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Divider Title: _____

State of the Union Address
January 19, 1999

Section of Speech: A Strong America in a New World

Fact: framework we have already agreed to for Start III could cut arsenals by 80 percent from the Cold War height

Source: Gannett News Service, 3/21/97; President Clinton's News Conference with Boris Yeltsin of Russia, Public Papers of the Presidents, 3/21/97

Explanation: On March 21, 1997, Gannett News Service, reported "And in an attempt to lessen the concerns of the Russian military about NATO expansion, the two leaders also agreed to move forward on a START III arms control agreement while striking a deal that would allow theater missile defense systems to be deployed or tested under the existing Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. If accomplished, the new arms control agreements would reduce nuclear stockpiles of the two nations to 80 percent of their Cold War peak by 2007."

Public Papers of the Presidents

March 21, 1997

CITE: 33 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 399

LENGTH: 6614 words

HEADLINE: The President's News Conference With President Boris Yeltsin of Russia in Helsinki, Finland

BODY:

President Clinton. Please sit down everyone. Don't make me all alone. [Laughter] Let me say that President Yeltsin and I will have opening statements, and then we'll begin alternating questions, first with a question from the Russian press and then the American press and then back and forth.

I would like to begin by thanking President Ahtisaari, Prime Minister Lipponen, all the people of Finland for their very gracious hospitality to President Yeltsin and to me and for the extremely constructive role that Finland plays in a new era for Europe.

This is my first meeting with President Yeltsin in each of our second terms, our 11th meeting overall. At each meeting we have strengthened our nations' relationship and laid a firmer foundation for peace and security, freedom and prosperity in the 21st century.

Here in Helsinki we have addressed three fundamental challenges: first, building an undivided, democratic, and peaceful Europe for the first time in history; second, continuing to lead the world away from the nuclear threat; and third, forging new ties of trade and investment that will help Russia to complete its remarkable transformation to a market economy and will bring greater prosperity to both our peoples.

A Europe undivided and democratic must be a secure Europe. NATO is the bedrock of Europe's security and the tie that binds the United States to that security. That is why the United States has led the way in adapting NATO to new missions, in opening its doors to new members, in strengthening its ties to nonmembers through the Partnership For Peace, in seeking to forge a strong, practical partnership between NATO and Russia. We are building a new NATO just as the Russian people are building a new Russia. I am determined that Russia will become a respected partner with NATO in making the future for all of Europe peaceful and secure.

I reaffirmed that NATO enlargement in the Madrid summit will proceed, and President Yeltsin made it clear that he thinks it's a mistake. But we also have an important and, I believe, overriding agreement. We agreed that the relationship between the United States and Russia and the benefits of cooperation between NATO and Russia are too important to be jeopardized.

We didn't come here expecting to change each other's mind about our disagreement, but we both did come here hoping to find a way of shifting the accent from our disagreement to the goals, the tasks, and the opportunities we share. And we have succeeded.

President Yeltsin and I agree that NATO Secretary General Solana and Russian Foreign Minister Primakov should try to complete negotiations on a NATO-Russian document in the coming weeks. It would include a forum for regular consultations that would allow NATO and Russia to work and to act together as we are doing today in Bosnia. It would demonstrate that a new Russia and a new NATO are partners, not adversaries, in bringing a brighter future to Europe.

We also agreed that our negotiators and those of the other 28 participating states should accelerate their efforts in Vienna to adapt the CFE treaty to the post- cold-war era by setting new limits on conventional forces.

The second area of our discussion involved our obligation to continue to lead the world away from the dangers of weapons of mass destruction. We have already taken important steps. We signed the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. We extended a non-proliferation treaty. We stopped targeting each other's cities and citizens. We put START I into force. And we're both committed to securing ratification of the Chemical Weapons Convention before it goes into force next month, so that we can finally begin to banish poison gas from the Earth.

Today President Yeltsin agreed to seek the Duma's prompt ratification of START II, already ratified by the United States Senate. But we will not stop there. The United States is prepared to open negotiations on further strategic arms cuts with Russia under a START III immediately after the Duma ratifies START II. President Yeltsin and I agreed on guidelines for START III negotiations that will cap at 2,000 to 2,500 the number of strategic nuclear warheads each of our countries would retain, and to finish the reductions of START III by the year 2007. Now, think about it. This means that within a decade we will have reduced both sides' strategic nuclear arsenals by 80 percent below their cold war peak of just 5 years ago.

We also reached agreement in our work to preserve the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, a cornerstone of our arms control efforts. Distinguishing between ballistic missile systems restricted by the ABM Treaty and theater missile defenses that are not restricted has been a very difficult issue to resolve. Today, after 3 years of negotiations, we agreed to preserve the ABM Treaty while giving each of us the ability to develop defenses against theater missiles.

Finally, we discussed our economic relationship in the fact that the strong and secure Russia we welcome as a full partner for the 21st century requires that the benefits of democracy and free markets must be felt by Russia's citizens.

President Yeltsin recently demonstrated his determination to reinvigorate economic reform in his State of the Federation Address and with the appointment of a vigorous new economic team. His bold agenda to improve the investment climate and stimulate growth includes comprehensive tax reform, new energy laws, and tough anticrime legislation.

To help American companies take advantage of new opportunities in Russia, we will mobilize support to help finance billions of dollars in new investment. We will work with Russia to advance its membership in key international economic institutions like the WTO, the Paris Club, and the OECD. And I am pleased to announce, with the approval of the other G-7 nations, that we will substantially increase Russia's role in our annual meeting, now to be called the Summit of the Eight, in Denver this June.

Here in Helsinki, we have proved once again that we can work together to resolve our differences, to seize our opportunities, to build a better future.

Before I turn the microphone over to President Yeltsin, let me say one word about the bombing today in Tel Aviv, which we have both been discussing in the last few minutes. Once again, an act of terror has brought death and injury to the people of Israel. I condemn it, and I extend my deepest sympathies to the families of those who were killed or injured. There is no place for such acts of terror and violence in the peace process.

There must be absolutely no doubt in the minds of the friends or of the enemies of peace that the Palestinian Authority is unalterably opposed to terror and unalterably committed to preempting and preventing such acts. This is essential to negotiating a meaningful and lasting peace, and I will do what I can to achieve that objective.

Mr. President.

President Yeltsin. Esteemed journalists, ladies and gentlemen, the first meeting of the Presidents of Russia and the United States has been held after our reelection. Naturally, it was a difficult one because difficult issues were under discussion. But as always, our meeting was quite frank, and on the whole, it was successful. And I am completely in accord with what the President of the United States, Bill Clinton, just said.

We have opened a new stage of Russian-American relations. We discussed in detail the entire range of Russian-American issues -- issues of Russian-American partnership which is quite broad in scale. After all, our countries occupy such a position in the world that the global issues are a subject of our discussions.

Both sides defended their national interests, and both countries did not abandon them. However, our two great powers have an area -- a vast area -- of congruent interests. Chief among these is the stability in the international situation. This requires us to develop our relations, and there has been progress in that direction.

Five joint statements have been signed as a result of our meeting. President Bill Clinton and I just concluded signing these -- on European security, on parameters of future reductions in nuclear forces, concerning the ABM missile treaty, on chemical weapons, and we also signed a U.S.-Russian economic initiative.

But we have not merely stated our positions. We view the signed statements with the U.S. President as a program of our joint action aimed to develop Russian-American partnership. I would say that emotions sometimes get the upper hand in assessing Russian-American partnership. This is not the approach that Bill and I have. Let's not forget that establishing the Russian-American partnership relations is a very complex process. We want to overcome that which divided us for decades. We want to do away with the past mistrust and animosity. We cannot accomplish this immediately. We need to be decisive and patient, and we have both with Bill Clinton.

I firmly believe that we will be able to resolve all issues which, for the time being, are still outstanding. Today's meeting with Bill convinced me of this once again. We will be doing this consistently, step by step. We will have enough patience and decisiveness.

And now I ask you to put questions to us.

Russia and NATO

Q. Boris Nikolayevich, our first impression is that there was no breakthrough on NATO here in Helsinki. Tell me, can there be some kind of movement forward before the Madrid summit?

President Yeltsin. I don't agree with you. It was today that we had progress, very principled progress, and they consist of the following -- that, yes, indeed, we do maintain our positions. We believe that the eastward expansion of NATO is a mistake and a serious one at that. Nevertheless, in order to minimize the negative consequences for Russia, we decided to sign an agreement with NATO, a Russia-NATO agreement. And this is the principal question here. We've agreed on the parameters of this document with President Bill Clinton.

This is the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, to those new members of NATO to not proliferate conventional weapons in these countries. We agreed on non-use of the military infrastructure which remained in place after the Warsaw Pact in these countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The decision of joint actions with Russia alone, this, too, will be included in the agreement with NATO.

And finally, we've come to an agreement that this document will be binding for all. For that reason, everyone will sign this, all heads of state of all 16 member nations of NATO. This is a very principled issue, and we came to agreement on this with President Bill Clinton. That is, all states, all nations -- and this will take place before Madrid -- all heads of state will sign this document we sign together with Bill Clinton. And then there will be a signature of the General Secretary of NATO. And we believe that this document indeed is binding for NATO, for Russia, for all states whose leaders signed this document. So this is a very principled progress.

We didn't talk about this just yesterday and the day before. We couldn't have. We can only talk about this now, during these minutes, once we've signed the statements with the President of the United States.

President Clinton. Terry [Terence Hunt, Associated Press].

Status of New NATO Members

Q. President Yeltsin, after all that you've been told about how the world has changed and that there will be no nuclear weapons in Eastern Europe, do you still regard NATO's enlargement as a danger to Russia?

And to President Clinton, this exclusion of nuclear weapons from Eastern Europe and the promise that there will be no big troop buildup in the new states, does that mean that NATO's new members will be second-class citizens, second-class members?

President Yeltsin. No, of course not, no one will think of these as being secondary states. No one is calling that. That's not what's involved here. However, I believe and Bill believes the same thing, Bill Clinton believes the same, that these decisions that can be taken, they will be taken by all leaders of these nations, which is extremely, extremely important. I already mentioned this.

President Clinton. Let me say, Terry, in answer to the question you raised to me, emphatically no, this does not mean any new members would be second-class members. That's one of the things that we have committed ourselves to. There are no second-class members.

What are the two most important things that you get if you're a member? One is the security guarantee, the mutual security guarantee. The other is a place in the military command structure. These will be available to any new members taken in.

Now, we also want to make it clear that in addition to the security guarantee and participation in the military command structure, NATO is a different organization today than it was. We have a different mission. What is the most important thing NATO is doing today? Working in Bosnia. NATO has a major partnership with Russia in Bosnia. And a partnership, I might add, with a number of other nonmember nations who are in our Partnership For Peace, where we've done joint military exercises and other things.

Now, on the two questions you mentioned -- on the nuclear question, the NATO military commanders reached an independent judgment that, based on the facts that exist in the world today, they have no reason, therefore, no intention and no plan to station any nuclear weapons on member's soil. Look, we just announced an agreement here that will reduce nuclear weapons, if we can implement it, within a decade by 80 percent below their cold war height, number one.

Number two, the NATO members have just tabled a proposal on conventional forces in Europe which would put strict limits and would freeze the conventional forces we could have in Europe now, along with having strict limits in the Visegrad countries themselves, which would be the areas where you'd might expect an old difficulty to arise in new circumstances.

So I think we are doing the right thing, the sensible thing. If it is reassuring to Russia, so much the better. We have a clear, new, and different mission for NATO in the 21st century, but clearly not second-class membership.

Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty

Q. President Clinton, it is known that in your Congress there's some criticism frequently that you are a supporter of the ABM Treaty. Today's meeting, did that convince you to strengthen the ABM Treaty?

President Clinton. Some people have criticized me in my Congress because I do support the ABM Treaty. Yes, that's accurate; they have. I do support the ABM Treaty. I think it's important. I believe in it. And we have, I believe, strengthened the chances that the ABM Treaty will survive by the agreement we have made today and the distinctions we have drawn between the missiles that are covered by the ABM Treaty and by theater defense missiles. I believe that very strongly.

There are those in the Congress of the United States, but they are not a majority -- let me emphasize, they are not a majority -- who would undermine the ABM Treaty because they don't believe it's in our interest. I believe they're

wrong. I believe that the ABM Treaty has served us well and will continue to serve us well, especially in view of the questions that we have clarified today between us.

Laurie [Laurie Santos, United Press International].

Terrorist Attack in Israel

Q. In light of today's attack on Tel Aviv, sir, you just said the Palestinian Authority is unalterably opposed to terror. Are you saying that there was no green light for terrorist attacks like Prime Minister --

President Clinton. No, no. What I said is -- let me clarify what I said. What I intended I say, what I believe I said was that the Palestinian Authority has to make it clear to the friends and to the enemies of the peace process that it is unalterably opposed to terror and must take all possible steps to make that clear and to prevent any terror from occurring. This is a formulation that has frequently been used in the Middle East, but everyone knows that no one in the Middle East can guarantee 100 percent protection against terror. But all the people who participate in the peace process should guarantee 100 percent effort against terror.

Q. What about what Prime Minister Netanyahu?

President Clinton. Well, I can't -- first of all, I can't comment decisively, one way or the other, on exactly what was or wasn't done because I don't think any of us know. What I think is very important is that no matter how strongly Mr. Arafat and the Palestinian people feel about the Har Homa decision, nothing -- nothing -- justifies a return to the slaughter of innocent civilians. It cannot be justified. And we have to have a clear and unambiguous position.

And in the past, when Mr. Arafat has taken that position, I believe it strengthened him. I also believe that acts of terror undermine him because he, in the end, is the popularly elected leader trying to lead the Palestinian people to a peaceful resolution of these differences.

So I have made that very clear just in the last couple of days, and we will continue to work to that end.

Russia-U.S. Relations

Q. The question is to the Russian President. Boris Nikolayevich, you said that this meeting started a new phase for these U.S.-Russian relations. What precisely new was introduced into these relations?

President Yeltsin. Well, first of all, we finally were able to determine our positions on issues of European security. We've come to settle our position on NATO, and we have described for ourselves the parameters of the NATO-Russia agreement.

Secondly, there's an unprecedented reduction of nuclear weapons, that is of START III. That's 85 percent of the overall arsenal of warheads is being reduced in connection with that. That is significant. This is a very principled issue, and this encompasses not only our two countries but of the entire European continent and the whole world.

And the question on economics reflects a completely different approach. We won't conceal this. And I think that Bill Clinton will excuse me if I perhaps am incorrect here, but I think that a certain restriction on questions, holding back on the American side on the Russian economic relations -- there was, along the lines of the Ministry of Energy, on antidumping laws and also the Jackson-Vanik amendment, and many other items speak of the fact that the United States has not been that interested in developing a strong economic Russia or that trade would grow in a healthy way between Russia and the United States.

