Two of the Conference on Progressive Governance for the 21st Century in Florence

November 21, 1999

Well, first let me—excuse me. I would like to compliment Professor Meny on his paper, which was presented to this conference, and on his remarks.

I think I should begin by noting that he quoted that wonderful section from Machiavelli, where he says something to the effect that there is nothing so difficult in all of human affairs than to change the established order of things. The next part of the quote is also very important, where Machiavelli goes on to say that is so because the people who will gain from the change are uncertain of their benefit, but the people who will lose are absolutely sure of the consequences and will go to any lengths to avoid them. So that calls for a little humility here in our enterprise.

But let me say the points that Yves Meny made were the following: Democracy is an unfinished business, still to be perfected—I agree with that; democracies will be different, depending on the circumstances they face and their cultural and historical difference—I agree with that; we need transnational civil society institutions to bring mutuality and interdependence and responsibility to the fore—I certainly agree with

that; and we will have to have through all these differences a reaffirmation of fundamental rights—and I agree with that.

Let me say what I think we know about all this. First of all, I think it is not an accident that we have the flourishing of a new economy that is based on knowledge and individual entrepreneurialism and creativity at the very time when, for the first time in history, more than half the world's people live under governments of their own choosing. I think there is a connection between the primacy of the citizen and the equality of individuals, and the way this economy works so well in successful democracies.

Secondly, I think the fact that we now have democracies makes it even more important that we be committed to universal education and not just technical education, but the kind of education that makes for good citizenship—the liberal arts, education in logic and reasoning and judgment, understanding different cultures, and making reasoned arguments. If you're going to have democracies make good decisions in difficult times—not just when everything is going well—the importance of universal education, and not narrowly defined education, is greater than at any time in all of human history.

Thirdly, I very much agree with the point which was made about the need for transnational institutions. I say all the time in the United States that we are very fortunate that at this moment in history we have a lot of prosperity, and we have a lot of influence. But we should make no mistake, nothing lasts forever. We should be humble; we should be responsible; and we should recognize that we live in an increasingly interdependent world, where it is important that we both assume and receive obligations and cooperation.

The last point I would like to make is that when we talk about the perfection of democracy and when we talk about the different cultures, one of the things that I think we have to reaffirm is that, in the world in which we live, democracy is far more than majority rule; it is also majority rule within given restraints of power which recognize minority rights and individual rights, whether they are religious rights, whether they are the rights of women as well as men or given ethnic

groups or homosexuals or any other discrete group in society.

It seems to me that if you look at all the troubles in the world we're having over racial and ethnic and religious and travel turmoil, the most effective democracies that will do best with the modern economy are those that not only have majority rule but very clear, unambiguous, and passionate commitments to the protection of the rights and the interests of minorities.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:45 p.m. in the Room of Five Hundred at the Palazzo Vecchio. In his remarks, he referred to Yves Meny, director, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute in Florence. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks at the Closing Session of the Conference on Progressive Governance for the 21st Century in Florence

November 21, 1999

First of all, Prime Minister, I want to thank you and the Government and the people of Italy for hosting us here in the city of Florence and all the people who have done so much to make this a wonderful stay.

I don't know that I can add anything to what I have said and what the others have said. I would like to begin by saying I feel deeply privileged to have been here. I respect and admire the other leaders who are here on this panel and those who are in the audience who have participated. And I think we are all fortunate to serve at this moment in history when, really for the only time in my lifetime we have the chance in the absence of external threat and dramatic internal turmoil, to forge the future of our dreams for our children and to give people in less fortunate parts of the world the chance to live out their God-given capacities. So I think we should come here with gratitude and humility.

Now, let me also say that for—at a certain level, this is about politics. What we want to do is to find a way to, first, explain the world in which we live in a way that makes

sense to the people we represent and the people we would like to reach; and then to propose a course of action that will draw people together, move people forward and touch their hearts, so that elections will be one and decisions can be implemented; and so that we can work together to actually change the things that we're concerned about and maximize the opportunities that are manifestly there.

Now, we have called this the Third Way or, in Lionel Jospin's wonderful characterization, we'll say yes to the market economy, but no to the market society. Or, in the shorthand usage in America, we say we're for opportunity, responsibility, and community. But at bottom, what we're striving for is to replace a divided way of looking at politics and talking about our common lives with a unifying theory.

For up to the present moment, mostly you were for the economy or for protecting the environment; you were for business or you were for labor; you were for promoting work or for promoting family life; you were for preventing crime or for punishing criminals; you were for cultural diversity or for universal identity; you were for the market society or for social values. We come and say, "Well, we're for fiscal responsibility and full employment; we're for personal responsibility and social justice; we're for individual and group identity and national community."

Now, let me just say that I don't think these are just words. I think life is more satisfying when people are animated by personal and civic philosophies that are unifying, that give us a chance to strive for true integrity, putting our minds and our bodies and our spirits in the same place, and treating other people in the way we would like to be treated, and giving other people those opportunities and shouldering those responsibilities.

So if I might, let me just comment briefly on three things that were mentioned earlier. First, the representative of the Green movement and then the question you posed to Tony Blair. I have been very convinced for years that it is no longer necessary to choose between growing the economy and preserving, and even improving, the environment. But it is quite necessary to abandon the industrial age energy use patterns.

The reason I am for the broadest possible use of energy emission-trading permits is not so the United States—the world's worst emitter of greenhouse gases—can get out of cutting our own emissions, but because I want to spare the Indians and the Chinese and others of the burden of growing rich in the way we did, because global warming means we can't afford for people to do what we have done, which is, you pollute and you get rich—Japan, the United States, Europe—and then you turn around when you're rich and you get richer by cleaning up your pollution. That would work, except with global warming you keep making the greenhouse gas factor worse.

So I urge you to all read a book—I'll hawk a book here—"Natural Capitalism," by Paul Hawken and Amory and Hunter Lovins. It basically proves beyond any argument that there are presently available technologies, and those just on horizon, which will permit us to get richer by cleaning, not by spoiling, the environment. So we can have a unifying vision here.

The second issue you raised, about the genetically modified organisms and food production and all these food fights we see—food fights between Britain and France, food fights between America and the European Union—I think there what we have to do is to try to give people the choice of pursuing their prejudices even if they're blind by having absolute honest and full labeling. And then we have to have complete—no one should have an interest in keeping anyone ignorant of the source of food or how it was grown.

And then whether it comes to whether the food should be admitted to the market in the first place, I think it's important that the Europeans—and Tony mentioned this—develop sort of the equivalent of the American Food and Drug Administration on a European-wide basis, so that you actually have confidence when someone says to you, this food is safe; you don't think that the people who did the analysis and voiced the opinion were either incompetent or in the back pocket of the economic interest who benefit from the decision. And I think that's very important, so that you can have safe food and open trade.