Finally a breakthrough has been made. A joint statement has been signed. We've discussed these issues in great deal with President Bill Clinton. And on chemical weapons, that, too. Any issue we handled, we've been able to manage a major breakthrough. We didn't discuss small issues. We talked only about strategic issues, and on all five issues we were able to find an answer, we were able to find our common point of view. And that's what is reflected in our joint statements.

President Clinton. If I might just support that question, because I think that's a question all the Americans and all the Russians and others will be interested in. What came out of this meeting that was different? One, the idea that there will be a NATO-Russia agreement that all the leaders will support. That's a significant thing. We agreed to disagree about the question of expansion, but we agreed that there must be a partnership between NATO and Russia going forward into the future.

Two, the notion that Russia should play a larger role in international economic institutions and that if certain internal changes are made, which President Yeltsin has already announced his support for, then the United States will make a more vigorous effort to facilitate investment in Russia.

And third -- and I think almost unexpected even among us, we were working along here hoping this would happen -- we resolved a number of roadblocks relating to START II and other related issues which permitted us to say that President Yeltsin would seek prompt ratification of START II, and we would together support guidelines for START III, which we would hope could be negotiated quickly after that, which would reduce the cold war arsenals by

over 80 percent from the cold war height, to more or less 80 percent. These are dramatic and very substantial results, and I'm very pleased with them.

Wolf [Wolf Blitzer, Cable News Network].

President Yeltsin. Just a moment, I'd like to continue for a second longer. You've touched on a very current issue which has to be clarified all the way.

Well, you understand, of course, why it is that the State Duma has not yet ratified START II -- because ABM was suspended. There was no belief that the treaty from '92 on ABM is not only being complied with by the Russian administration but in the future, conditions are being created which would not allow circumvention of the treaty. In other words, we, for the State Duma, were able to prepare grounds so that the Duma could positively look at the issue of ratifying START II.

President Clinton. Wolf.

Russia-NATO Agreement

Q. Mr. President, Mr. President, one of the most contentious aspects of a potential agreement or charter between NATO and Russia was whether or not it would have to be legally binding on the 16 members of NATO or would simply be a political statement of intent. This agreement that you hope to forge with NATO, do you expect that the legislatures, the U.S. Senate, for example, would have to ratify this agreement, or it would simply be a statement that President Clinton would support?

President Yeltsin. As far as Russia is concerned, we intend to send this treaty and send this agreement to the State Duma for ratification. That's what our intention is.

At the same time, we understand that if 16 states will have to coordinate this issue with their parliaments, this will take up many, many months. And therefore, we've come to an agreement that, given these conditions, it will be quite enough, of course, given the goodwill of these states, simply a signature of the leaders of these countries that would be affixed to this agreement. How the U.S. would act in this regard, let President Bill Clinton respond.

President Clinton. If you look at the language, President Yeltsin has basically said it accurately. We think it's important to get this agreement up, get it signed, and get it observed -- have it observed. And there are so many of the NATO countries. What we have called for is for each and every member country to make -- and I believe the exact language of our agreement is, an enduring commitment at the highest political level. And President Yeltsin described to you how we will manifest that.

If our Secretary General, Mr. Solana, and Foreign Minister Primakov succeed in negotiating this agreement within the timeframe that we all anticipate they will be able to, then we would expect to all meet somewhere and publicly affix our signatures and reaffirm our commitment to the terms of the agreement.

Changes in NATO

Q. The question is to the U.S. President. Mr. President, you, both today and on earlier occasions, said that you intend to transform in some way the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. After today's meeting with President Yeltsin, what specifically do the United States plan to do to change the current structure of NATO? Thank you.

President Clinton. Well, first let me point out we have already transformed NATO. When I became President there was no Partnership For Peace, for example. There were no joint exercises where you had Russian troops, American troops, Polish troops, French troops, others. We didn't have these sorts of things. We didn't have a Partnership For Peace with more than two dozen other countries regularly participating with us now in military planning and training and sharing and working together. And we certainly had nothing like our cooperation in Bosnia.

I believe that the old NATO was basically a mirror image of the Warsaw Pact, and that's why I've been very sensitive to why the Russian people or the Russian leaders would wonder about what the new NATO is. There is no Warsaw Pact. There is no cold war. We just made an agreement to work to cut our nuclear arsenals by 80 percent from their cold war height, which I would remind you existed just 5 years ago.

And what we need to recognize is there will be new security threats to Europe. And you can see them. You have dealt -- we've seen them in Bosnia. We've seen them in the other ethnic, religious, and racial traumas that you have dealt with along your borders. You see it in the continuing disputes between nations within the European community.

What we want to do is to provide a way for more and more countries, either as members or as members of the Partnership For Peace -- Finland is a good example of an active member of the Partnership For Peace -- or because of the special relationship of Russia and the special role Russia will play in the future of Europe and security in the context of the Russia-NATO agreement, we want to provide an opportunity within which all of us can deal with the security aspects of trying to create a Europe that is undivided and democratic for the first time in history.

I would remind you, go back and read from the dawn of nation-states on the continent of Europe, there has never been a time when all the people were living under democratic governments and were free of foreign domination. That has never

happened. So we are simply trying to create the conditions in which we can grow together.

Will there be questions? Will there be skepticism along the way? Will there be uncertainty? Of course, there will be. But we are not attempting to draw a different dividing line in Europe, just somewhat further to the East. What we are trying to do is to develop structures that can grow and evolve over time so that there will be a united effort by free people to join their resources together to reinforce each other's security, each other's independence, and their common interdependence. And I believe we will succeed at that.

Let's see, someone else in the back row here. Alison [Alison Mitchell, New York Times].

Ratification of Agreements

Q. To both Presidents, both of you have had problems with your individual parliaments, and yet --

President Clinton. Seems to be a curse of democracy.

Q. Yes. You each have made arms control agreements here that, you know, the parliaments will want a say in. To Mr. Yeltsin, can you guarantee that the Duma will follow your lead and ratify this? And to Mr. Clinton, how can you assure Mr. Yeltsin that you won't have a rebellion in the Congress over the antimissile defense agreement?

President Yeltsin. As far as Russia is concerned, I expect that the State Duma will make a decision based on my advice. [Laughter]

President Clinton. Boy, I wish I could give that answer. [Laughter] Let me answer -- you give me an opportunity, actually, to point out the full elements of this time-table on START III. And for those of you -- if you haven't had time to study it, I want to make full disclosure here.

Number one, I expect that our Congress, those who believe in the ABM system but who want us to be able to develop theater missile defenses, which may someday protect all of our friends in different circumstances, including our friends in Russia -- who knows what use we will put to theater missile defenses when we have troops that have to be protected in the future -- I would think that the Members of Congress who believe in the ABM Treaty but want us to be able to develop theater missile defenses, will be quite pleased by this agreement. I think that that is not where the problem could come.

Let me explain what we agreed to today -- and I did it, I might say, with the full concurrence of General Shalikashvili and Secretary of Defense Cohen, who is not here today, but we checked with him. In order to implement START II in a

way that is economically feasible for Russia but does not in any way compromise the security of the American people, what we agreed to do in this framework is to set a date of 2007 for the full implementation of the reductions in START III but to delay the date of all the destructions in START II to 2007. We also agreed to move from the beginning of 2003 to the end of 2003 the time that Russia would have to deactivate the warheads covered by START II.

Now, since our Congress ratified START II based on different target dates for the deactivation of the warheads, on the one hand, and the destruction -- ultimate destruction of the missiles, on the other, we will have to go back to them, either separately or in the context of a START III agreement, and ask them to ratify that. And they will have a full opportunity to debate and discuss this.

But I have to tell you, when the Russians advanced this possibility -- when President Yeltsin advanced this possibility with me today, the thought that the American people might be able to live in a world, within a decade, where the nuclear arsenals had been reduced by 80 percent, and the thought that, in addition to that, accelerating the time we had anticipated it would take us to meet the START III targets would save our Department of Defense precious dollars that we need to secure our defense in other ways and will therefore enhance our national defense as well as reducing the threat, caused General Shalikashvili to recommend this to me, caused Secretary Cohen to sign off on it, and made me think it was a very good arrangement, indeed, for the Russian people and for the American people and, indeed, for anybody else who would be affected by what we do on this issue.

So, yes, I've got to go back to the Congress. I believe they will, once they have a chance to fully review this, support the decision I have made today. It may take us a little longer than President Yeltsin indicated it would take him with the Duma, but I think we will both get a favorable result because this is so clearly in the interests of the Russian and the American people.

Would you like to take one more?

Russia-U.S. Negotiations

Q. Boris Nikolayevich, what's your thought on the version that the Russian giving way on the issue of NATO's expansion to the East will be paid by financial generosity of the West?

President Yeltsin. First of all, I don't see it that way at all. I don't see this generosity at all. If in the statement on economic issues which we had just signed, if there are formulas in there that investments will be supported, investments going to Russia, and certain sums of money will be appropriated by the American side, that does not mean that this is assistance to Russia. This is assistance to the private sector for making investments in Russia. This is

assistance to American citizens, not to Russia. Why do you see an exchange here? There's no exchange. And I categorically disagree with that formulation that in place of one we sort of bartered here and as a result of that we have come up with these ideas. I don't agree with that.

I should say that even the order of looking at these issues -- and we've held four tours lasting from 45 minutes to an hour and a half each -- the order of looking at these issues was as follows: First, we looked at Europe security and NATO. Secondly, the ABM issue. Then we took up chemical weapons. Then we talked about START III, that is, the reduction of further strategic weapons. And only after that, we started talking of economic issues. I did not know that the American side was preparing this. But you see, first we resolved and discussed all of these issues, and only then we approached the economic question. This should tell you that this was not a case where we used this as a poker chip.

President Clinton. I'd just like to support that. And let me say, first of all, what President Yeltsin said about the order in which we took these issues up is absolutely right, first. Second, I believe that the economic announcements which were made today are in the interest of the American people, both directly and indirectly. Let me deal with the indirect question first.

Russia, in the end, cannot be the strong partner that we seek in the 21st century and cannot be free to help create a very different future for Europe and for itself -- a future in which we define our greatness by the way we treat other people and by our success in our free dealings, rather than our ability to dominate them -- Russia cannot build that kind of future unless ordinary Russian citizens receive the benefit of free markets and democracy. That will not happen.

Secondly, I believe that Russia has the potential to have enormous economic growth in a short period of time by attracting large flows of investment from around the world, if the elements that President Yeltsin outlined in economic reform and the legal changes which he has proposed to the Duma can be embraced. I would be irresponsible as President of the United States if I did not bring into play the Export-Import Bank and our other mechanisms for investing our money to make American investors competitive with investors from around the world for new economic opportunities in Russia. It would be irresponsible of me.

If we do that and we put a lot of money in Russia, billions of dollars, will your people have more jobs and higher incomes? Yes, but so will Americans. And all the time I have to be looking at -- it would be just like I can't walk away from Latin America. I would be irresponsible if we didn't try to invest in our neighbors in Latin America in the future. So that's the way I feel.

A lot of the areas where you're going to grow in Russia -- in the energy sector, just for example, just to take one area -- are areas where American businesses have enormous expertise and literally decades of experience. We would

be foolish if we walked away from the opportunity that you present to make money and have opportunity.

So I entirely agree with what the President said, but I want to reinforce it from our perspective.

The lady in the back there in the red dress, go ahead.

Finland's Nonaligned Status

Q. I would like to ask something from both of you. How would you react, sir, if Finland would express its willingness to join NATO?

President Clinton. Maybe I should -- you asked both. Since I discussed this with the President -- he brought it up with me. President Ahtisaari said to me that he thought Finland had made the right decision to be a member of the Partnership For Peace and to maintain its independence and its ability to work constructively with Russia and with NATO nations and not be a member of NATO and that he had no intention of asking that Finland be considered for membership. But he thought that the policy of being able to be considered was a good one because it reinforced the feeling of independence and the security that Finland and other nations who decide to maintain relative independence and membership in the Partnership For Peace had. So I can do no more than to support the statement that your own President has made about this.

President Yeltsin. I, too, would like to respond on this issue. I should say that the reason we respect Finland as a state -- its nation, its people, and leadership -- is the fact that Finland is implementing a course of a neutral state, of nonaligning itself to any bloc. This is very important. This creates a very stable and calm balance within the country. This facilitates good neighborly relations with Russia.

We, with Finland, have a turnover of trade of 4.7 billion U.S. dollars. This is 40 percent of the entire turnover of trade. Find me another country that could equal this sort of turnover in trade with Russia. There is no other country. And for that reason, I believe -- and, of course, this is the matter entirely of the people of Finland and its government, but that which the President of the Finnish Republic, President Ahtisaari, stated very clearly that he is not joining any blocs. This calls for the feeling of respect for him.

President Clinton. Let me say, since we took an equal number of questions from the Russian and the American journalists but we took a Finnish question, let me, in the interest of fairness -- Mr. Donovan (John Donovan, ABC News), you have a question. We ought to take one more question from an American so we'll be even here.

Russia-NATO Agreement

Q. Thank you. I'll make it two questions, one very focused and one somewhat broader. [Laughter]

President Clinton. No good deed goes unpunished here.

Q. The focus question is this: In the Russia-NATO agreement, as envisaged, if there is disagreement -- Russia disagrees with something NATO wants to do -- does Russia have a veto power? The broader question is this. In the Second World War, it was very simple: We were enemies. We were allies, I meant to say. During the cold war, it was very simple: We were enemies. Today, what word describes this relationship where the situation is not so clear and not so simple?

President Yeltsin. I can respond by saying that the way we solve these issues is by consensus. That's how it is today, indeed, among the NATO countries. And that's how it will be once we conclude an agreement between Russia and NATO, already with the participation of Russia.

President Clinton. The short answer to your question is, a voice but not a veto. And the answer to your second question is that we are partners, and like all partners in any partnership, starting with a society's most basic partnership, a marriage and a family and going to business partnerships, there are sometimes disagreements. But partnerships are bound together by shared values, shared interests, and the understanding that what you have in common is always more important than what divides you.

And so you work for the consensus that President Yeltsin outlined. And that's where we are, and I think that's exactly where we ought to be. And that's why we are not going to have the kind of cataclysmic bloodshed in the 21st century that we saw through three world wars, the cold war, and countless others in the 20th century. If we can stay with that attitude and work on it, we will have a Europe that's not only peaceful but free and undivided.

Thank you very much.

Q. How are you both feeling?

President Yeltsin. Thank you. [Laughter]

President Clinton. Great. I can tell you he feels great. He looks great, and he feels great. And I feel fine.

NOTE: The President's 139th news conference began at 6:45 p.m. at the Kalastaja Torppa Hotel. In his remarks, President Clinton referred to President Martti Ahtisaari and Prime Minister Paavo Lipponen of Finland; NATO Secretary General Javier Solana; Foreign Minister Yevgeniy Primakov of Russia; Chairman Yasser

Arafat of the Palestinian Authority; and Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu of Israel. President Yeltsin spoke in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: April 23, 1997

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March 21, 1997, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: Pg. usa

LENGTH: 979 words

HEADLINE: Clinton, Yeltsin agree to disagree on NATO, move ahead on START III

BYLINE: BILL NICHOLS; Gannett News Service

DATELINE: HELSINKI, Finland

BODY:

HELSINKI, Finland -- President Clinton and Russian President Boris Yeltsin, at the end of an unusually dramatic two-day summit, agreed to disagree on NATO expansion while unexpectedly moving ahead on a series of arms control issues.