The third thing I would like to mention is the lady who talked about cultural diversity. I think we think about culture in two different ways. One is popular culture—you know, not just art and theater, but movies and music. My view is that countries should preserve their popular culture but not shut out other countries' culture. But in the deeper sense that you mentioned, it seems to me that we're not seeing the abolition of culture, but what we are in danger of is either people losing their culture or protecting it in an exclusive way that leads them into hostility with others—that's what you see in Kosovo or Bosnia.

And what I think we have to find a way to do is to actually preserve in multiethnic, multiracial settings the language, the culture, the history, the uniqueness of people in a way that is unifying, not divisive. I said this last night—I will close with this: People crave coherence in life. We want to believe that we can work hard and provide in a material sense for our families and still be animated by higher impulses. We want to believe we can be proud of being Irish or Brazilian or French or whatever and still know it's more important that we're members of the human race.

And I think the answer is not to get rid of cultural diversity but to extol it, to protect it, to preserve it, to celebrate it as a particular manifestation of our common humanity. I still think—and I will end with this—that's our most important responsibility.

We haven't talked much about that, but it seems to me that the real essence of what we're saying is if you want a unifying approach to politics, then every person who advocates that has a far higher level of personal responsibility for citizenship than we on the left of the political equation have traditionally acknowledged. And the good news is that we'll have more fulfilling lives if we can pull it off.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:05 p.m. in the Room of Five Hundred at the Palazzo Vecchio. In his remarks, he referred to Prime Minister Massimo D'Alema of Italy; Prime Minister Lionel Jospin of France; and Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Statement on the 1999 Uniform Crime Report

November 21, 1999

The preliminary 1999 Uniform Crime Report released by the FBI today shows that we are making enormous progress in our national strategy to fight crime. America continues to experience the longest continuous decline in crime on record. Overall crime fell another 10 percent in the first 6 months of this year as compared to the first half of 1998—twice as much as any other 6-month period over the last decade. We have the lowest crime rate in 25 years. We have the lowest homicide rate in over 31 years. In every region of our Nation, neighborhoods are safer now, and American families are more secure than they have been in a generation.

But to keep crime rates down we must remain vigilant. Since I took office, my administration has focused on a simple but effective crime-fighting strategy: 100,000 more police officers and fewer guns in the hands of criminals. Today's report shows that our strategy is making a difference. That is why I am pleased that the budget agreement reached last week will extend our successful COPS initiative into the 21st century—helping put up to 50,000 more police officers on our streets, creating new community prosecutors, and providing more resources for crime fighting technologies. Congress must now do its part to reduce gun violence and crime, by making the passage of commonsense gun laws the first order of business when it reconvenes.

NOTE: This statement was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 19 but was embargoed for release until 6 p.m., November 21.

Exchange With Reporters Prior to Discussions With President Petar Stoyanov of Bulgaria in Sofia

November 22, 1999

President Clinton. Good morning.

Q. How are you, Mr. President?

President Clinton. I'm fine. I'm delighted to be here, very pleased.

Situation in Chechnya

Q. Mr. President, the events in Chechnya in the last 2 days, has that raised doubts about the Russian commitment to a political dialog?

President Clinton. Well, I think they made clear that they were going to try to continue their military offensive. What we've done at the OSCE is, it got them to agree that the internal affairs of Russia or any other country is a proper subject of world discussion and world opinion. We got them to agree to take the OSCE mission there. I think it's very important to do that. And I hope that we've gotten an increased amount of concern for civilian casualties. So we'll have to see, but I think it's very important we follow up on the commitments made earlier at the OSCE meeting in Istanbul.

Q. Mr. President, Bulgarian national television. Are you going to discuss with our President different ways for compensating Bulgaria for our losses during the embargo against Yugoslavia and Iraq, about \$10 billion?

President Clinton. Well, first of all, let me say I'm very grateful for the support we received, the Allies received during the conflict in Kosovo, and for the direction taken by Bulgaria under this President and this Government. And we are committed to supporting Bulgaria over the long run—economically, politically, militarily. And I think we will be doing it for many years, and I'm looking forward to that.

Situation in Kosovo

Q. Mr. President, in Kosovo tomorrow, will you urge ethnic Albanians to stop their reprisal attacks against Serbs?

President Clinton. In Kosovo tomorrow I will make a very strong statement about the importance of everybody getting over this ethnic hatred and going beyond it. And we have all made a big commitment to Kosovo as an economic and political reconstruction. But I think it's very important that Kosovo, in effect, not become the mirror image of Serbia. It's hard not to, but it's important not to. And we'll keep working on it.

But I wouldn't overreact to the stories, you know, and the facts—a lot of good things have happened there since the end of the

war. And it hasn't been very long, and there is a long, long history in Kosovo and throughout Serbia, throughout the Balkans, that we're trying to get beyond.

Again, I'd say Bulgaria is a very good example of the direction we ought to take, and I hope we can have a positive impact in Kosovo. I think we can.

President Stoyanov. It's important that we, through the American people, through the eyes of the American President, the American people will realize that the Bulgarian people have embarked upon a new road and chosen a new policy, that of democracy, of respect for human rights and that, also, through its wonderful relations with all its neighbors and its excellent ethnic—the absence of ethnic problems whatsoever, Bulgaria will be an example of stability on this continent and will continue to be so.

NATO Bases in Bulgaria

Q. Will you inform us if you discuss the issue of NATO bases in this country?

President Stoyanov. We'll inform you about anything with pleasure, with the greatest of pleasure.

President Clinton. Thank you.

NOTE: The exchange began at 11 a.m. in the Anteroom at the Presidency. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

Remarks Following Discussions With Prime Minister Ivan Kostov of Bulgaria and an Exchange With Reporters in Sofia

November 22, 1999

Prime Minister Kostov. I have just asked the President to say a few words before he goes out of the Council of Ministers. He was kind to respond, and I thank him for that.

President Clinton. Well, first, I want to say again how pleased and honored I am to be in Bulgaria and how strongly I support and admire the political, economic, and military reforms that the Government has undertaken and how grateful I am for the support that Europe and the United States received during the recent difficulties in Kosovo.

I think it is very important for the United States to support Bulgaria's aspirations for

political, economic, and military integration into the West and to support the Stability Pact and the economic and political revitalization of all of southeastern Europe.

I would like to make one other point, which is that I am especially grateful for Bulgaria's policy and history of tolerance and cooperation among different groups of people within this country. If that had been the policy of Serbia in these last 10 years, we would be living in a very different and better time.

Thank you very much. Thank you.

Q. [Inaudible]

President Clinton. No, that did not come up. But we talked generally about the importance of doing things that would be economically beneficial to Bulgaria. I would remind you, my Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Daley, was here just a few weeks ago for an economic conference. And we are moving ahead with a whole set of plans, which I hope will be highly beneficial to Bulgaria economically. But we did not discuss the specific question you asked.

Thank you.

NOTE: The exchange began at 12:50 p.m. at the Council of Ministers Building. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

Remarks to the People of Bulgaria in Sofia

November 22, 1999

Dober den.

President Stoyanov, Prime Minister Kostov, Mayor Sofianski, the people of Bulgaria, I thank you for this wonderful, wonderful welcome. I also want to thank this young student, who must have been so nervous, Boryana Savova. If she is a representative of the young people of Bulgaria, your future is in very good hands.

I am honored tonight to be here with my daughter, three Members of the United States Congress, and a distinguished group of Americans. We thank you for this welcome. We thank all the musicians who performed, all the people who worked so hard to put this wonderful crowd together.

And I would like to say a special word of thanks to the young woman who sang so mag-

nificently both the national anthems of Bulgaria and the United States.

I am very proud to be the first American President to visit Bulgaria—a free Bulgaria. I am proud to stand in this place where voices were silenced for too long. Here are these tens of thousands of people, exercising your freedom with dignity and pride.

We are here tonight because of what you did 10 years ago this month, when change swept through Nevsky Square. Students, never before allowed to express their opinions, demanded free elections now. Writers, imprisoned just a few weeks before, led chants of *demokratsiya*. Grandparents, never allowed to worship with their children, said prayers in public, in the shadow of this great cathedral. What a wonderful moment that was. What a wonderful thing it said to the rest of the world about the heart of Bulgaria.

Even before 1989, communist rulers tried to keep you down with violence, but you struggled peacefully. They fed you lies, yet you sought the truth. They tried to smother your spirit, yet you were able to come together here and demand to be citizens, with rights and responsibilities of your own.

When the cold war ended, it took much longer for the ground here to thaw. You endured one false spring after another. Now that democracy is beginning to truly take root, some here must feel left behind, while others race ahead. I ask you to remember what you left behind: a police state, with no room for disappointment, because there was no hope for improvement; when nobody felt left behind because no one was allowed to get ahead; when there were no dreams and some Bulgarians were even robbed of their very identities, forced to change their names. The struggle for your constitutional democracy was waged not for paradise but for possibility, not for a perfect world but for the chance to build a better world.

In my own country, we have struggled now for more than 200 years to build what our Founders called “a more perfect Union,” never completely perfect but always advancing the cause of freedom and responsibility, of individual opportunity and a stronger national community. In those 223 years, we have had to overcome slavery and civil war, depressions and World Wars, discrimination

against women and ethnic and religious minorities. We have overcome these things through the free choices of free people. I came here to say to you, the people of Bulgaria, that through freedom you, too, shall overcome, and you will not have to wait 200 years to do it.

In just the last 10 years, from Poland to Hungary to the Baltics, those who have chosen open societies and open markets started out with sacrifice but ended up with success. The only difference between them and Bulgaria is that they had a head start. Now you, too, are on your way.

Today America and Bulgaria have reached agreements that will encourage more American companies to do business here, to create jobs for both our countries. We are taking steps to help you crack down on corruption once and for all. And let me say to people in the United States, Europe, and all over the world who will see this tonight on television: This is a wonderful country. Come here and help Bulgaria help build the future.

And let me add this: The cold war was fought and won by free people who did not accept that there could be two Europes in the 20th century. Now we must not—we will not accept that there could be two Europes, separate and unequal, in the 21st century. If you stay the course, Bulgaria will be a place where young people can make their dreams come true, and Americans and Bulgarians together will help to build a Europe that is undivided, democratic, and at peace for the first time in all human history.

When that vision of the future was threatened by President Milosevic's brutal campaign in Kosovo, you stood with NATO. I know it was very hard for you to do. But I ask you to think about what would have happened if we had not stood up. This entire region would have been overwhelmed by refugees. And a message would have been sent to the rest of the world: Stay away from southeastern Europe, for here dictators still hold power by exploiting human differences and destroying human lives. I thank you for standing your ground with us against that evil and sending a very different message to the rest of the world.

And I also want to thank you for setting a very different example here in Bulgaria.

You have preserved a multiethnic society. As President Stoyanov has said, you chose to stand with and for civilization 2 years ago. But you also made that choice 50 years ago when you helped Bulgaria's Jewish community to survive World War II and the Holocaust. On behalf of American Jews and Jewish people everywhere, I thank you for that. All of you know the famous line from the monk Paissii Hilendarski: "You, Bulgarians, do not hesitate to be proud." When you saved Bulgaria's Jews, it was one of the proudest moments in your history. And tonight, as you stand for freedom, it is one of the proudest moments in your history.

But now we have work to do. We must help all of southeastern Europe choose freedom and tolerance and community. We must give all the people in this region a unifying magnet that is stronger than the pull of old hatreds that has threatened to tear them apart over and over again. Your neighbor Serbia should be part of that bright and different future.

I am told that during the recent war you could actually hear some of the bombs falling in Serbia from this square. Tonight I hope the people of Serbia can hear our voices when we say, "If you choose as Bulgaria has chosen, you will regain the rightful place in Europe Mr. Milosevic has stolen from you, and America will support you, too."

Already, we are aiding the forces of democracy in Serbia. And for all the people of this region, we strongly support the Stability Pact for southeast Europe. We encourage the expansion of the European Union to this region. And we must and will keep NATO's door open to those democratic nations here who are able to meet their obligations.

During the conflict in Kosovo, we learned something very important about Bulgaria and its democratic neighbors: Because you know how it feels to be insecure, you know what it means to sacrifice for common security; because you know how it feels to lose your freedom, you know what it takes to defend freedom. And so, even though you paid a great price and you are not yet in the heart of Europe, you have Europe and its values in your heart.

Earlier today, I had the opportunity to meet some of Borana's classmates at the

American University in Bulgaria. They were from Bulgaria and from other countries throughout this region. And they were profoundly impressive to me in their intelligence, in their compassion, in their determination to build a brighter future.

So I would like to close my remarks tonight with a word to the young people here. In America, Thomas Jefferson was only 32 years old when he wrote the Declaration of Independence, and Martin Luther King was only 26 years old when he led our crusade for civil rights for African-Americans. As I look out among you, I see a generation of Bulgarians who have come of age knowing not the unchanging conformity of communism but the constantly changing challenges of a democratic society.