A summit that began amid harsh rhetoric from the Russian side ended with Yeltsin giving Clinton virtually everything he wanted and with the warm personal relationship between the two men remaining intact.

"President Clinton made history in Helsinki," said Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. And the sense of elation was palpable in the U.S. delegation, given the strong words from the Russian leadership in recent weeks.

"We are partners, and like all partners ... there are sometimes disagreements," Clinton said of the U.S.-Russia relationship.

"But partnerships are bound together by shared values, shared interests and the understanding that what you have in common is always more important than what divides you."

Said Yeltsin: "We have opened a new stage of Russian-American relations."

On NATO expansion, U.S. officials expected Yeltsin to continue to oppose adding new countries to the 16-member alliance, but to agree to live with it in return for a political charter with NATO that would give Russia input into NATO policy.

That's exactly what Yeltsin did. Though repeating that Russia believes "that the eastward expansion of NATO is a mistake and a serious one at that," he agreed to a treaty that, as the White House wanted, will not require ratification by each NATO country. The document will give Russia a "voice but not a veto," Clinton said.

The treaty, to be negotiated between Russia and NATO, would be signed by Russia and the leaders of the NATO nations and also would confirm that nuclear weapons would not be placed on the soil of new NATO members.

NATO is expected to add three members -- Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic are the likely nominees -- during a July meeting of the alliance in Madrid.

In exchange -- though both leaders insisted that none of these issues are interrelated -- the administration agreed to push for Russia's inclusion in world economic bodies such as the World Trade Organization and the Paris Club, contingent on Russia meeting the membership requirements.

Clinton also announced that Russia will be invited to participate fully in the upcoming meeting of the G-7 group of industrialized nations in Denver in June.

Russia, in recent years, has taken part in political discussions of the G-7, but has been denied full membership.

White House officials admitted Russia's full participation in Denver would be a one-time offer, but said the agreement represented a major step in Clinton's resolve to push for full G-7 membership for Russia.

The administration also pledged to increase economic aid and trade to Russia -- possibly as much as \$ 4 billion in new investments -- if Yeltsin is able to get the Duma to pass a series of domestic economic measures such as tax and legal reform.

And in an attempt to lessen the concerns of the Russian military about NATO expansion, the two leaders also agreed to move forward on a START III arms control agreement while striking a deal that would allow theater missile defense systems to be deployed or tested under the existing Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty.

If accomplished, the new arms control agreements would reduce nuclear stockpiles of the two nations to 80 percent of their Cold War peak by 2007.

-- Remainder optional or breakout material

The details of the arms agreements include:

-- Yeltsin agreed to push for immediate ratification of START II by the Duma, a task he has failed to accomplish in four years.

Signed by Yeltsin and President George Bush in 1993 and ratified by the Senate last year, START II would cut U.S. and Russian nuclear arsenals to 3,000 -3,500 warheads, by 2003. The current levels are 10,000 warheads for the U.S. and 8,000 to 9,000 for Russia.

-- But the two presidents also agreed that START II would be changed to lengthen the deadline for removing affected nuclear warheads, from Jan. 1, 2003, to Dec. 31, 2003.

That change will be welcomed by the Russian military, as START II requires Russia to dismantle its most powerful missiles and Russian military planners fear they could not afford to replace them with single-warhead weapons allowed by the treaty.

That change to START II, however, would require the treaty to be ratified again by the Senate.

-- Yeltsin and Clinton also agreed on a framework on which to begin START III negotiations.

Warhead levels would be lowered to levels between 2,000 and 2,500 by 2007 and nuclear delivery systems affected under START II would be totally eliminated by the same date.

-- The most unexpected arms control agreement came when Clinton and Yeltsin, after their senior aides had deadlocked, agreed on a formula that would allow both countries to develop battlefield missile defense systems to protect troops and allies while still keeping the 1972 ABM treaty in force.

The administration wants to develop missile defense systems to guard against nuclear attacks by rogue states, but Russia has been suspicious that such systems also could be used to circumvent terms of the ABM treaty, which limits long-range missiles.

Clinton's injured knee and Yeltsin's battle against heart disease and what was described as double pneumonia threatened to overshadow the summit at times.

But though Clinton seemed tired and Yeltsin still appeared wan and fragile, both men pronounced themselves in fine form at the closing press conference.

Clinton said he felt "great" and pointing to Yeltsin, said:
"I can tell you he feels great. He looks great and he feels great.
And I feel fine."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: March 24, 1997

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

11

Divider Title: _____

State of the Union Address
January 19, 1999

Section of Speech: A Strong America in a New World

Fact: it's been two years since President Clinton signed the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty

Source: New York Times, 9/25/96; President Clinton's Remarks to the 51st Session of the United Nations General Assembly, Public Papers of the President, 9/24/96

Explanation: On September 25, 1996, the *New York Times* reported, "President Clinton signed a treaty today that would ban all nuclear weapons testing and called on world leaders to take further steps to limit weapons of mass destruction...Mr. Clinton used the same pen with which John F. Kennedy signed the Limited Test Ban Treaty in 1963 to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. "

Public Papers of the Presidents

September 24, 1996

CITE: 32 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1843

LENGTH: 2706 words

HEADLINE: Remarks to the 51st Session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York City

BODY:

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary-General, heads of government, foreign ministers, ambassadors, your excellencies, distinguished guests: Three years ago, I had the honor of being the first American President born after the founding of the United Nations to address you. In its 51st year, the United Nations has not yet realized all its founders' aspirations, but the ideals of the U.N. Charter, peace, freedom, tolerance, prosperity, these now touch more people in more nations than ever before.

Now we find ourselves at a turning point in history, when the blocs and barriers that long defined the world are giving way to an age of remarkable possibility, a time when more of our children and more nations will be able to live out their dreams than ever before. But this is also an age of new threats: threats from terrorists, from rogue states that support them; threats from ethnic, religious, racial, and tribal hatreds; threats from international criminals and drug traffickers, all of whom will be more dangerous if they gain access to weapons of mass destruction.

The challenge before us plainly is twofold: to seize the opportunities for more people to enjoy peace and freedom, security and prosperity, and to move strongly and swiftly against the dangers that change has produced. This week in this place, we take a giant step forward. By overwhelming global consensus, we will make a solemn commitment to end all nuclear tests for all time.

Before entering this hall I had the great honor to be the first leader to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. I did so with some pride with this pen, for this pen is the very one that President Kennedy used to help bring the Limited Test Ban Treaty to life 33 years ago.

This Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty will help to prevent the nuclear powers from developing more advanced and more dangerous weapons. It will limit the ability of other states to acquire such devices themselves. It points us toward a century in which the roles and risks of nuclear weapons can be further reduced and ultimately eliminated.

I want to thank all of those who helped to bring us to this day, especially the chairman of the Comprehensive Test Ban Negotiating Committee, Netherlands' Ambassador Ramaker, and the Government of Australia, which took the lead at the U.N. I thank the Secretary-General for the remarks he made this morning in establishing the criteria and standards and support of the United Nations as a depository of the treaty.

The signature of the world's declared nuclear powers, the United States, China, France, Russia, and the United Kingdom, along with those of the vast majority of its nations, will immediately create an international norm against nuclear testing, even before the treaty formally enters into force.

The CTBT is the shared work of hard negotiation. Some have complained that it does not mandate total nuclear disarmament by a date certain. I would say to them, do not forsake the benefits of this achievement by ignoring the tremendous progress we have already made toward that goal.

Today there are no Russian missiles pointed at America and no American missiles pointed at Russia. Through the START treaties we are cutting our nuclear arsenals by two-thirds. Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan are giving up the nuclear weapons left on their land after the Soviet Union dissolved. We are working with the New Independent States to improve security at nuclear facilities and to convert nuclear weapons to peaceful uses.

The United States and other nuclear weapons states have embraced the South Pacific and African nuclear free zones. Now half the world's land area is nuclear free by international agreement. And the world community extended indefinitely the Nuclear NonProliferation Treaty.

Yet some of the very changes that have made this progress possible have also created new risks. The breakup of the Soviet Union left nuclear materials dispersed throughout the New Independent States. As barriers have come down around the world, the danger of nuclear smuggling has gone up. So even as we reduce the global stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction, we must also reduce the danger that lethal materials could wind up in the wrong hands, while developing effective defenses for our people if that should happen.

The United States has six priority goals to further lift the threat of nuclear weapons destruction and the threat of weapons of mass destruction and to limit their dangerous spread:

First, we must protect our people from chemical attack and make it harder for rogue states and terrorists to brandish poison gas by bringing the Chemical Weapons Convention into force as soon as possible. I thank the nations here that have ratified the Chemical Weapons Convention. I deeply regret that the United States Senate has not yet voted on the convention, but I want to assure you and

people throughout the world that I will not let this treaty die and we will join the ranks of nations determined to prevent the spread of chemical weapons.

Second, we must reduce the risk that an outlaw state or organization could build a nuclear device by negotiating a treaty to freeze the production of fissile materials for use in nuclear weapons. The Conference on Disarmament should take up this challenge immediately. The United States, Russia, France, and the United Kingdom already have halted production of fissile materials for weapons. I urge other nations to end the unsafeguarded production of these materials pending completion of the treaty.

Third, we must continue to reduce our nuclear arsenals. When Russia ratifies START II, President Yeltsin and I are all ready to discuss the possibilities of further cuts as well as limiting and monitoring nuclear warheads and materials. This will help make deep reductions irreversible.

Fourth, we must reinforce our efforts against the spread of nuclear weapons by strengthening the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. We should give the International Atomic Energy Agency a stronger role and sharper tools for conducting worldwide inspections. Our law enforcement and customs officials should cooperate more in the fight against nuclear smuggling. And I urge all nations that have not signed the NPT to do so without delay.

Fifth, we must better protect our people from those who would use disease as a weapon of war, by giving the Biological Weapons Convention the means to strengthen compliance, including on-site investigations when we believe such weapons may have been used or when suspicious outbreaks of disease occur. We should aim to complete this task by 1998.

Finally, we must end the carnage caused by antipersonnel landmines, the hidden killers that murder and maim more than 25,000 people a year. In May I announced a series of actions the United States would take toward this goal. Today I renew my appeal for the swift negotiation of a worldwide ban on the use, stockpiling, production, and transfer of antipersonnel landmines. Our children deserve to walk the Earth in safety.

Thirty-three years ago, at the height of the cold war, President Kennedy spoke at American University in Washington. Peace was the topic of his address, but not an abstract ideal of peace. Instead, he urged us to focus on, quote, "a more practical, attainable peace, based not on a sudden revolution in human nature but on a gradual evolution in human institutions, on a series of concrete actions and affirmative, effective agreements which are in the interests of all concerned."

It was in that same speech that he announced that talks would shortly begin in Moscow on a comprehensive test ban treaty. President Kennedy's vision exceeded the possibilities of his time, but his words speak to us still. As we

sign our names to the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, the longest sought, hardest fought prize in arms control history, let us summon the confidence of earlier pioneers and set our sights on the challenges of the new century.

Over the past 3 years, we have moved in the right direction in meeting those challenges. In Bosnia, where the war is over and just 10 days ago its people went to the polls in peace, we have moved in the right direction. Now we must help Bosnia build a unified, democratic, and peaceful future. In Haiti, where the dictators are gone, democracy is back, and the exodus of refugees has ended, we have moved in the right direction. Now we must help the Haitian people seize the full benefits of freedom and forge a more prosperous future.

In the Middle East and in Northern Ireland, there is progress toward lasting peace, and we are moving in the right direction. Now we must support continued progress between Israel and Palestinians, and we must broaden the circle of peace to include more of Israel's neighbors. We must help to give the children of Belfast a chance to live out normal lives.

In the fact that democracy, open markets, and peace are taking hold around the world, we are moving in the right direction. Here in the Americas, every nation but one has raised freedom's flag. In Central Europe, in Russia, Ukraine, the other New Independent States, the forces of reform have earned all our respect and will continue to have the support of the United States. Now we must begin to welcome Europe's new democracies into NATO, strengthen NATO's partnership with Russia, and build a secure and undivided Europe.

In Asia, South Korea, Japan, China, and America, working together persuaded North Korea to freeze its nuclear program under international monitoring. Now, in the wake of provocative actions by North Korea, we must pursue a permanent peace for all the Korean people.

Our planet is safer because of our common efforts to close Chernobyl, to address the challenges of climate change, to protect the world's forests and oceans. Now we must uphold our duty as custodians of our environment so that our children will inherit an even healthier planet.

All of us must continue our historic efforts to build a better, more global trading system for the 21st century. We have made remarkable progress, but there is more to do in opening markets, in creating millions of new jobs for all our people.

In this time of challenge and change, the United Nations is more important than ever before because our world is more inter-dependent than ever before. Most Americans know this. Unfortunately, some Americans, in their longing to be free of the world's problems and perhaps to focus more on our own problems, ignore what the United Nations has done, ignore the benefits of cooperation, ignore our own interdependence with all of you in charting a better future. They

ignore all the United Nations is doing to lift the lives of millions by preserving the peace, vaccinating children, caring for refugees, sharing the blessings of progress around the world. They have made it difficult for the United States to meet its obligations to the United Nations. But let me reassure all of you, the vast majority of Americans support the United Nations, not only because it reflects our own ideals but because it reinforces our interests. We must continue to work to manifest the support that our people feel.

For the 51st year in a row, the United States will be the largest financial contributor to the U.N. We are paying our dues, and I am committed to paying off our accumulated obligations. However, we also support the process of reform, which has done great work in reforming and streamlining the bureaucracy and reining in the budget, and it should continue.

We also believe that all of us, the nations of the world working together, must do more to fight terrorism. Last year I asked the nations assembled here to commit to a goal of zero tolerance for aggression, terrorism, and lawless behavior. Frankly, we have not done that yet. Real zero tolerance means giving no aid and no quarter to terrorists who slaughter the innocent and drug traffickers who poison our children and to do everything we can to prevent weapons of mass destruction from falling into the wrong hands.

Real zero tolerance requires us to isolate states that refuse to play by the rules we have all accepted for civilized behavior. As long as Iraq threatens its neighbors and people, as long as Iran supports and protects terrorists, as long as Libya refuses to give up the people who blew up Pan Am 103, they should not become full members of the family of nations.

The United States is pursuing a three-part strategy against terrorists: abroad, by working more closely than ever with like-minded nations; at home, by giving our law enforcement the toughest counterterrorist tools available and by doing all we can to make our airports and the airplanes that link us all together even safer.

I have requested more than \$ 1 billion from our Congress to meet these commitments, and we are implementing the Vice President's aviation security plan to make those traveling to, from, and within the United States more secure.