I know that it may seem hard now. But some day you will look back on this time and say, "When we were young, we brought Bulgaria back to freedom. We brought Bulgaria forward to prosperity, security, and unity in Europe." And I am determined that you will also be able to say, "When we marched into the new millennium, America stood with us, and we changed the world."

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 5:50 p.m. in Nevsky Square. In his remarks he referred to President Petar Stoyanov and Prime Minister Ivan Kostov of Bulgaria; Mayor Stefan Sofianski of Sofia; and President Slobodan Milosevic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). The transcript released by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the remarks of President Stoyanov.

Statement on the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards Announcement of New Board-Certified Teachers

November 22, 1999

Today the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards announced that 2,965 more teachers met the teaching profession's highest standards and achieved National Board certification. I want to congratulate them and commend all who applied for certification, for their personal commitment to high-quality education. These teachers rep-

resent all regions of the country; public and private schools; rural, urban, and suburban districts; and every grade from kindergarten through high school. Teachers who pursue these standards set a sterling example—for their students and for our country.

We all know that one of the most important factors behind a child's educational success is having a caring, competent, and committed teacher. That's why my administration has strongly supported the work of the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards, which has now certified nearly 5,000 of our most talented teachers. With today's announcement, we are on the way to meeting the challenge I have set: making sure we have a Board-certified teacher in every school in the Nation by 2006.

Remarks at a State Dinner Hosted by President Stoyanov in Sofia

November 22, 1999

President Stoyanov, Mrs. Stoyanov; Prime Minister and Mrs. Kostov; distinguished government leaders; citizens of Bulgaria; our American friends. Mr. President, let me begin by thanking you for your warm welcome. This is a day that I will remember for the rest of my life. You gave my wife a memorable day here not so long ago, and our daughter and I had a wonderful time today in so many ways, a few of which I would like to mention.

But first let me begin with the time President Stoyanov came to the White House. Hillary and I welcomed him there a couple of years ago, and I was very interested in this young President of Bulgaria, so I read up on him.

He was only a little younger than me. He looks much younger, but he's only a little. [*Laughter*] He studied the law. His wife studied law. He's a father who likes to jog. He likes to read. He grew up listening to rock and roll, just like me. [*Laughter*] The only difference I could find from our biographies is that he liked John Lennon, and I liked Elvis. [*Laughter*]

Earlier today on Nevsky Square I had the opportunity to speak to a vast and immensely impressive throng of Bulgarians about the

new partnership we are forging for democracy, peace, and prosperity.

Mr. President, as you pointed out in your remarks, the relationships between our two countries and our mutual admiration goes back quite a long while. Perhaps the best symbol of this is the American college here, which I learned, as I prepared to come, was actually first opened in the year Abraham Lincoln was elected President of the United States, 1860.

During the dark days after World War II, the college was closed. The war first brought its closure and then afterward, in the communist era, its grounds were turned over to the secret police. But Americans and Bulgarians never lost faith that it would open again one day, because we never lost faith that Bulgaria would be free again one day.

A few years after the school reopened, our Ambassador at the time, Ambassador Bohlen, took a trip to the famous Rila Monastery, and right before she left, the abbot came up to her and said, "I have a secret to show you." They walked to a basement, and there in a hidden place was the entire library of the American college, preserved for 50 years by the same monastery that helped to preserve Bulgarian language and culture for 500 years.

Just as those books were hidden deep in the heart of Bulgaria for half a century, there was an energy and creativity hidden deep in the heart of Bulgarians through all those same years. More than 100 years before the Renaissance began, Bulgarian thinkers and artists were already shaping the world.

Now the energies and creativities of the Bulgarian people have been liberated again, and from now on, you will always be masters of your destiny, neither vassals nor victims to anyone. Now you're on a road that is often hard but with a very happy destination. I believe it will lead you to prosperity, to peace, to security, to being part of a Europe that is whole and free.

Tonight I come here again to reaffirm the friendship and the partnership of the United States, our gratitude to you for being a symbol of freedom and determination. I come to offer a toast of respect and thanks.

I toast Bulgaria, its President, and its leaders for casting your lot with freedom in spite

of the pain of transition, for standing strongly with humanity in reversing ethnic cleansing, in spite of the sacrifices imposed, and having the courage to follow your dreams and the vision to achieve them. May Americans and Bulgarians always be friends and partners.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:10 p.m. in the Ballroom at the Kempinski Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to President Stoyanov's wife, Antonina; Prime Minister Ivan Kostov and his wife, Helena; and former U.S. Ambassador to Bulgaria Avis T. Bohlen. The transcript released by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the remarks of President Stoyanov.

Remarks at Ganimet Terbeshi Elementary School in Ferizaj, Kosovo

November 23, 1999

The President. Thank you. I want to begin by thanking you for your wonderful welcome. I thank Ramadan for his introduction. I think maybe some day he will be an elected official if he speaks so well from now on. I thank Luljeta for her equally fine introduction of Secretary Albright. And I thank your principal, Shafije Hajdari, for welcoming us here. We are honored to be here with all of you today, especially with the schoolchildren.

When I was introduced, Ramadan said—he thanked me for making it possible for you to come home. There are some other people who were largely responsible, and I would like to introduce them, as well. We have four Members of the United States Congress: Representative Peter Deutsch of Florida; Representative Eliot Engel of New York; Representative Jack Kingston of Georgia; Representative Carolyn Maloney of New York. They voted for the funds that enabled our military to come here and end this terrible ethnic cleansing. I'd like to ask them to stand up. Please stand. Thank you.

In addition to Secretary Albright, whom I know you know because you gave her such a wonderful reception, was the strongest advocate of the stand we took in Kosovo; I want to thank Sandy Berger, my National Security Adviser, and Larry Rossin, who is the Chief

of Mission for the United States Government in Pristina, and ask them to stand. Thank you.

And finally, I want to thank all the members of our Armed Forces and our Allies who are serving here with the U.N. and those who were here previously in the NATO campaign. And I would like to introduce the Commander of all of our NATO forces, General Wes Clark, and thank him for what he has done. Thank you.

I know with all these people here and all the children here, it is difficult to listen to a long speech, but I hope you can listen to a short speech.

Mr. Milosevic wanted to keep control of Kosovo by getting rid of all of you, and we said, no.

Audience members. Clin-ton! Clin-ton!

The President. Now he has lost his grip on Kosovo, and you have returned. No more days hiding in cellars, no more nights freezing in mountains and forests.

I know that for those who have lost their homes, perhaps homes where your parents and grandparents were born, this is still a difficult time. I know it is hard for children to feel a sense of security and happiness when they have seen too much killing and hatred. But I know this, too: The United Nations troops and international organizations who have come here to help will stand with you every step of the way, and the coming winter in Kosovo is going to be a lot better than the last winter was.

There is still a lot of work to do, but it is important that the world know what has already been done since you came home a few short months ago.

Audience members. Clin-ton! Clin-ton!

The President. Thank you.

We are preparing houses for the winter, fixing schools, bringing in police officers; KLA fighters are returning to civilian life; radio stations and newspapers are operating; the U.N. is doing a good job under tough conditions. And last week, the international community pledged another one billion American dollars to help Kosovo, to fully fund the U.N. operation next year.

With all the problems that remain, we should remember, Kosovar children are going back to school, learning in their language in communities that answer to their

parents. That is in some ways better than it was before. And we can do better still.

I want to make one last point, more important than anything else I have to say to the children and to the parents. You can never forget the injustice that was done to you. No one can force you to forgive what was done to you, but you must try. And let me tell you why.

First of all, all the schoolchildren will soon be learning in their biology classes that all the people in the world—all the people in the world, in terms of their genetic makeup, scientifically, are 99.9 percent the same—the Serbs, the Albanians, the Irish, the Africans, the Latins, the Asians. Children are not born hating those who are different from them, and no religion teaches them to do so. They have to be taught to hate by people who are already grown. But all over the world—not just here in Kosovo, all over the world—it is children who bear the burden of their parents' blind hatred.

I have been in Africa with a young man who lost his arm to someone of a different ethnic group, who cut it off with a machete simply because of his family heritage. I have been in Israel with schoolchildren staring at the pictures of their classmates who were blown up in buses simply because they were Jewish. I have been in Ireland with a beautiful, beautiful 16-year-old girl playing and singing to me, but her eyesight was gone because she was blown up in a bomb just because of the religious differences in Ireland. We owe the children in Kosovo a better future than that.

Audience members. Clin-ton! Clin-ton!

The President. Now you cheered for us when we came in because when you were being oppressed, we stood by you, and we exercised military power to defeat the aggression of Mr. Milosevic. We won the war. But listen: Only you can win the peace.

The time for fighting has passed. Kosovo is for you to shape now. The international community will stand by you. But you must take the lead. What will you think about? Will you be focused on hatred and past wrongs and getting even? Or will you be thinking about good schools for your children, new homes for them, new businesses, the effort

to create genuine self-government to eradicate corruption and violence and give your children the joys of a normal life?

I beg you who are parents to teach your children that life is more than the terrible things that are done. It is how you react to them. Do not let the children's spirits be broken. Do not let their hearts harden. The future we fought to save for you is the future we see here today, smiling, cheering, happy children. Give them the tomorrow they deserve. The American people have been honored to stand with you, and we will stand with you every step of the way.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:15 a.m. in the Sports Pavilion. In his remarks, he referred to students Ramadan Ilazi and Luljeta Haliti; Gen. Wesley K. Clark, USA, Supreme Allied Commander Europe; and President Slobodan Milosevic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). The President also referred to the KLA, the Kosovo Liberation Army.

Remarks to American Troops at Camp Bondsteel, Kosovo

November 23, 1999

The President. Thank you. Hello.

Audience members. Hello!

The President. From the reception you gave my daughter, I thought he was going to say I was Chelsea's father, too. [Laughter] Thank you.

I want to thank all of you for making us feel so welcome. I want to introduce the people who came with me: our Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright; our NATO Commander, General Wes Clark; my Chief of Staff, John Podesta; National Security Adviser Sandy Berger; and four Members of the United States Congress, Representative Jack Kingston from Georgia, Representative Peter Deutsch from Florida, Representative Carolyn Maloney from New York City, and Representative Eliot Engel from New York City; and Chelsea.

Let me say that we are honored to be with you. We thank you for your service. We're looking forward to eating a big, early Thanksgiving dinner with the men and women of Task Force Falcon.

I want to salute some of the troops for what they have done at Camp Bondsteel and Camp Monteith. And also I want to thank those from other nations in our multinational Brigade East. I want to visit you now, at this season of Thanksgiving, not only because you're doing a hard job a long way from home but because here we've got a lot to be thankful for.

Thanks to you, we have reversed ethnic cleansing. We have a successful military mission which was brilliantly executed, with no combat casualties. And now, we have a chance, not a guarantee but a chance, to work with these folks to build a lasting peace in the Balkans. Now that Operation Allied Force is over, there is a new struggle underway, and Camp Bondsteel is on the frontlines. Operation Joint Guardian will protect and deepen the peace we are working so hard to make permanent.

You certainly haven't wasted any time. The story of Bondsteel reads like something out of the settling of the Old West. Not long ago, this was a hayfield. Soon after NATO came into Kosovo, it became a beehive of activity. Between the Army Engineers and the Navy Seabees—

[At this point, audience members interrupted the President with cheers and laughter.]

The President. Yeah. Well, anyway, somewhere—[laughter]—somewhere between the Army Engineers and the Navy Seabees, you move over a half a million cubic yards of earth. You brought enough gravel to lay a two-lane road all across the State of Missouri. In less than 5 months, you built 160 sea huts, a chapel, a gym, a hospital, mess halls, a PX, a barber shop, and an aviation area.

I want to salute a few of the responsible units—don't be shy: the Headhunters of the Engineer Brigade 1st Infantry Division; the Blue Devils of the 3504 Parachute—I just want to note for the press that the Blue Devils of the 3504 Parachute Infantry Regiment are also known as "devils in baggy pants"; the Steel Tigers of the 177 Armor Battalion; the Bone Crushers of the 2d Platoon Bravo Company; the Blue Spaders of the 126 Infantry Regiment; the Hellcats of the 299th Forward Support Battalion; the Eagles of Task

Force 21 Aviation Regiment; the Spartans of the 793d Military Police Battalion; the Dagger Brigade of the 1st Infantry Division; the Navy Seabees of Battalion 3.

[Unit members cheered as they were mentioned.]

The President. You did pretty well.

Let me say to all of you, I know that a lot of your assignments are still dangerous. I appreciate the hard work you have done to protect all the people of Kosovo, including the Serbs. I appreciate your pursuit of local thugs, like the mad mortar-man. I appreciate your constant mediation between people who have a long way to go toward reconciliation.

I'm told that children routinely say, "We love you, United States." Well, they love the United States because they love you, because we gave them their freedom back; we gave them a chance to go home; we're giving the children a chance to have a different life than their parents have lived.