There are other steps we must take together. Last year, I urged that together we crack down on money laundering and front companies; shut down gray markets for guns, explosives, and false documents; open more law enforcement centers around the world; strengthen safeguards on lethal materials. In each of these areas, we have made progress, through the U.N., at the Summit of Peacemakers in Sharm-al Sheikh, at the Paris terrorism conference, and individually.

Now we should adopt the declaration on crime and public security I proposed last year. It includes a no-sanctuary pledge, so that we can say with one voice to the terrorists, criminals and drug traffickers: You have no place to run, no place to hide.

I call on every member to ratify 11 international conventions that would help prevent and punish terrorism and to criminalize the use of explosives in terrorist attacks. To every nation whose children fall prey to drugs, and every nation that makes those drugs, we must do more to reduce demand and to take illegal drugs off the market and off the streets.

The United States will do its part. Next week I will target more than \$ 100 million worth of defense equipment, services, and training to Mexico, Colombia, and other South American and Caribbean countries. These resources will help our friends stop the flow of drugs at the source. Now I ask every nation that exports the chemicals needed to make illicit drugs to create an informal group whose members will work to deny these chemicals to drug producers. We must not let more drugs darken the dawn of the next century.

Our duty to fight all these forces of destruction is directly linked to our efforts to reduce the threat of weapons of mass destruction. We all know we are not immune from this. We saw it when our friends in Japan were subject to the murderous power of a small vial of sarin gas unleashed in a Tokyo subway. We know a small lump of plutonium is enough to build a nuclear bomb. We know that more dangerous people have access to materials of mass destruction because of the rapid movement and open borders of this age. The quest to eliminate these problems from the world's arsenals and to stop them from spreading has taken on a new and powerful urgency for all of us.

So let us strengthen our determination to fight the rogue states, the terrorists, the criminals who menace our safety, our way of life, and the potential of our children in the 21st century. Let us recommit ourselves to prevent them from acquiring weapons of mass destruction. Let us work harder than ever to lift the nuclear backdrop that has darkened the world's stage for too long now. Let us make these solemn tasks our common obligation, our common commitment. If we do, then together we will enter the 21st century marching toward a better, safer world, the very better, safer world the United Nations has sought to build for 51 years.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:03 a.m. in the General Assembly Hall. In his remarks, he referred to United Nations General Assembly President Razali bin Ismail; Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali; and Jaap Ramaker, Netherlands Ambassador to the Conference on Disarmament.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: December 03, 1996

Copyright 1996 The New York Times Company
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September 25, 1996, Wednesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 1; Column 3; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 1025 words

HEADLINE: Clinton, at U.N., Signs Treaty Banning All Nuclear Testing

BYLINE: By ALISON MITCHELL

DATELINE: UNITED NATIONS, Sept. 24

BODY:

President Clinton signed a treaty today that would ban all nuclear weapons testing and called on world leaders to take further steps to limit weapons of mass destruction. He also urged them to show "zero tolerance" for international drug smuggling and for terrorism.

In an address to the 51st session of the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. Clinton noted that it was the second year in a row that he had asked diplomats and world leaders to take a strong stand against what he calls the "new threats" of the post-cold-war era: Drug traffickers, terrorists and unsafeguarded weapons materials. "Frankly, we have not done that yet," Mr. Clinton said.

"Real zero tolerance requires us to isolate states that refuse to play by the rules we have all accepted for civilized behavior," he said. "As long as Iraq threatens its neighbors and people, as long as Iran supports and protects terrorists, as long as Libya refuses to give up the people who blew up Pan Am 103, they should not become full members of the family of nations."

Mr. Clinton's annual visit to the United Nations was unusually brief -- less than two hours long -- and was coupled with a campaign rally later in New Jersey. It came at a time when the Administration has said it would use its Security Council veto to keep Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who the United States says has not initiated enough reform at the United Nations, from serving a second term as Secretary General.

Nonetheless, the President and the Secretary General met and posed for a photo together, with Mr. Boutros-Ghali smiling and Mr. Clinton looking stiff and solemn. Later Mr. Clinton said the question of Mr. Boutros-Ghali's tenure did not arise "because he and everyone else knows our position," adding, "They know it's firm."

Before delivering his address, Mr. Clinton used the same pen with which John F. Kennedy signed the Limited Test Ban Treaty in 1963 to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. The comprehensive accord is intended to thwart the development of new generations of weapons by banning all nuclear explosions, underground and above ground, military or civilian, high yield or low yield.

The President called the treaty "the longest-sought, hardest-fought prize in arms control history."

An overwhelming majority of countries, including the five declared nuclear weapons powers -- the United States, Britain, China, France and Russia -- have now agreed to the treaty and the comprehensive ban. But India, which set off a nuclear explosion in 1974 and is believed to have a clandestine nuclear weapons program that it does not want to give up, has said it will not sign because the treaty does not set a date for the total elimination of nuclear weapons. Pakistan, which is also thought to have a covert nuclear program, has indicated that it will boycott the pact if India does.

The treaty will not go into effect for at least two years, and Clinton Administration officials say they hope India can be brought around by then. Without assent by India and other potential nuclear states, the treaty and its enforcement measures will not enter into force although countries that do ratify it will be required to observe its provisions.

The President, however, said today that the signatures of the five declared nuclear powers, along with those of the vast majority of countries, "will immediately create an international norm against nuclear testing even before the treaty formally enters into force."

"Some," Mr. Clinton said in a reference to India, "have complained that it does not mandate total nuclear disarmament by a date certain. I would say to them, do not forsake the benefits of this achievement by ignoring the tremendous progress we have already made toward that goal." Representatives of about 60 countries signed the treaty by the end of the day.

The treaty, however, must also be approved by national legislatures. The makeup of the next Congress may determine whether the accord wins Senate ratification in the United States. The Republican platform repudiates the treaty as "inconsistent with American security interests" and argues that the United States, in order to deter the threat of weapons of mass destruction from rogue states, will "require the continuing maintenance and development of nuclear weapons and other periodic testing."

This month the Senate indefinitely shelved a vote on another arms control measure, the Chemical Weapons Convention. "I deeply regret that the United

States Senate has not yet voted on the convention," Mr. Clinton said. "But I want to assure you and people throughout the world that I will not let this treaty die."

Besides advocating the implementation of the chemical weapons treaty, the President called for five additional steps in arms control: freezing the production of nuclear bomb-making material; making further reductions in nuclear arsenals; strengthening measures against nuclear smuggling; improving compliance with a biological weapons treaty and banning anti-personnel land mines.

Mr. Clinton also urged United Nations members to adopt a declaration on crime and pledge to give no sanctuary to drug traffickers and terrorists. In a move that could help blunt Republican charges that he has been lax about fighting drugs, the President announced that the United States would provide more than \$100 million in military equipment, services and training to Mexico, Colombia and other South American and Caribbean nations to "stop the flow of drugs at the source."

The United States owes \$1.7 billion in back dues, peacekeeping fees and special assessments to the United Nations and its agencies, making it the country with the biggest debt to the United Nations. Mr. Clinton noted that America was also the organization's largest contributor and said he was committed to paying off the debt. He stressed that he also wanted to see further budget-cutting and streamlining of the world organization.

"In this time of challenge and change, the United Nations is more important than ever before," he said, "because our world is more interdependent than ever before. Most Americans know this."

GRAPHIC: Photo: President Clinton making his way to the podium at the United Nations where he addressed the General Assembly yesterday and signed the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, a plan intended to stop all nuclear tests.
(Monica Almeida/The New York Times)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: September 25, 1996

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12

Divider Title: _____

State of the Union Address
January 19, 1999

Section of Speech: A Strong America in a New World

Fact: 33,000 men and women of Desert Fox

Source: Department of Air Force Press Release (Federal Department and Agency Documents), 1/7/99; Special Defense Department Briefing (Federal News Service), 12/21/98

Explanation: Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Army General Hugh Shelton:
"Operation Desert Fox involved more than 30,000 U.S. troops in the Persian Gulf and 10,000 more from outside Central Command."

General Anthony Zinni, the commander in chief of the Central Central Command, on Operation Desert Fox: *"The operation involved over 30,000 troops and 10,000 more outside of our area of reasonability, who supported and alerted from bases virtually around the world."*

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FDCH Federal Department and Agency Documents

January 7, 1999; Thursday

LENGTH: 468 words

AGENCY: DEPARTMENT OF U.S. AIR FORCE

SIC-MAJOR-GROUP: 09 - General Classification

HEADLINE: STRIKES DAMAGE MORE THAN EXPECTED, SHELTON SAYS

CONTACT: 212-448-0496

BODY:

WASHINGTON (AFPN) -- U.S. strikes against Iraqi military targets in December during Operation Desert Fox did more damage than defense officials first thought. Pentagon officials initially determined the raids had produced substantial damage. Since the air campaign ended Dec. 19, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Army Gen.

Hugh Shelton said, the military has received more data, much of it unconfirmed, from a variety of sources that improves the initial assessment.

"The regime apparently was surprised both in the timing of the attack and in the size and intensity," the chairman said Jan. 5 during readiness hearings before the Senate Armed Services Committee.

"They lost the initiative, which we feel they are attempting to regain right now, both on the diplomatic front as well as in their violations of the no-fly zone."

Operation Desert Fox involved more than 30,000 U.S. troops in the Persian Gulf and 10,000

more from outside Central Command. Air forces flew more than 600 sorties Dec. 16 to 19 during

the air campaign. More than 40 ships performed strike and support roles, with 10 launching more than 300 cruise missiles. Central Command officials said the strikes hit 64 out of 66 targets with 85 percent effectiveness.

Shelton said the strikes have delayed Iraq's ballistic missile program by one to two years. Critical

production components have been destroyed, he said. Noting other successes, the general said some key command and control facilities were hit, and "highly visible symbols of the regime were destroyed."

Estimates of casualties in special Republican Guard security units that guard suspected weapons of mass destruction programs now hover at 600, Shelton said.

"Five of the Republican Guard headquarters were damaged. There are unconfirmed reports of up to 800 casualties among the Republican Guard units themselves."

A large surface-to-air missile facility was destroyed and will take years to rebuild, he said. "That will impact on (Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein's) air defense sustainability because that's where he repaired all of his missiles and radars." The strikes also knocked out an oil refinery that supplies

about 30 percent of Hussein's illegal oil exports, Shelton said.

Defense officials believe collateral damage was kept to a minimum.

"We all know the Iraqis like to exaggerate and falsify the collateral damage," Shelton said. "They have not shown any significant collateral damage at this point. There have been very few reports of civilian casualties and none that have been demonstrated by the Iraqis."

REGION: 4th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals - Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Washington, D.C.

INDUSTRY-CODE: Executive, legislative, and general government, except finance

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: January 8, 1999

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<=1> View Related Topics

DECEMBER 21, 1998, MONDAY

SECTION: DEFENSE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING

LENGTH: 7983 words

HEADLINE: SPECIAL DEFENSE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING

TOPIC: AIRSTRIKES ON IRAQ

**BRIEFERS: WILLIAM COHEN, SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
AND GENERAL ANTHONY ZINNI, COMMANDER IN CHIEF,
U.S. CENTRAL COMMAND
THE PENTAGON**

BODY:

SEC. COHEN: Good afternoon.

Now Operation Desert Fox was a highly successful operation. U.S. and British forces degraded Iraq's capability to use weapons of mass destruction in two important ways. First, we estimate that we delayed Iraq's development of ballistic missiles by at least a year. This is going to make it more difficult for Iraq to use deadly chemical and biological weapons against its neighbors. Second, we diminished Iraq's overall capability to direct and protect its weapons of mass destruction program, and we also diminished Iraq's ability to attack its neighbors by severely damaging the Iraqi military command and control system. Our forces did this without any allied casualties.

Our success reflects the quality of the men and women in our force. From General Anthony Zinni, the commander in chief of the Central Command, to the youngest soldier, sailor, airman, and Marine in Operation Desert Fox, our troops performed brilliantly. They worked as a team, a team that was dedicated to its mission, dedicated to supporting each other, and dedicated to fulfilling America's responsibilities in the world.

Later this afternoon I intend to make an announcement that will be of interest of all of our troops, not just those in Desert Fox. But now I am pleased to be able to introduce General Zinni, who planned and commanded Operation Desert Fox.

-- Excerpt--

GEN. ZINNI: Thank you, Mr. Secretary. Good afternoon.

We have, as you know, completed Operation Desert Fox, and I have reported to Secretary Cohen and General Shelton that I am satisfied that our objectives are

-- have been achieved.

Let me first say that I'm extremely proud, as you can imagine, of our soldiers, sailors, airmen, and Marines. They performed magnificently. I could not have asked for better.

And I'm also very proud of our allies that stood by us, the British especially. Their airmen and seamen that were by our sides again performed magnificently.

As you know, we suffered no casualties. Even in peacetime, exercises of this scale can be dangerous and can be very, very trying. To do this without any casualties in the environment our forces faced was truly remarkable.

The operation involved over 30,000 troops and 10,000 more outside of our area of responsibility, who supported and alerted from bases virtually around the world.

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13

Divider Title: _____

State of the Union Address
January 19, 1999

Section of Speech: A Strong America in a New World

Fact: decline in defense spending began in 1985

Source: New York Times, December 14, 1998

Explanation: “Military spending has declined sharply since President Reagan’s buildup of weaponry in the 1980’s. In today’s dollars, adjusted for inflation, the Pentagon’s budget has dropped 36 percent from a peak of \$403 billion in 1985,” the New York Times reported.

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December 14, 1998, Monday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 22; Column 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 1601 words

HEADLINE: Pentagon's Hopes for Major Budget Increase Wane, but Officials Vow to Fight

BYLINE: By STEVEN LEE MYERS

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, Dec. 13

BODY:

The Pentagon has asked President Clinton for the largest increase in military spending since the first four years of Ronald Reagan's cold war buildup, but the Administration has balked at the size of the request, having already pledged to preserve budget surpluses for the Social Security system.

After years of dwindling resources following the collapse of the Soviet Union, Defense Department officials express hopes that Mr. Clinton will propose the Pentagon's first real increase in military spending since 1991, when the military budget spiked slightly for the Persian Gulf war.

But their hopes for a large increase in next year's budget -- stoked by encouraging words from Mr. Clinton himself -- have waned in recent weeks as a White House battling impeachment also scrambles to find ways to support Social Security and balance competing demands from other agencies, Administration and defense officials said.

The Pentagon's concerns have become so acute that Secretary of Defense William S. Cohen and Gen. Henry H. Shelton, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, delayed departure on separate trips to Europe this week. Instead, they will stay in Washington to press their case in pivotal budget meetings at the White House on Monday.

"We need to fight for our money," a defense official said today.

In a meeting with Mr. Clinton last Monday, Mr. Cohen, General Shelton and the chiefs of the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps argued for at least a \$10

billion increase in spending in next year's budget and a \$112 billion increase over the next six years, the officials said, speaking on the condition of anonymity.