But let me just say this—I say this every time I speak to a group of American service men and women overseas—the biggest problem in the world today, with all the modern technology, all your fancy computers, everybody getting on the Internet, all the new discoveries in science, the biggest problem in the world today is the oldest problem of human society. People tend to be afraid of people who don't look like them and don't worship God the way they do and come from a different place. And when you're afraid of somebody, it's just a short step to disliking them. If you dislike them, it's a short step to hating them. If you hate them, it's a short step to dehumanizing them. And once you do that, you don't feel bad about killing them. Now that's what this whole deal is about.

And you see this problem in our inability to solve the peace in the Middle East, although we're getting there. But it's been a long time coming. We may be about to have a final breakthrough in the Irish civil war—been 30 years coming. Almost 800,000 people were killed in 100 days in Rwanda by people of 2 different tribes, one hacking the others to death with machetes; they hardly had any guns at all.

And if you strip it all away, the number one problem in this old world today is the

problem of Bosnia, the problem of Kosovo: It's racial and ethnic and religious hatred and dehumanization.

All you've got to do is look around the room today, and you see that our military is a stunning rebuke to that. This is the American idea in flesh and blood, all of you. You come from all different backgrounds, all different races, all different religious faiths, all different walks of life. And you're here working together as a team. You can appreciate your differences. You can even make fun of them. You can even make jokes about them because you know that your common humanity and your shared values are even more important than your differences.

Now, the most important thing you can do, besides keeping these people alive and having security, is to teach that to the children and to their parents by the power of your example and your own testimony. Because I am telling you, what they're going through here today is an example, but by no means the only example, of the worst problem the world faces on the eve of the new millennium. And it violates everything we in America stand for. And the power of our weapons could win the military battle in Kosovo, but the peace can only be won by the human heart.

And every day they see you, every day these little old kids see you working together—even if they don't speak our language, even if they never met any African-Americans or Hispanics before, even if they don't know any Asians before—they can see; they have eyes; they'll get it. You just show up, and you be yourself, and you do what you're supposed to do, and you treat them right. The power of your example will show them that they do not have to be trapped in the pattern which led to the slaughter of a quarter of a million people in Bosnia, 2½ million refugees there, almost a million refugees here, though we acted quicker, and because we acted quicker, they all came home.

But now that they came home, they've got to learn how to win the peace. And I say that to the other nations who are here represented. I want people to see Americans working with you. I want these children to know that the world is a better place when

people are proud of their own race and ethnicity and religion, but respectful of others; when they are secure enough in who they are that they don't have to put anybody else down, hurt anybody else, torch anybody else's church or mosque just to feel that they matter. This is the most important issue in the whole world today.

And just by getting up every day, going to work, keeping the kind of morale that you manifested today with your cheers and your pride, you are a rebuke to the biggest problem in the world, and the power of your example can do more than anything else to help us to win the peace.

Thank you, God bless you, and Happy Thanksgiving.

[At this point, a gift was presented to the President.]

The President. You all know I have an important job, because I'm your Commander in Chief, right? [Cheers] Well, tomorrow, because I'm also the President and I have broad executive authority—I get home at 10 o'clock tonight, we're all dog-tired, but I've got to get up and go to work tomorrow because I have to do something that every President has been doing since the 1920's: I have to pardon the Thanksgiving turkey. And they bring me a big turkey, and we let one go so we can eat all the others. [Laughter] And they put this turkey in a petting zoo for children to see in the Washington area. Anyway, it's always a great deal. I'm just saying, when I go into the office tomorrow to pardon the turkey, I'm going to take the falcon and put it on my desk so all of America can see, when my desk is on television, what you're doing.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:13 p.m. in the base theater/festival tent. In his remarks, he referred to Brig. Gen. Craig Peterson, USA, Commander, Task Force Falcon, who introduced the President; and Gen. Wesley K. Clark, USA, Supreme Allied Commander Europe.

Remarks to American Troops Following Thanksgiving Dinner at Camp Bondsteel

November 23, 1999

Thank you. Well, the people at my table said that the speech I gave to the other troops was piped in here, which means it either was or it wasn't. And if it was, you heard it, and if it wasn't, you get relieved of hearing it. [Laughter]

Let me say to all of you how very grateful I am for your service here and for the power of your example here. As I said to the other troops, NATO won the military victory, but now the people of Kosovo have to win the peace, and you have to help them win it, not only by doing your jobs but by setting a good example.

This was a war caused by a man's determination to drive a whole people out of a country because of their ethnic and religious background. It's the opposite of everything we believe in, everything we live by, and everything the United States military stands for.

And you just look around this room today. We just celebrated Thanksgiving, with, I bet you, conservatively, 25 different ethnic groups represented among the American military forces here in this room—maybe 50, maybe it's more. We are interested and proud in and proud of our background, and we should be, but we know that our common humanity and our shared values are more important. That's the message that the children need to get here in Kosovo. And the more you work with people and the more you let children see you working together, having a good time, being proud of what you're doing, doing your job, living the American creed, you will also be fulfilling your mission by doing that.

Kids are not brought up hating each other because they're different; they have to be taught to do that. They've taught generations of people on this land, good people in both communities, to do that. And now they've got to stop, and you've got to help them. And

I can't think of a better Thanksgiving present that you could give to them.

Let me also say that I was very honored—I've got four Members of the Congress here who voted for this, but I was very honored to sign the legislation which raised the pay and improved the retirement of members of the military. But let me also say that we are well aware that in this good economy, with the training you've gotten in the military, that you're not serving for the money, but we think you ought to be properly compensated and have a good retirement, and it ought to be an incentive for you to stay if you're so inclined.

But we honor your service; we need you. And on Thanksgiving, those of us who came here will be home, and you will be a long way from home. But you will be in our hearts, and I hope you know that what you're doing is a great, great gift to your country.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:30 p.m. in a dining tent. In his remarks, he referred to the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2000, Public Law 106-65, approved October 5.

Remarks at the Thanksgiving Turkey Presentation Ceremony and an Exchange With Reporters

November 24, 1999

The President. Please sit down, everyone. Welcome to this annual day-before-Thanksgiving ritual here at the White House. I want to welcome particularly the Boys and Girls Clubs from Greater Washington, Horton's Kids, the people from the National Turkey Federation, and especially Chairman Jim Rieth and the president, Stuart Proctor.

I also want to say a special word of welcome to Representative Peter Deutsch from Florida and his family, who are here. This is a triumph of human stamina, because Peter just made the trip with me to Bulgaria and Kosovo. We got back very late last night, so he promised to come so there would be two jet-lagged people standing here together, and we're glad to see them.

I want to thank, as always, the National Turkey Federation for donating this year's tom turkey. It traveled here all the way from

Minnesota. Minnesota may be the second biggest turkey-producing State in our country. Sometimes I wonder if it's really a match for Washington, DC. [*Laughter*]

Tomorrow we celebrate the last Thanksgiving of this century. A hundred years ago, on these very grounds, President William McKinley reflected on the last turn of the century. He said, "Seldom has this Nation had greater cause for profound thanksgiving." Those words ring even more true today.

Today we count among our national blessing a time of unprecedented prosperity, with expanding economy, low rates of poverty and unemployment among our people, limitless opportunities for our children and the future. We are also very grateful for the peace and freedom America continues to enjoy, thanks to our men and women in uniform—many of whom I saw yesterday—a very long way from home at Thanksgiving.

As we gather around our dinner tables tomorrow with family and friends, let us give thanks for all these things that hold us together as a people—the duty we owe to our parents and our children; the nurturing and education of our families, especially our children, and for many, our grandchildren; the bounty of our earth; and the strong spirit of community we enjoy here in the United States.

We also know as we celebrate our blessings that there are still too many people who are hungry at this holiday season, both beyond our borders and around the world and, sadly, even here in the United States. That's why it's so important that we not only give thanks but also give back to our communities.

Before coming out here, I asked some of our staff members what they were thankful for this holiday season. One of my staff members said, "Today I'm thankful that I'm not a turkey." [*Laughter*] I know that one turkey doesn't have to worry about that—this fine-looking bird from the State of Minnesota. At over 50 pounds, he is the namesake of Harry S. Truman, the President who began the tradition of keeping at least one turkey off the Thanksgiving dinner table. Harry, the turkey, will get his pardon today.

So before I feast on one of the 45 million turkeys who will make the ultimate sacrifice,

let me give this one a permanent reprieve, and tell you all that he will soon be on his way to the wonderful petting zoo at Fairfax County, Virginia, where he can enjoy his golden years.

I want to say a special word of appreciation for the people who run this petting zoo and who give, therefore, a lot of children the opportunity to see animals and to touch them in a way that they never would.

Just before we came out here—or before we started the ceremony, Stuart reminded me that this turkey is a little more calm than the one we had last year. One of the most interesting things I've discovered in the 7 years we've done this is that turkeys really do have personalities, very different ones. And most all of them have been quite welcoming to the President and to the children who want to pet them. On occasion, they're as independent as the rest of Americans. [Laughter]

So, Harry, you've got your pardon. Ladies and gentlemen, Happy Thanksgiving.

Vieques Island

Q. Mr. President, on Vieques, how are you going with reaching a compromise with Governor Rossello with regard to Vieques?

The President. Well, we're working very hard on it, and the Defense Department and the Government of Puerto Rico have been working together. And here's a case where I believe there are two legitimate issues here. There's the legitimate concerns of the people of Puerto Rico, which I think are quite real, particularly the people on the island. And then there's the absolutely legitimate concern of sending all of our units out combat-ready. So we're working hard through that.

I have spent a lot of time on it myself, and I hope that in the next few days, we'll have something to say about it. We're getting there.

Hillary Clinton's Senate Campaign

Q. What did you think of your wife's emphatic statement, Mrs. Clinton's emphatic statement yesterday regarding the Senate race? And did you advise her to do that?

The President. Well, I think—first of all, I thought it was a good statement. I thought she did well yesterday. And what told—what

she said in public is what she's been telling me for weeks and weeks, and I think she just thought that, even though, for a lot of good reasons, she thought she should wait until next year to make a formal announcement, I thought it was a wise thing for her to do, to decide that—to make it clear that she had no doubt that she was going to do it.

Q. Are you, in a sense, prepared to not have a First Lady here? Are you prepared to do many of the things, in a sense, that she might do?

The President. Well, I want her to do this if she wants to do it—and she does—and if a lot of people in New York want her to do it—and they do. And I think that we'll have to make accommodations. She'll be here and do some things, and some things that she might otherwise do she won't. But I'm excited for her, and if I can help her in any way, I will. I think it's wonderful.

Q. Did she sense that many people in New York were concerned, many Democrats especially in New York were concerned about her veracity—that's the only word—

The President. You mean about whether she was serious about running?

Q. Whether she was serious.

The President. Well, I think that there are a lot of people who kept saying that, and apparently there was some concern, so I thought it was a good thing to clear it up. I always think if there's any doubt and you can resolve it, you ought to do it. So I think she did that, and I'm proud of her.

Vieques Island

Q. Mr. President, how soon will you hear from Secretary Cohen on Vieques? Today or Friday?

Q. What kind of a race do you think she'll have? Do you think it's going to be tough?

The President. I don't know. We've worked hard on this. I think largely the timing will be determined by the facts—that is all the issues that are out there that we're still working through. Because I feel very strongly that the people of Puerto Rico have some legitimate concerns, not only just on the facts here but on the whole relationship since 1983 with the military. I think that Secretary Cohen and Secretary Danzig were

very concerned about it. They've been extremely responsive, and I think everyone has worked hard in good faith here.

I must say, I've been very impressed by the work of—and the approach that Governor Rossello and Congressman Romero-Barcelo have had, and also the people at Defense. We've really worked hard on this in a good spirit. And like I said, I've spent an awful lot of time on it myself. And I hope we can get it worked out. I'm not sure—I can't say for sure we will, but we're making real headway, and we're working hard.

Hillary Clinton's Senate Campaign

Q. What will be your role in your wife's campaign?

The President. Well, I don't have any idea yet. I think—I'll try to do for her what she's always done for me. I'll try to give her good advice. But I've got a job here, and I'm going to do it. And I also think that in the beginning of the campaign the people want to see her. They want to know what she's going to do and how she's going to do it and what she can do if the New York citizens decide to put her to work for them. But if there's some way I can help, I'll be happy to.

I think she's got a lot to offer and I think—

Q. Have you established your residency in terms of where you're going to—

The President. Well, I suppose that is, strictly speaking, a legal question. But we have a home there, and we're working on getting it furnished. Then she'll have a place to be when she's up there campaigning and not here in the White House. So I think we're on our way to doing that. But I'm excited about the house; it's a pretty house.

Drug Enforcement Agency Practices in Mexico

Q. Mr. President, with Mexico—the DEA agents in Mexico were intercepted by narco-traffickers, and they found guns in their car. That is an illegal matter in Mexico, DEA agents carrying guns in Mexico. Are you concerned with the security of those agents working in Mexico, and what are you doing to resolve these kinds of violations of international problems with Mexico?

The President. You know, I just got back from a 10-day trip. I haven't been briefed, and I don't think I can comment now. I'm sorry.

President's Possible Visit to India

Q. Mr. President, are you ready to travel to India now, after traveling the whole world? And the Ambassador of India here in Washington said that now it's overdue for President Clinton to travel to India.