Next year's increase -- to pay for everything from spare parts to raises for the troops to the peacekeeping mission in Bosnia -- would represent a roughly 4 percent increase above the Department of Defense's current \$258 billion budget, the largest annual increase since 1984. Between now and 2006, the annual increases would grow steadily to \$25 billion a year.

But Mr. Cohen and the chiefs left that meeting without a firm pledge for any increase. And while Mr. Clinton expressed support in principle for addressing problems with the military's readiness, the officials said it now seemed unlikely that the President would propose more than a modest increase, if any, when he unveils his budget proposal in February for the 2000 fiscal year, which begins next October.

"I think there is a lot of sympathy for their needs over there," an Administration official said. "But I don't think that even in a perfect world, they would get every penny they're asking for."

The wrangling has created a political problem for Mr. Clinton, who already faces intensifying pressure from Republicans in Congress to increase military spending. After inviting Mr. Cohen and the chiefs to submit requests for more money, Mr. Clinton will now face criticism for giving anything less than the amount they have calculated as necessary to keep the nation's military fit.

"There's been a spirit of expectation built up by a lot of folks that have heard what the President's been saying," one military officer said.

Gen. Dennis J. Reimer, the Army's Chief of Staff, described last week's meeting with the President as an "honest exchange," and he conceded that the Pentagon's demands had to be weighed against the constraints of the Balanced Budget Act of 1997.

"These are complex issues," he told reporters at a breakfast on Thursday. "There's more involved than defense, obviously."

At the same time, General Reimer reiterated his belief that the Army needed \$5 billion a year above its current \$64 billion budget "to do what we need to do the way it needs to be done." Without adequate resources, he warned, the Administration needed either to reconsider its national security strategy or "accept a hollowness in the force that we're not willing to accept."

Mr. Clinton's aides emphasized that the President had not yet made a decision

on the Pentagon's budget. He must first decide, they said, how to propose using the projected surpluses in the Federal budget to avert the looming insolvency in the Social Security system. And then, they said, he could use any leftover surplus to pay for an increase for the military.

In the meantime, the Office of Management and Budget has pressed Mr. Cohen and other Pentagon officials to pay for at least some of their \$112 billion request -- which Mr. Cohen's office has already pared from \$148 billion -- with savings wrung out of the existing budget levels.

In fact, \$5 billion to \$7 billion in savings resulting from lower-than-expected inflation and oil costs are expected to cover the raises and improved retirement benefits that Mr. Clinton has already touted, in a speech on Veterans Day and in an appearance before troops at Osan Air Force Base in South Korea.

Military leaders, led by General Shelton, have made improving pay and benefits -- including a raise of 3.9 percent this year and 4.4 percent next year -- a top priority. Without them, they say, it will become even more difficult to attract and keep the most qualified people.

"I've approved pay raises that will significantly reduce the gap between military and civilian pay," Mr. Clinton told an assembly of troops at Osan on Nov. 22, who responded with hearty applause.

"I ought to quit while I'm ahead," Mr. Clinton added.

Military spending has declined sharply since President Reagan's buildup of weaponry in the 1980's. In today's dollars, adjusted for inflation, the Pentagon's budget has dropped 36 percent from a peak of \$403 billion in 1985 to \$258 billion now, not counting the Department of Energy's spending on nuclear weapons.

As a percentage of the Federal budget, military spending is now, at just under 15 percent, as low as it has been since the end of World War II.

This "peace dividend" largely resulted from two things: the cut in military personnel from 2.4 million soldiers, sailors, airmen and marines to just over 1.4 million today and the ability to put off the purchase of new major weapons following the infusion under Mr. Reagan.

Now, Pentagon officials say, the fighter jets and ships and tanks bought in the Reagan years need replacing or at least lots of spare parts. And the smaller forces are being asked to do more, from boxing in Saddam Hussein to responding to natural disasters like Hurricane Mitch to peacekeeping in Bosnia.

(Ten percent of the Pentagon's \$112 billion request alone would pay for keeping the troops in Bosnia.)

"To me those are extremely valuable things," the new Secretary of the Navy, Richard Danzig, said of the peacekeeping and humanitarian missions. "They also create a lot of wear and tear and burden on our resources and our people."

In recent months, Mr. Cohen and the chiefs have become increasingly vocal in warning about what they call an erosion of resources and the resulting strain on troop strength, training and morale.

In August, Gen. David A. Bramlett, commander of the Army's Forces Command at Fort McPherson, Ga., warned that the Army had to divert money from things like base maintenance to pay for training meant to keep soldiers battle-ready.

"We cannot operate within current funding levels and have the viable fighting force we want to project into the next century," General Bramlett wrote in a memorandum that ended up being widely circulated.

In September, the nation's top commanders met with Mr. Clinton at Fort McNair here in Washington and laid out what amounted to a plea for more money to address the strains.

A week later, Mr. Clinton responded with a letter to Mr. Cohen that many in the Pentagon viewed as a firmer commitment to new resources than it is turning out to be. "We need to consider additional steps that may be needed to preserve the quality of the American military," the President said, though he pledged no specific increase.

Though officials declined to detail how they would spend the increases, beyond bolstering pay and retirement benefits, they said the extra money would not go for large new weapons as much as for more mundane equipment, spare parts, jet fuel and other things necessary for training.

"I need to fix the unsexy stuff," said Gen. Charles C. Krulak, the Commandant of the Marine Corps, who has been one of the only commanders openly critical of Mr. Clinton's previous military budgets.

At least some of the money would speed up the purchase of some of the Pentagon's biggest weapons programs, including the Air Force's F-22 and the Navy's F/A-18 fighter jets.

Some Administration officials and independent analysts said the Pentagon was pleading poverty without having squeezed enough fat out of its notoriously resistant bureaucracy or having reconsidered any of its expensive modernization

programs, like those fighters.

They noted that since the end of the gulf war the United States had not had to confront any new threat to its security that would justify a large increase in spending. They also pointed out that efforts to trim the bureaucracy -- like last year's Defense Reform Initiative, which was to save \$6 billion a year -- had so far failed to produce significant savings.

Michael O'Hanlon, an analyst at the Brookings Institution in Washington, said that almost a decade after the cold war, the Pentagon still had not learned to adjust to fiscal constraints, using the opportunity of a relatively peaceful world to create a smaller, more efficient military.

"The Pentagon hasn't made the cuts," he said. "People just waited for the first opportunity to ask for what they wanted all along."

GRAPHIC: Graph "KEEPING TRACK: Military Spending" tracks the Pentagon's annual budgets, excluding the Department of Energy's spending on nuclear weapons, by fiscal year adjusted for inflation since 1976.
(Source: Department of Defense)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: December 14, 1998

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14

Divider Title: _____

State of the Union Address
January 19, 1999

Section of Speech: A Strong America in a New World

Fact: since April, together we have added nearly \$6 billion to maintain our readiness

Source: Special White House Briefing (Federal News Service), 1/5/99

Explanation: Robert Bell, Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, on steps President Clinton has taken to address various concerns and maintain high levels of defense readiness and proficiency: "First, in the late spring last year, we sought and won congressional approval over the opposition in many quarters of funding for \$1.85 billion in contingency operations in Bosnia and Southwest Asia, scored as emergency funding; in other words, money that was added to the defense accounts rather than forcing the services to pay for those operations out of their readiness accounts."

Bell: "Second, in the late summer, we proposed and won congressional approval for a \$1-billion reprogramming for readiness accounts -- taking money from lower-priority programs or accounts and moving it into key readiness accounts.

Bell: "Last fall, we won a \$1.9-billion emergency supplemental authority for what will be the cost of Bosnia operations in this fiscal year, Fiscal Year 1999."

Bell: "Fourth, we won approval last fall, also, of a \$1.1 billion emergency supplemental dedicated exclusively to key readiness requirements."

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JANUARY 5, 1999, TUESDAY

SECTION: WHITE HOUSE BRIEFING

LENGTH: 3814 words

HEADLINE: SPECIAL WHITE HOUSE BRIEFING

**BRIEFER: ROBERT BELL, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS**

RE: DEFENSE READINESS

**THE WHITE HOUSE,
BRIEFING ROOM**

BODY:

COLONEL CROWLEY: Good afternoon. In about an hour and a half, the Chiefs of Staff of the military services will be up on Capitol Hill testifying before the Senate Armed Services Committee on military readiness. This weekend the President devoted his radio address to talking about steps the Clinton administration has taken to stay ahead of the readiness needs of the military. And we thought it would be useful to establish a context for the discussion this afternoon in terms of both how current initiatives to help protect readiness, both in the near-term and the long-term fit in with the budgetary trends that we've seen in defense in recent years, and over the past decade or so. So here to help you with that context is Robert Bell, Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

MR. BELL: Thank you, P.J., and thank you, Sam. Good afternoon. When President Clinton took office in 1993, it's important to appreciate that we were in the 8th straight year of declining defense budgets, measured from the fiscal year 1985 peak, during the buildup under President Reagan, and in the aggregate over those eight years that preceded this administration taking office, defense spending in real terms -- in other words, adjusted for inflation -- had already been reduced by 25 percent.

President Clinton ran for President in 1992 on a defense platform that explicitly called for further restraint in defense spending, but only about five percent more than was being projected by President Bush and then Secretary of Defense Chaney in their last outgoing budget. And that assumes, of course, that you can accept those budget projections as the numbers that would actually have

been delivered.

In other words, there was about a \$60 billion difference measured over five years in the campaign that was the distinction between the Bush position and the Clinton position on defense.

There was a reason why President Clinton, during the campaign, called for that restraint on defense, and it was epitomized in his slogan of "shared sacrifice, shared austerity." President Clinton believed fundamentally, as we still do today, that a strong national security posture must be underpinned by a strong economy, and to get out of the deficit cycle we were in, defense was going to have to do its part to help balance the budget. In fact, this plan, over the course of those six years, worked, and worked spectacularly.

As the President was able to announce in September, we had a surplus in the federal budget for 1998 of about \$70 billion, when in 1993 when he took office the projection for that year had been a deficit of \$350 billion -- in other words, a swing of \$420 billion. And we're now projecting surpluses over the next decade totaling about \$1.5 trillion.

We're also experiencing, as the President underscored last fall, the lowest inflation, the lowest unemployment rates, the lowest crime rates, the lowest number of welfare recipients in the last 25-30 years.

Now, I mention all of this because all of these achievements contribute to the national security both directly and indirectly. It's obviously in the interest of the Defense Department to have lower inflation and thereby reduce the cost of future weapons procurement. And it's obviously in the interest of the men and women in uniform and their families to have achieved all of these results on the domestic scene.

But even within the constraints of this six-year deficit control policy, the defense spending under the first six years of the Clinton administration only declined in real terms -- again, adjusted for inflation -- by about 12 percent. In other words, less than half the rate of decline that had been experienced during the previous eight years of the second Reagan term and the Bush administration.

There are several reasons for this. In part it was because we projected robust defense budget levels from the beginning; and in part, it's because the President, on more than one occasion accepted the recommendation of the Secretary of Defense, whether it was Les Aspin or Bill Perry, to increase the previously projected defense spending level for the Department of Defense across its future year defense program. And on several occasions, including during the balanced budget agreement negotiations, the White House, with full support of the Secretary of Defense and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, did battle on the Hill to get higher defense numbers than were being projected under the approved congressional budget resolutions.

Nonetheless, over the course of the last year, serious readiness concerns became apparent. And all of you have been reporting on this story over the

course of the last year and pointing to specific cases that have come to our attention. Now, why has this occurred? In part, it's because Congress refused to give us the authority we have sought for two consecutive years to reduce our base infrastructure and close additional bases. In part, it's because we've not gotten the cooperation we sought from Congress on legislative reforms to achieve greater contracting efficiency.

In large measure, it's because there continues to be too many, simply too many congressional procurement add-ons that distort the balance of our defense budget -- for weapon systems or equipment or programs that are not requested either in our budget or, last year, in the case of about \$2 billion worth of add-ons, not even on the individual service wish list. In part, it's because it's taken longer than we had hoped for the Duma to act on START II, and we haven't gotten as far down that slope as we wanted towards the reductions called for at the Helsinki Agreement of 1997 in strategic nuclear forces.

And in part, it's because we've had to go through a continuing cycle each year with Congress -- and this certainly predates this administration -- of having to take money from readiness accounts to pay for contingency operations and then come back to the Hill months later to get reimbursement in the form of an emergency supplemental, and that causes a distortion in readiness plans of the services.

And finally, I would mention that, in a sense, we've been a victim of our own success on the economic front, because it's precisely this vibrant and rebuilt economy that's been produced by this fiscal austerity that is now exercising a magnet-like force on the men and women in uniform in terms of drawing them into the private sector and increasing the cost within the context of an all-volunteer force of meeting our recruitment and retention goals.

Over the last nine months, the President has moved on five separate fronts, five separate occasions, to address these concerns and to ensure that we maintain the very high levels of readiness and proficiency that were demonstrated so admirably, yet again, during Operation Desert Fox. **First, in the late spring last year, we sought and won congressional approval over the opposition in many quarters of funding for \$1.85 billion in contingency operations in Bosnia and Southwest Asia, scored as emergency funding; in other words, money that was added to the defense accounts rather than forcing the services to pay for those operations out of their readiness accounts.**

Second, in the late summer, we proposed and won congressional approval for a \$1-billion reprogramming for readiness accounts -- taking money from lower-priority programs or accounts and moving it into key readiness accounts. Last fall, we won a \$1.9-billion emergency supplemental authority for what will be the cost of Bosnia operations in this fiscal year, Fiscal Year 1999. And, there, too, that was in the face, in some quarters, of strong opposition where, for example in the House, the decision had been to force the Pentagon to absorb those costs rather than treat it as an emergency spending.

Fourth, we won approval last fall, also, of a \$1.1 billion emergency

supplemental dedicated exclusively to key readiness requirements. And last, but certainly not least, over the last 14 weeks, dating back to the President's meeting at Ft. McNair in mid- September with his commanders-in-chief and service chiefs, the President has developed in very close consultation with Secretary Cohen and General Shelton the long-term plan that he discussed in his radio address on Saturday which, consistent with his priority of saving the surplus to fix Social Security first, will provide for, first, a major initiative on pay and retirement, which was described by Secretary Cohen and General Shelton just before Christmas; second, a \$12-billion increase in the Fiscal Year 2000 budget -- in other words, the budget we'll submit in a few weeks -- for defense readiness and modernization through a combination of new spending and budgetary savings; and last, about \$110-billion increase through Fiscal Year 2005 -- in other words, through the current Pentagon future year defense plan, to meet the most critical requirements that have been identified by the chiefs and the commanders-in-chiefs to be able to execute the national military strategy. So, as the President said on Saturday, this will be a six-year effort that will represent the first long-term sustained increase in spending in a decade. And with that I'll stop and take your questions.

Q I may have missed something, but is the administration going to push again for more base closings this year, or what's your position on that?

MR. BELL: Yes.

Q Any specifics on that?