The President. I've always planned to go there, and I hope I can.

Q. The First Lady, when she visited there, said that "I'll bring my husband."

The President. Yes. Well, I certainly intend to go, and I hope we can work it out.

Colombia and Narcotrafficking

Q. For the first time in over 9 years is a citizen of Colombia and nationality to the United States—President Pastrana—do you feel this is a good step? Will this help you—

The President. It's a very, very good step, and a courageous step on his part, and real evidence that we're committed to working together to fight the narcotics trade. I think you will see early next year, on a completely bipartisan basis, an effort by the United States to do more to assist Colombia across a whole broad range of issues. Colombia is already the third largest recipient of American assistance, but it's a very large country with a very old tradition and a lot of profound challenges. And I think you will see next year that we'll be out there together—Republicans and Democrats alike—trying to be good partners with the people in Colombia that are trying to build a safe, decent, harmonious society.

Q. Happy Thanksgiving, Mr. President.

The President. Happy Thanksgiving.

Seattle Round

Q. Going to Seattle, sir, are you disappointed that other leaders aren't going?

The President. Originally, it was just supposed to be a ministerial, and I thought—just almost at the last minute, I thought, well, since I'm going to be out there a day and a half or a day, that if anybody wants to come, other people who are interested in this, I

ought to give them a chance to come. But I think we decided to do it so late, it was just more of a logistical problem than anything else. So, no.

Q. Did you try to talk—

The President. No. No, we just explored whether they wanted to come because I was going to be there. But it was just something done, literally, at the last minute. It was originally supposed to be a ministerial, and I thought, well, gosh, I don't want them to think that I'm out there, and they're not welcome. That's all.

President's Visit to Turkey and Southeastern Europe

Q. Are you dead tired? Are you dead tired?

The President. No, I had a nice—good night's sleep last night. It was a wonderful trip for America. You know, what we did—I think we made some real progress with Greece and Turkey. I think that the pipeline that we signed is a great insurance policy for democracies everywhere, including the United States. I think the fact that we got an agreement for a new charter for the OSCE, where the Russians acknowledged the legitimacy of all nations being concerned about internal affairs within countries I think is good. I think the fact that we got an agreement on military forces in Europe which will get the Russian forces out of Georgia and Moldova, and also give them the security of knowing there are certain limits on how many foreign forces can be established in other countries, I think all those things are quite good.

So this was a big trip for the United States; long term, our security was substantially advanced. And I hope and pray and believe that we really made some progress on helping Greece and Turkey to work out their differences and moving Turkey toward membership in the European Union. That's what I hope.

Q. The Russians out of Chechnya—do you think the Russians—

DEA Practices in Mexico

Q. [*Inaudible*—an agreement to allow the agents to carry weapons?

The President. I just told this gentleman, I just got back last night, and I got back very

late, and I haven't been briefed on a lot of this. So I think, before I comment on that, I should have a chance to talk.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:50 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Jim Rieth, chairman, and Stuart Proctor, Jr., president, National Turkey Federation; and Gov. Pedro Rossello of Puerto Rico. The President also referred to Kidwell Farm at Frying Pan Park in Fairfax County, VA, future home of the turkey. A portion of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

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.

November 20

In the afternoon, the President and Hillary Clinton traveled from Athens, Greece, to Florence, Italy.

November 21

In the evening, the President traveled to Sofia, Bulgaria.

November 22

In the morning, the President participated in a wreath-laying ceremony at the Bulgarian Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

In the afternoon, the President participated in a discussion with students from the American University of Bulgaria at the Down the Alley, Behind the Cupboard Restaurant.

The President announced his intention to appoint David J. Hickton as a member of the President's Advisory Committee on the Arts of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

November 23

In the morning, the President traveled to Pristina, Kosovo, where he attended two meetings at the Pristina Airport. First, he met with U.N. Special Representative Bernard Kouchner and the German Commander of KFOR, Gen. Klaus Reinhardt,

and then he met with the Kosovo Transitional Council. Later, the President traveled to Ferizaj, Kosovo.

In the afternoon, the President returned to Washington, DC.

The President announced the following organizations as winners of the 1999 Malcolm Baldrige National Quality Award: STMicroelectronics, Inc.—Region Americas (Carrollton, TX; manufacturing); BI (Minneapolis, MN; service); the Ritz-Carlton Hotel Company, L.L.C. (Atlanta, GA; service); and Sunny Fresh Foods (Monticello, MN; small business/manufacturing).

The President declared a major disaster in the U.S. Virgin Islands and ordered Federal aid to supplement territory and local recovery efforts in the area struck by Hurricane Lenny on November 17 and continuing.

November 24

In the afternoon, the President and Hillary Clinton went to Camp David, MD.

The President announced his intention to appoint Rhonda Walters as a member of the Commission on Presidential Scholars.

Nominations Submitted to the Senate

NOTE: No nominations were submitted to the Senate during the period covered by this issue.

Checklist of the 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 November 20

Fact sheet: Measures To Strengthen U.S.-Greek Relations

Released November 22

Transcript of a press briefing by National Security Adviser Samuel Berger and NSC Director for Southeastern Europe Chris Hill on the President's discussions with the President and Prime Minister of Bulgaria

Fact sheet: U.S. Initiatives To Assist Bulgaria/Southeast Europe

Released November 23

Transcript of a press briefing by National Security Adviser Samuel Berger and United Nations Mission in Kosovo Principal Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General Jock Covey on Kosovo

Fact sheet: Winning the Peace in Kosovo: A Progress Report

Fact sheet: U.S. Winterization Efforts in Kosovo

Transcript of remarks by Secretary of State Madeleine Albright to the people of Ferizaj, Kosovo

Released November 24

Transcript of a press briefing by National Economic Council Director Gene Sperling and U.S. Trade Representative Charlene Barshefsky on the Seattle Round of the World Trade Organization

Acts Approved by the President

Approved November 18*

H.J. Res. 80 / Public Law 106-105
Making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 2000, and for other purposes

Approved November 19*

H.J. Res. 83 / Public Law 106-106
Making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 2000, and for other purposes

* These Public Laws were not received in time for inclusion in the appropriate issue.

Approved November 20

S. 468 / Public Law 106-107
Federal Financial Assistance Management
Improvement Act of 1999

Approved November 24

H.R. 2454 / Public Law 106-108
Arctic Tundra Habitat Emergency Conserva-
tion Act

H.R. 2724 / Public Law 106-109
To make technical corrections to the Water
Resources Development Act of 1999

S. 1235 / Public Law 106-110
To amend part G of title I of the Omnibus
Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968
to allow railroad police officers to attend the
Federal Bureau of Investigation National
Academy for law enforcement training