MR. BELL: Absolutely. We continue to believe that we need authority from Congress -- legislative authority -- to conduct two additional base closing rounds, starting in fiscal year 2001. The old base closing authority expired with the last round that we did, in 1995. And we need new authority -- in fact, our budget projections assume that we'll win approval of that. So it's going to be incumbent on Congress to cooperate and give us that authority.

Q How much do you assume you'll save by having those base closings, which may not happen?

MR. BELL: Well, there's several billion dollars within the boundaries of the future year defense plan -- in other words, through fiscal year '05, that are associated with winning approval for those two rounds. In the long-term, of course, the savings would be much, much greater. It takes a while, in any base closing process, before the lion's share of the savings become available.

Q In the list of items that you listed as reasons why all of this happened up to this point, does any blame attach to the administration? Is there any little thing that the administration did wrong? Or is it all this other stuff -- Congress, a good economy?

MR. BELL: Well, I think it's important to understand what we were trying to do and the hand we were dealt. I mean, the nation, in effect, Sam, through a consensus reached not only through the campaigns, but in terms of the majority view on the Hill, came up with a rough consensus on what would be available for defense, given other competing priorities, including education, health care

and everything else.

Within that context, of the balanced budget amendment, we conducted the most extensive review of our defense posture that had ever been done in the post-Cold War era, and came forward in 1997 with the Quadrennial Defense Review, the QDR report. In the QDR -- where there was a limitation on the total dollars available for defense -- we had to make some tough decisions, because we faced competing demands for those scarce defense dollars.

We had to strike a balance between the size of the force that we were going to keep on the books, to make sure we had enough combat power to win two regional wars if they occurred; to have enough troops to deploy, as we do every day -- not only for contingency operations, but for normal peacetime exercises -- without breaking the force by sending them out too much; still having enough money to get into the modernization ramp-up that we're going to require to replace the equipment from the 1980s that's now becoming obsolescent; and, perhaps most fundamentally of all, since people are the backbone of everything, the quality of life requirements for a force posture that assumes an all-volunteer structure.

And to do that, we had to make some trade-off decisions. One of the things we decided to do in the QDR was to keep the readiness capabilities of our forward-deployed and first-to-fight forces very high. But the flip side of that, the corollary of that, was a deliberate decision to back off on the readiness goals for stateside units that were slower to respond and not in the first deployments for regional contingencies. That, inevitably, led to putting this on the radar screen. As stateside units realized that reduction in their readiness, there were a lot of complaints -- not only up the chain of command, but in some cases to the media. And the anecdotal reporting began coming in as the effect of that QDR decision sunk in, and I think that's what launched the initial interest in trying to deal with the readiness concerns on a priority basis.

Now, if we had had a higher defense number out of the balanced budget agreement, for example, maybe we could have put more money into readiness for stateside units. But as I said in my lead-in, the number we got out of the balanced budget agreement was a higher number than the number than was being proposed from the Hill when we negotiated it.

But at any rate, I mean, the point here is that as Desert Fox demonstrated and as continuing tension in the Gulf demonstrates, not to mention the DMZ and Bosnia and Kosovo and Haiti and everywhere else where our forces are performing with distinction, the forces that we need to execute the national military strategy are doing their job with high readiness and performing with great proficiency.

Q Bob, does the President feel he made a mistake as a candidate in 1992 when he pledged to cut defense spending by \$100 million through 1997?

MR. BELL: Not sure you were in the room when I started, but I think it was a

\$60-billion gap. No, we think that the proposal, the concept, the plan worked spectacularly. We stayed at peace, we've met our national military requirements, we've executed the national military strategy, and we've done that while still balancing the budget, reducing the surpluses and all the other domestic achievements that I enumerated.

Q Bob, can you discuss how the ongoing situation with Iraq and the occasional ramp-ups to do attacks, affect your readiness posture, your availability of personnel and using up dollars?

MR. BELL: Well, I think we've demonstrated that our readiness is more than equal to the mission requirements in the Gulf. If that's not apparent to Saddam, I don't know what is. Of course, there is a cost associated with that, but it's a cost that we're willing to bear and it's a cost that we'll budget and make sure that we win congressional approval to meet.

Q Without challenging your readiness in the Gulf area, what about the readiness of the forces beyond the Gulf area, the forces back at home, the forces in Europe? Doesn't having this readiness posture there affect readiness in other parts of the system?

MR. BELL: I think what you've seen as we got further into 1998 was that the main area of concern in terms of degradation of readiness for stateside units was mostly associated with units that were slated to go fight a second major regional contingency should we find ourselves in a situation where not only Saddam did something very reckless and ill-advised, but you had a conflict in Korea.

That doesn't mean you couldn't fight and win that second war. It means that it would take you longer to close and engage. It might take you longer to fight and win it. But we've never lost our ability, at any point in the course of 1998, to fully execute the national military strategy.

Q Has anything changed in the perception of the external threat that would now argue for higher military spending? For example, does the continuing, the periodic bombings of Iraq -- is there anything new or different in your perception of the external threat that is an argument for putting more money up?

MR. BELL: No, I don't think it's a function of external threat. I think the two main variables here are, first, because we've succeeded in rebuilding our economy, the costs of maintaining an all-volunteer force are greater. That's a simple fact of life. And second, we've been living off of seed corn, going back to about the beginning of the 1980s, in terms of what, then, was a bow-wave of procurement and modernization of equipment. And that's been a dividend that we've been able to realize and apply towards our domestic and fiscal goals. But you can only do that so long. You can only take equipment into a second or third decade before the readiness difficulties of doing that -- keeping that equipment functioning; keeping spare parts; avoiding cannibalization -- starts to snowball. And that's the point that the Chiefs have been making, and I'm sure will make again this afternoon, that we've got to increase defense spending,

here, as we're now proposing to do, not just to meet the immediate readiness near-term needs, like spare parts and flying hours, but to make sure we get up that ramp that we need -- up to the QDR level of \$60 billion in procurement per year -- to buy new equipment so we don't have increased long-term readiness problems that otherwise would be associated with equipment that's become obsolete.

Q You mentioned that being unable to implement the cuts under the START treaty has, in effect, added costs to the military. Can you give an estimate of that? And also, what is your assessment of the prospects of finally getting START II signed in Moscow?

MR. BELL: Well, I think it's principally an opportunity cost to date. If things had gone much faster -- after all, the Senate approved START II in January of '96 and the treaty was signed in '92, so -- if this had been realized years earlier, you could speculate that we could have gotten on to START III and much-reduced levels a lot sooner. But in terms of staying at START I, which has been a Congressional mandate for the last several years, that cost is just beginning to sink in. It's now measured in hundreds of millions but will quickly grow to billions unless the Duma acts.

We, of course, hope that the government in Moscow can deliver -- as they are now telling us it is their intention to do -- this treaty early in the year.

They've made clear, in the recent week or two, that they don't consider the treaty dead and they intend to resume that effort early in the year. The question is simply going to be, within the Duma, particularly within the Communist faction, where the sentiments rest.

Q Is there any sign that -- what's the change? I mean, every six months or so, President Yeltsin and other Russian officials have said, we're sure we're going to get this ratified in the next few weeks. It's gone on for several years. What's changing there?

MR. BELL: Well, I think you're just seeing -- again, in this theme of victim of our own success -- in part because of the triumph of this democratization process in Russia, you have a truly independent Duma, no longer a rubber stamp of the Kremlin, as during the Soviet Union. And it's very vulnerable to the vicissitudes of developments on the world stage. It just seems there's been one linkage or one complication after another the last couple of years that have been the immediate, proximate cause of the delay, and you have to work through each one of those events. But you can't allow your foreign policy, or your national security strategy, to be dictated simply by a calculation of START II ratification prospects.

Q What leads to your optimism about the base-closing round? It's been several years now, the administration has hoped each year that Congress would go for it, and they've shut you down every year. Have you gotten some new reading from the Senate?

MR. BELL: Well, we hope that the Congress will accept the proposal this year and give us this authority. One of the reasons I think we have a better chance

this year is that we're now operating under the constraints of a balanced budget agreement. And those on the Hill that would say, let's provide more for defense, more even than the President discussed in his radio address Saturday -- they, too, have to come up with the dollars in the context of a total federal budget. That means there will be a real premium on both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue in looking for savings. It's not easy for them to, just out of spite, or whatever is motivating this, decide not to take an obvious source of \$2 or \$3 billion in savings.

Q How much did you say was included in the fit-up from the base-closing rounds you want? How much savings?

MR. BELL: About \$2 billion is my recollection, but I would direct you to OMB to get a more precise figure.

Q Well, sort of along those lines, is there any other legal option? I mean, I don't know how a base was closed before the commission was set up and all those things --

MR. BELL: I don't think so. There is authority under current law to adjust and realign small installations, those that have, I believe, 500 or fewer employees. But above that, you really have no practical recourse other than a base closing round like effort. It's like Churchill's comment about democracy: it's the worst imaginable way to conduct business second only to anything else anyone's ever thought of. The fact is, over decades and decades and decades, it's proved impossible to close major bases as long as one senator or one group in the House can stand up and obstruct a bill, short of an all- or-nothing list kind of approach that's been at the heart of the -- approach for the last decade.

Q With two rounds, about how many bases?

MR. BELL: Oh, I don't know. I don't want to suggest anything that would approach what a hit list would look like, or a total number. But we have a sense of what the lag has been. If you compare reductions in defense spending, reductions in the number of people in uniform, and then compare that, in terms of reductions on the infrastructure side, the infrastructure is lagging about 10 percent in the level of reductions that otherwise should have been achieved by now. Q Do you have a preliminary estimate of what Operation Desert Fox cost?

MR. BELL: No. I don't. I know that OMB is working with OSD Comptroller's Office on that, Bob, and I'm sure that will be a point of interest on the Hill now that they're back in session, so I expect that will be forthcoming. But I can't tell you what the answer is or when we'll have it.

Q Thanks very much.

END

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: January 6, 1999

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15

Divider Title: _____

State of the Union Address
January 19, 1999

Section of Speech: A Strong America in a New World

Fact: expanding NATO and defining its new mission at its 50th Anniversary summit this year in Washington

Source: Financial Times (London), 12/7/98

Explanation: In a December 7, 1998 *Financial Times* Op-Ed, Secretary of State Madeline Albright wrote, "Tomorrow my colleagues and I in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization will meet in Brussels to set the agenda for the April 1999 Nato summit in Washington. There, alliance leaders will commemorate Nato's 50th anniversary and welcome, for the first time as Nato allies, the heads of state of the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland...At the Washington summit, our leaders will issue a new strategic concept, a blueprint for the alliance's future. A 21st-century Nato must take account of the new strategic environment."

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Financial Times (London)

December 7, 1998, Monday LONDON EDITION 1

SECTION: COMMENT & ANALYSIS; Pg. 22

LENGTH: 1476 words

HEADLINE: The right balance will secure Nato's future:
PERSONAL VIEW MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT:
The alliance in the 21st century will require new co-operation in
defending enlarged borders against a variety of threats:

BODY:

Tomorrow my colleagues and I in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation will meet in Brussels to set the agenda for the April 1999 Nato summit in Washington. There, alliance leaders will commemorate Nato's 50th anniversary and welcome, for the first time as Nato allies, the heads of state of the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland.

We should be proud of what the alliance accomplished in its first half century. But we cannot be complacent. Today we face issues different from but no less challenging than those faced by our predecessors 50 years ago. The Washington summit will be the first summit of the 21st century: it will chart Nato's future, not just celebrate the past.

In Brussels we will continue our efforts to build a Nato that is a larger, more flexible alliance, committed to collective defence, capable of meeting a wide range of threats to common alliance interests, and working in partnership with other nations and organisations to advance security, prosperity and democracy in and for the entire transatlantic area.

At the Washington summit, our leaders will issue a new strategic concept, a blueprint for the alliance's future. A 21st-century Nato must take account of the new strategic environment. While most of Europe is more secure than at any time in living memory, alliance territory and alliance interests can be affected by a range of risks from a variety of sources. As President Clinton said in Berlin last May: "Tomorrow's alliance must continue to defend enlarged borders and defend against threats to our security from beyond them - the spread of weapons of mass destruction, ethnic violence, regional conflict."

Bosnia and Kosovo are recent examples that demonstrate Nato must act when

conflicts beyond its immediate borders affect alliance interests. Nato's new strategic concept must find the right balance between affirming the centrality of Nato's collective defence missions and responding to such crises. Together, we must improve both our flexibility and our capability to prevent, deter and if necessary respond to the full spectrum of possible threats to alliance interests.

Nato's primary mission will always remain defence against aggression. That is the heart of the original 1949 Washington Treaty establishing Nato. But the founders of the alliance also distinguished between what the treaty commits us to do and what it permits us to do. If joint military action is ever needed to protect vital alliance interests, it makes sense to use the unified military structure and the habits of co-operation we have built up over the past 50 years.

In addition to reaching agreement on a new vision for the 21st century, the task for the Washington summit will be to ensure that Nato has the means to realise that vision. We need military forces that are designed, equipped and prepared for 21st-century missions.

William Cohen, US defence secretary, has been working closely with allied defence ministers on proposals to modernise Nato's military forces. Our goal is to reach agreement at the Washington summit on a long-term programme to develop the right capabilities to ensure both self-defence and the ability to respond quickly and effectively to crises.

That is why we welcome the call from Tony Blair, the UK prime minister, for Europeans to consider ways they can take more responsibility for their own security and defence. Our interest is clear: we want a Europe that can act. We want a Europe with modern, flexible military forces that are capable of putting out fires in Europe's backyard and working with us through the alliance to defend our common interests. European efforts to do more for Europe's own defence make it easier, not harder, for us to remain engaged.

We will examine all proposals on European defence and security with a simple question in mind: does it improve our effectiveness in working together? Like Mr Blair, we believe the emphasis should be placed on enhancing the practical capabilities Europe brings to our alliance.

The Kosovo crisis shows how practical European defence capabilities can help fulfil Nato missions. Thanks to the initiative of the French and the contributions of the Germans, British, Italians and other allies, Nato is deploying an all-European "extraction force" for the monitors of the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe who are being sent to the troubled province.

This force is under Nato command, and is based on solid European capabilities. It shows how European forces can work within Nato to great effect in the real world. We appreciate the willingness of the government of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to host this force.

Kosovo carries another lesson: political will is more important than additional institutional structures. The problem in Kosovo before we acted together was not the lack of appropriate institutions; it was the lack of agreement to use the institutions we have.

As Europeans look at the best way to organise their foreign and security policy co-operation, the key is to make sure that any institutional change is consistent with basic principles that have served the Atlantic partnership well for 50 years. This means avoiding what I would call the Three Ds: decoupling, duplication and discrimination.

First, we want to avoid decoupling: Nato is the expression of the indispensable transatlantic link. It should remain an organisation of sovereign allies, where European decision-making is not unhooked from broader alliance decision-making.

Second, we want to avoid duplication: defence resources are too scarce for allies to conduct force planning, operate command structures, and make procurement decisions twice - once at Nato and once more at the EU. And third, we want to avoid any discrimination against Nato members who are not EU members.

The goal outlined by Mr Blair is consistent with these principles. We look forward to discussing with all of our European allies and partners how to strengthen Europe's capacity to act.

One challenge in particular the Washington summit must address is the very real threat to our people, our territory, and our military forces posed by weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery. We must improve overall alliance efforts both to stem proliferation and to deter, prevent and protect against such attacks. Nato's efforts should complement, not supplant, the existing regimes and efforts under way to control proliferation.

The 21st-century Nato we envisage will be a central pillar of a much wider North Atlantic community of shared risk and responsibility among increasingly secure and prosperous democracies. For nations aspiring to membership, Nato's door remains open, and the alliance should be even more active in its efforts to help them walk through it.

Nato enlargement is not a one-time event; the first new members will not be the last. But the Washington summit should improve our ability to work jointly with all partner nations, regardless of their alliance aspirations, to extend security and stability throughout this broader community. Nato's distinctive partnership with Ukraine is an important element of this broader effort.

We want Russia to be a close and active participant in this 21st-century partnership. My colleagues and I will be meeting this week with Igor Ivanov, the Russian foreign minister, in the Nato -Russia Permanent Joint Council, where we continue our efforts to improve co-operation in the spirit of the Nato -Russia Founding Act, which will celebrate its second anniversary in June.

Nato and Russian troops continue to work side by side in Bosnia. Together we are working on possible Russian participation in the Air Verification Regime in Kosovo. We plan to open a military liaison mission in Moscow. Together we are retraining retired Russian military officers, developing co-operative responses to civil emergencies, and developing common approaches to non-proliferation and to environmental protection - all signs that the Nato -Russia relationship continues to move forward.

The lesson of this century - the bloodiest ever - is that when Europe and the US act together, we advance our interests and our values more effectively than any of us can alone. When we fail to agree, stalemate and even crisis are the result.

Fifty years from now, we want a succeeding generation to say that we learned our lesson and applied it well to the many challenges we would face in the new century. That new century is being shaped today by our joint response to instability in the western Balkans. And it will be shaped to a great extent by the decisions we take this coming week and over the coming months.

I am confident that those decisions will be the right ones for the future of our great alliance.

The author is US secretary of state

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: December 07, 1998

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16

Divider Title: _____

State of the Union Address
January 19, 1999

Section of Speech: A Strong America in a New World

Fact: during trip to China, the President said that stability can no longer be bought at the expense of liberty

Source: “Remarks and a Q&A Session with Students at Beijing University,” Public Papers of the President, 6/29/98; “The President’s News Conference with President Jiang in Beijing,” Public Papers of the President, 6/27/98

Explanation: During his June 29, 1998 speech at Beijing University, President Clinton said, *“More than 50 years ago, Hu Shi, one of your great political thinkers and a teacher at this university, said these words: ‘Now some people say to me you must sacrifice your individual freedom so that the nation may be free. But I reply, the struggle for individual freedom is the struggle for the nation’s freedom. The struggle for your own character is the struggle for the nation’s character.’ We Americans believe Hu Shi was right. We believe and our experience demonstrates that freedom strengthens stability and helps nations to change.”*

During his press conference with President Jiang in Beijing President Clinton said, *“So I am trying to have a dialog here that will enable both of us to move forward so that the Chinese people will get the best possible result. I believe stability in the 21st century will require high levels of freedom.”*

Public Papers of the Presidents

June 29, 1998

CITE: 34 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1255

LENGTH: 7115 words

HEADLINE: Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Students at Beijing University in Beijing, China

BODY:

The President. Thank you. Thank you, President Chen, Chairman Ren, Vice President Chi, Vice Minister Wei. We are delighted to be here today with a very large American delegation, including the First Lady and our daughter, who is a student at Stanford, one of the schools with which Beijing University has a relationship. We have six Members of the United States Congress; the Secretary of State; Secretary of Commerce; the Secretary of Agriculture; the Chairman of our Council of Economic Advisers; Senator Sasser, our Ambassador; the National Security Adviser; and my Chief of Staff, among others. I say that to illustrate the importance that the United States places on our relationship with China.

-- Excerpt--

In each of these vital areas that I have mentioned, we can clearly accomplish so much more by walking together rather than standing apart. That is why we should work to see that the productive relationship we now enjoy blossoms into a fuller partnership in the new century.

If that is to happen, it is very important that we understand each other better, that we understand both our common interest and our shared aspirations and our honest differences. I believe the kind of open, direct exchange that President Jiang and I had on Saturday at our press conference, which I know many of you watched on television, can both clarify and narrow our differences, and more important, by allowing people to understand and debate and discuss these things, can give a greater sense of confidence to our people that we can make a better future.

From the windows of the White House, where I live in Washington, DC, the monument to our first President, George Washington, dominates the skyline. It is a very tall obelisk. But very near this large monument there is a small stone which contains these words: "The United States neither established titles of nobility and royalty, nor created a hereditary system. State affairs are put to the vote of public opinion."

This created a new political situation, unprecedented from ancient times to the present. How wonderful it is. Those words were not written by an American. They were written by Xu Jiyu, Governor of Fujian Province, inscribed as a gift from the Government of China to our Nation in 1853.

I am very grateful for that gift from China. It goes to the heart of who we are as a people, the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, the freedom to debate, to dissent, to associate, to worship without interference from the state. These are the ideals that were at the core of our founding over 220 years ago. These are the ideas that led us across our continent and onto the world stage. These are the ideals that Americans cherish today.

As I said in my press conference with President Jiang, we have an ongoing quest ourselves to live up to those ideals. The people who framed our Constitution understood that we would never achieve perfection. They said that the mission of America would always be "to form a more perfect Union," -- in other words, that we would never be perfect, but we had to keep trying to do better.

The darkest moments in our history have come when we abandoned the effort to do better, when we denied freedom to our people because of their race or their religion, because there were new immigrants or because they held unpopular opinions. The best moments in our history have come when we protected the freedom of people who held unpopular opinion or extended rights enjoyed by the many to the few who had previously been denied them, making, therefore, the promises of our Declaration of Independence and Constitution more than faded words on old parchment.

Today, we do not seek to impose our vision on others, but we are convinced that certain rights are universal, not American rights or European rights or rights for developed nations but the birthrights of people everywhere, now enshrined in the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights, the right to be treated with dignity, the right to express one's opinions, to choose one's own leaders, to associate freely with others, and to worship or not, freely, however one chooses.

In the last letter of his life, the author of our Declaration of Independence and our third President, Thomas Jefferson, said then that "all eyes are opening to the rights of man." I believe that in this time, at long last, 172 years after Jefferson wrote those words, all eyes are opening to the rights of men and women everywhere.

Over the past two decades, a rising tide of freedom has lifted the lives of millions around the world, sweeping away failed dictatorial systems in the former Soviet Union, throughout Central Europe, ending a vicious cycle of

military coups and civil wars in Latin America, giving more people in Africa the chance to make the most of their hard-won independence. And from the Philippines to South Korea, from Thailand to Mongolia, freedom has reached Asia's shores, powering a surge of growth and productivity.

Economic security also can be an essential element of freedom. It is recognized in the United Nations Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights. In China, you have made extraordinary strides in nurturing that liberty and spreading freedom from want, to be a source of strength to your people. Incomes are up, poverty is down; people do have more choices of jobs and the ability to travel, the ability to make a better life. But true freedom includes more than economic freedom. In America, we believe it is a concept which is indivisible.

Over the past 4 days, I have seen freedom in many manifestations in China. I have seen the fresh shoots of democracy growing in the villages of your heartland. I have visited a village that chose its own leaders in free elections. I have also seen the cell phones, the video players, the fax machines carrying ideas, information, and images from all over the world. I've heard people speak their minds, and I have joined people in prayer in the faith of my own choosing. In all these ways, I felt a steady breeze of freedom.

The question is, where do we go from here? How do we work together to be on the right side of history together? More than 50 years ago, Hu Shi, one of your great political thinkers and a teacher at this university, said these words: **"Now some people say to me you must sacrifice your individual freedom so that the nation may be free. But I reply, the struggle for individual freedom is the struggle for the nation's freedom. The struggle for your own character is the struggle for the nation's character." We Americans believe Hu Shi was right. We believe and our experience demonstrates that freedom strengthens stability and helps nations to change.**

One of our Founding Fathers, Benjamin Franklin, once said, "Our critics are our friends, for they show us our faults." Now, if that is true, there are many days in the United States when the President has more friends than anyone else in America. [Laughter] But it is so.

Public Papers of the Presidents

June 27, 1998

CITE: 34 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1245

LENGTH: 5066 words

HEADLINE: The President's News Conference With President Jiang in Beijing

BODY:

President Jiang. Ladies and gentlemen, just now I've held official talks with President Clinton. The two sides have held an extensive and indepth exchange of views on China-U.S. relations and the major international and regional issues. The talks were positive, constructive, and productive.

--Excerpt From Question And Answer Session--

Human Rights

Q. My question is to President Jiang. At his opening statement, President Clinton expressed appreciation of the achievements made by the Chinese Government in respecting human rights. At the same time, he also said that China and the United States also had difference of views over this matter. So my question is, what is the position of the Chinese Government on the human rights issue?

President Jiang. China and the United States have differences of views and also have common ground on the human rights issue. More than 2,000 years ago, a great thinker of China's Han Dynasty, Dong Zhongshu, once said, "Of all the living things nurtured between heaven and the Earth, the most valuable is human beings." So the Chinese nation always respects and maintains the dignity and rights of the people. Today the Chinese Government solemnly commits itself to the promotion and the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The United States is the most developed country in the world, with a per capita GDP approaching 30,000 U.S. dollars, while China is a developing country with a population of 1.2 billion, with a per capita GDP of less than 700 U.S. dollars. As the two countries differ in social system, ideology, historical tradition, and cultural background, the two countries have different means and ways in realizing human rights and fundamental freedoms. So it's nothing strange that we may have some difference of views over some issues.

China stresses that the top priority should be given to the right to subsistence and the right to development. Meanwhile, efforts should be made to

strengthen democracy and the legal system building, and to protect the economic, social, cultural, civil, and the political rights of the people.

I listened very carefully to what President Clinton said just now, and I noticed that he made mention of the political disturbances happened in Tiananmen in 1989, and he also told the history of Tiananmen and told of the things that happened in Tiananmen.

With regard to the political disturbances in 1989, the Chinese people have long drawn a historical conclusion. During my visit to the United States last year and also on many international occasions, I have stated our position that with regard to the political disturbances in 1989, had the Chinese Government

not taken the resolute measures, then we could not have enjoyed the stability that we are enjoying today.

China is a socialist country in which its people are masters of the nation. The Chinese people can elect their own representatives to the people's congresses through direct or indirect means, and they can fully express their views and exercise their political rights. In the two decades since the reform and opening up program was started, the National People's Congress of China has adopted more than 320 laws and acts, thus, constantly strengthening the legal protection of the democracy, fundamental freedoms, and the various rights enjoyed by the Chinese people. Over the past two decades, another 200 million people in China were lifted out of poverty.

No country's human rights situation is perfect. Since the founding of new China, the fundamental changes and the tremendous achievements that have been achieved, that have been scored in the human rights conditions in China are for all to see. I'd like to know whether President Clinton will have anything more to add.

President Clinton. I would like to add a comment. First of all, I think this debate and discussion today has been a healthy thing and a good thing. Secondly, I think to understand the priority that each country attaches to its own interpretation of this issue of human rights, you have to understand something of our history.

The Chinese who are here understand better than I the price paid over time at various moments in history for disruption and upheaval in China, so there is an understandable desire to have stability in the country. Every country wants stability.

Our country was founded by people who felt they were abused by royal powers, by people in power, and they wanted to protect their personal liberties by

putting limits on government. And they understood -- they understood clearly, that any system -- because human beings are imperfect, any system can be abused.

So the question for all societies going forward into the 21st century is, which is the better gamble? If you have a lot of personal freedom, some people may abuse it. But if you are so afraid of personal freedom because of the abuse that you limit people's freedom too much, then you pay, I believe, an even greater price in a world where the whole economy is based on ideas and information and exchange and debate and children everywhere dreaming dreams and feeling they can live their dreams out.

So I am trying to have a dialog here that will enable both of us to move forward so that the Chinese people will get the best possible result. I believe stability in the 21st century will require high levels of freedom.

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17

Divider Title: _____

State of the Union Address
January 19, 1999

Section of Speech: A Strong America in a New World

Fact: last spring, President Clinton traveled to Africa

Source: Boston Globe, 4/5/98

Explanation: According to the April 5, 1998 *Boston Globe*, “When President Clinton set out on his historic journey to Africa two weeks ago, he left determined to change the perception of the continent in America. Despite some US criticism reducing his trip to ‘a tour of contrition’ after he apologized for some of America's past sins in Africa, observers give him credit for largely accomplishing his main objective. Some say Clinton's 11-day tour six countries - an unprecedented visit for a US president - helped to elevate the continent of Africa and its 700 million people beyond any position it has ever occupied in America's public consciousness.”

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April 5, 1998, Sunday, City Edition

SECTION: NATIONAL/FOREIGN; Pg. D8

LENGTH: 1101 words

**HEADLINE: Clinton's Africa tour is called a success;
Observers say he changed attitudes**

BYLINE: By Ann Scales, Globe Staff

DATELINE: DAKAR, Senegal

BODY:

When President Clinton set out on his historic journey to Africa two weeks ago, he left determined to change the perception of the continent in America.

Despite some US criticism reducing his trip to "a tour of contrition" after he apologized for some of America's past sins in Africa, observers give him credit for largely accomplishing his main objective.

Some say Clinton's 11-day tour six countries - an unprecedented visit for a US president - helped to elevate the continent of Africa and its 700 million people beyond any position it has ever occupied in America's public consciousness.

"It's unprecedented the level of media attention that Africa stories have received in the last week," said Salih Booker, senior fellow for African Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, in a telephone interview from his Washington office. "I think his trip has been very successful in the end."

As a result, "there will never be another American president who does not come to Africa," said the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, US special envoy for democracy in Africa.

Even so, the ultimate measure of Clinton's success will be not so much the flurry of attention Africa has received from the visit, but rather "when the investments begin rolling in," as Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said in a brief interview in South Africa.

Overall, that's what Clinton's visit was designed to do: change the dynamics of United States- Africa relations. Africa supplies 20 percent of US oil, and 100,000 American jobs depend on its exports, but only 1 percent of US trade is with that continent.

By traveling from Africa's western rim to its southern shore, from its smallest villages to its most modern cities, from its youngest democracy, South Africa, to its oldest, Botswana, Clinton tried to show America the new Africa, one whose political and economic reforms have made the continent ripe for new investment, despite its problems.

And to show Africa how serious America is about strengthening its ties, his delegation included large numbers of American business leaders. Along the way, he met with many key players in Africa, including activists from the human rights and democracy movements as well as heads of states.

He pledged to increase US aid to Africa, now \$ 700 million out of the \$ 20 billion US foreign aid budget. (Israel, by contrast, gets \$ 3 billion.) He told Africa that trade would not be a substitute for aid, at least until Africa could stand to do without the assistance. And he promised debt relief for those nations with the greatest economic reforms.

But back in America, it was such statements as Clinton calling slavery morally wrong while visiting Uganda and apologizing to Rwandans for America inaction in stopping the genocide there in 1994 that got his critics roiling.

"Here is a flower child with gray hair doing exactly what he did back in the '60s: He is apologizing for the actions of the US," House majority whip Tom DeLay said last week.

DeLay, who made it clear that he does not approve of slave trade, said that Clinton "didn't quite apologize for the chieftains in Uganda that were selling blacks to the slave traders, did he?"

But Clinton's statements, some African experts say, were necessary to put America's old relationship with Africa behind and develop a new level of trust.

"Those who work on Africa don't see this as groveling," said Booker. "We see it as an acknowledgement of history that's helpful and useful if we want to launch a new era in Africa relations. It's entirely appropriate to reflect on mistakes of the past, and it's probably not unusual, with the exception that the president of the most powerful country in the world has never acknowledged mistakes in relations with a continent of black people, and a continent with

which we have such a long history."

But Clinton also went beyond symbolism during his trip, rolling out a host of initiatives that include millions of dollars in new spending on programs ranging from food safety to malaria prevention, from transportation to education, to help accelerate Africa's progress so that US capitalists will want to do business there.

Taken together, however, the large sums he proposed may be only a drop in the bucket, given the magnitude of Africa's problems. But some observers say they were an important first step in establishing a relationship with Africa that will allow the United States to take advantage of the future development of the continent as a powerful player in the global economy.

"I am completely convinced that his visit and this new interest in Africa, even though there may be a few bumps in the road, will prevail," said Milton E. Thorne, an American executive living in South Africa and working for a technology firm doing business there.

Richard Meyer, who works in Senegal for Management Sciences for Health, a company headquartered in Jamaica Plain that works to improve worldwide health care, said: "Africa probably needs to be a bit more self-reliant, self-confident, and a visit like this is going to help the country achieve this, especially here where people look at Clinton as president of the world."

Booker, the African scholar, gave the president high marks for all but what he called the "diplomatic banana peel that Clinton slipped on" regarding Nigeria. During a news conference in South Africa, the president confused the repressive government of Nigeria's General Sani Abacha with the more democratically evolved governments of Uganda and Ghana. He implied that the US might support Abacha should he run as a civilian in elections this year. That statement contradicted a previous assertion by his assistant secretary of state for Africa, Susan Rice.

That gaffe, Booker said, "demonstrated that US doesn't have a Nigeria policy," which White House aides say will be rectified as a followup to Clinton's trip.

Booker and others say the challenge for Clinton is to win congressional support for his Africa initiatives, the centerpiece of which is a trade bill that passed the House with huge Republican support and awaits approval in the Senate.

Former US representative Ron Dellums, long a champion of having a US policy toward Africa and who came out of retirement to accompany Clinton on part of

his tour, said the visit was a "significant step forward." But he said further success will take the cooperation of political and business communities.

"Many of us will have to step into this movement to make sure the potential of it is realized," Dellums said. "This is a marathon, it's not a sprint."

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, 1. President Clinton greeted a crowd at Goree Island, Senegal, on Thursday after delivering a speech. / AFP PHOTO 2. President Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton looking out of the "Door of No Return" on Thursday at the Goree Island House of Slaves in Senegal. The island was the last stop for West African slaves before they were placed on ships for the West Indies, and eventually plantations in the United States. / AFP PHOTO

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: April 7, 1998

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April 3, 1998, Friday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 8; Column 3; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 1254 words

HEADLINE: Clinton's Dream for Africa: Many Snags to Overcome

BYLINE: By R. W. APPLE Jr.

DATELINE: DAKAR, Senegal, April 2

BODY:

Quite apart from the good legal news he received here, President Clinton has had an African trip to remember.

In a speech today on Goree Island, where for centuries Africans were crammed into the holds of ships for awful voyages into slavery, Mr. Clinton said he believed more than ever that a renaissance was sweeping this continent. Echoing the "I have a dream" cadences of Martin Luther King Jr., a descendant of slaves, he waxed rhapsodic about the "beauty and intelligence, energy and spirit" that he had seen in African faces, "the faces of Africa's future."

With the waves of the Atlantic at his back, the President insisted that "democracy is gaining strength" and "peace is making progress" here, and vowed to build "a bright common destiny" with the countries of Africa.

He has been greeted warmly by Ghanaians in a city square and Senegalese on dusty byways, by East African leaders little known outside their own countries and by a South African leader, Nelson Mandela, known in the world's every nook and cranny. Those whom he talked with told him that they were amazed and pleased that an American President had invested 12 grueling days in their continent.

Patrick Lekota, the chairman of the Council of Ministers in South Africa, spoke for many when he said of the President's visit, "An event of this nature gives us a sense of how far we Africans have traveled." Mr. Clinton, for his part, talked about American companies earning 30 percent a year on their investments and said that that showed the benefits of real partnership.

Now it remains to be seen how the trip pays off -- whether or not ordinary Americans, who have seen and heard more about Africa than ever before, much

of it positive, will demonstrate the short attention spans for which they are famous, and forget all about the place; whether or not the African resurgence of which Mr. Clinton spoke so enthusiastically will gain momentum and come to involve more leaders of more nations; whether or not more American business executives will take the risk of investing in countries still beset with problems.

The President's men and women have ambitious plans for following up his work here. Transportation Secretary Rodney E. Slater and Commerce Secretary William M. Daley both plan to return to Africa at the head of trade delegations later this year, and Treasury Secretary Robert E. Rubin, a former chairman of Goldman, Sachs, and as such a symbol not only of Washington's power but of Wall Street's, is reportedly considering adding other stops to a trip to South Africa.

Susan E. Rice, the 33-year-old Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, a former Rhodes Scholar who has shaken up a dozy corner of the bureaucracy, will work to keep African issues on the front burner.

But passage of the African trade bill by the Senate is far from certain, especially since Mr. Mandela pronounced it unacceptable. The President's pledge to increase aid levels will be equally difficult to fulfill, given the tenor of Congressional sentiment. And many things lie beyond American control.

The world economy will inevitably encounter another recession one day, like the one that hit in the 1970's, when oil prices shot up, penalizing energy-poor African countries more than most. Because Africa exports mostly raw materials and imports mostly finished goods, it remains highly vulnerable when demand for commodities like copper and palm oil sags, driving down prices.

Mr. Clinton and his advisers believe, however, that Africa is starting to build a solid foundation that will make it easier to weather global economic storms. Among the positive developments that they discerned here are the emergence of a new generation of leaders who understand the need to participate in free markets; the decline of once-pervasive corruption in some countries; the muting of the North-South and East-West polemics that once absorbed so much of the continent's energies, and a waning of the psychological and financial dependence that shackled the former colonies here in their first decades of independence.

The need for regional cooperation -- or, better, unification -- remains one of the continent's pressing needs. Most countries are too small to support industrialization on a competitive basis.

It is true enough, as Mr. Clinton noted in his speech today, that the United States now imports more oil from Africa than from the Middle East and

exports more goods to Africa than to the nations that once formed the Soviet Union. But that trade accounts for only 0.9 percent of total United States exports and only about 2 percent of total United States imports; furthermore, it is confined to a few countries, while the rest remain economic backwaters.

South Africa alone produces a third of the continent's gross domestic product and generates no less than half of its electricity.

Poverty remains a plague, not only in poor countries like Mali, east of Senegal, whose liberal-minded leaders complain bitterly of the difficulty of making democracy stick when there is not enough to eat, but in comparatively well-off places like Senegal and Botswana.

Forty years ago, African countries like Congo, with fabulously rich mineral resources, had per capita incomes roughly equal to Asian countries like South Korea. Now South Korea's is more than 50 times as large as Congo's, and Congo's leader, Laurent Kabila, strikes Americans who know him as a frightened man, over his head in his new responsibilities. Mr. Clinton talked privately with him for an hour in Entebbe, Uganda, trying to persuade him, as one member of the President's entourage said, "to change his stripes and pursue democracy."

Congo is one of Africa's big potential winners. Another is Kenya, a success story when Uganda was a mess, a mess now that Uganda is a success story. And then there is Nigeria, Africa's most populous nation, which along with Gabon and Equatorial Guinea supplies a quarter of the oil imported by the United States.

Mr. Clinton talked about Nigeria with almost every leader he met this week, seeking advice. They all said that "if Nigeria explodes, it's a disaster for every country in Africa," reported Samuel R. Berger, Mr. Clinton's national security adviser, but they disagreed on how to persuade the country's military dictator, Gen. Sani Abacha, to hold honest elections and free political prisoners. Some favored a tough line, some favored appeasement.

"Every avenue we have tried to deal with the Government of General Abacha has been frustrating to us," Mr. Clinton confessed at a meeting with human rights activists this morning. "What should we do? It is an incredible tragedy. You have this huge, diverse, rich country being driven into the ground by political oppression and mismanagement."

Only South Africa, among the big countries, has taken the path of economic liberalism and political pluralism followed by such smaller nations as Mali, Senegal, Ethiopia, Uganda and Botswana. And even there, one person in three, according to some figures, is out of work, with the predictable consequences of high crime and social disorder.

"Mandela is trying hard, and Clinton said good things -- mostly platitudes, but very good platitudes," said Helen Suzman, an admirer of both men and a longtime voice for human rights in South Africa. "The problem is, high birth rates and people flooding in from neighboring countries mean that we need foreign investment and foreign aid, both in large quantities, and quickly."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: April 3, 1998

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18

Divider Title: _____

State of the Union Address
January 19, 1999

Section of Speech: **A Strong America in a New World**

Fact: in our Hemisphere, every government but one (Cuba) is freely chosen by its people

Source: Organization of American States (OAS) News Release, April 22, 1998;
The Washington Times, April 20, 1998; Cox News Service, March 27, 1998

Explanation: Cuba does not have a democratic government, as U.S. Ambassador Victor Marrero noted to the OAS, "Cuba [does] not observe the basic conditions of representative democracy." On March 27, 1998, the Cox News Service reported, "Cuba [is] the only non-democratic country in the Western Hemisphere..."

Organization of American StatesNews Release**MEXICO REITERATES CALL FOR CUBA'S REINSTATEMENT AT OAS**

~~X~~ April 22, 1998

Mexico today repeated its call for Cuba's full reinstatement in the inter-American system, believing such a move would help advance regional goodwill and usher in a new era in hemispheric relations.

The new Mexican ambassador to the OAS, Claude Heller, in his maiden presentation told a sitting of the OAS Permanent Council that his country rejected any exclusion of states from multilateral fora with external conditionalities for participation being imposed. "We have always been opposed to the illegitimate 1962 expulsion of Cuba, and Mexico favors a full reinstatement in the inter-American system," he added.

"We hope the imagination and political audacity other regions have engaged in the quest for negotiated settlement of seemingly insurmountable conflicts would also be demonstrated in our hemisphere," Ambassador Heller said as he reiterated his government's commitment to the OAS and to continuing to work with member states and the OAS General Secretariat "to pursue its renewal and strengthening."

The Mexican diplomat said while his country supported the strengthening of democratic regimes as a basic institution of the inter-American system, "it does not agree with the position that under the pretext of preserving it, the right to intervention in the internal affairs of states be recognized and hence jeopardize the right to self determination of peoples."

In reply, the United States ambassador, Victor Marrero, asserted that his country looked forward to the day when representatives of a truly democratic Cuban government could be welcomed back to the Organization.

Noting that the Cuban government was characterized by its ongoing repression of human rights, intransigence in the face of democratic changes, and an economic system that had put its people through unnecessary hardships, the US envoy said as long as Cuba did not observe the basic conditions of representative democracy, to discuss its return to a democratic organization from which it had been excluded by its own action, would be counter-productive.

In other matters at today's sitting, the Council also welcomed the new ambassador of Brazil, Carlos Alberto Leite Barbosa, who in his maiden address touched on the new responsibilities taken on by the Organization as a result of the mandate it received from the second Summit of the Americas held in Santiago, Chile at the weekend. "The decisions from Santiago ought to help consolidate the OAS as a political forum with a prominent role on the issues that enable us to take on the challenges of the twenty-first century," said Ambassador Leite Barbosa.

Meanwhile, the OAS Secretary General, César Gaviria, delivered an oral report on the just-concluded second Summit of the Americas.

The delegates also observed a moment of silence in tribute to the late Mexican writer Octavio Paz. "His death is an irreplaceable loss for all," said the Permanent Council chairman, Trinidad and Tobago's Ambassador Michael Arneaud, referring to the 1990 Nobel Literature Prize winner who died recently.



Press Releases

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April 20, 1998, Monday, Final Edition

SECTION: Part A; Pg. A1

LENGTH: 781 words

HEADLINE: Americas seek free trade, see need to improve lives

BYLINE: Warren P. Strobel; THE WASHINGTON TIMES

DATELINE: SANTIAGO, CHILE

BODY:

SANTIAGO, Chile - The leaders of the Western Hemisphere concluded the second Summit of the Americas yesterday by reaffirming their commitment to free trade but promising to give the hard edges of capitalism a human face.

The 34 nations, from the United States and its \$7 trillion economy to small Caribbean island-states, as expected launched negotiations aimed at establishing a free-trade area stretching from the oil fields of Alaska to the tip of Patagonia by the year 2005.

But the summit seemed most notable for the concessions it made to critics' arguments that globalism and free trade alone are not the solution to the hemisphere's ills.

"We all admit that too many of our citizens have not seen their own lives improved as a result of our participation in the global economy," President Clinton said in his closing address.

He and his colleagues declared in their final communiqué that while globalization is generally a good thing, "it can also heighten the differences among countries and within our societies."

The summit leaders announced steps to alleviate poverty, curb injustice, increase popular participation in the political process and assist women and minorities.

Thomas F. "Mack" McLarty, Mr. Clinton's special envoy for the Americas, said in an interview this weekend that without these and other reforms, "you get

some form of rugged capitalism."

In that spirit, steps taken at the summit included:

- * Announcements of new funding for education. The World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank will each make \$3 billion in loans for education available over the next three years, and the U.S. Agency for International Development will pony up an additional \$130 million in grants.

- * Pledges to improve labor standards. The three agencies will devote \$322 million to promote workers' rights.

- * For the first time in any trade negotiation, the creation of a committee that allows outside groups, from organized labor to environmental organizations, to have a formal role in the talks.

Criticism that unlimited free trade pushes labor and environmental standards to the lowest common denominator, benefiting only elites and multinational corporations, was responsible for killing Mr. Clinton's proposal for "fast-track" trade negotiating authority. That would have allowed him to negotiate trade deals that Congress could approve or reject, but not amend.

Message received, the president seemed to be saying during his stay here.

"Those who want to protect and enhance the role of working people in the global economy, and those who remind us that we dare not sacrifice our children's planet for present profits should be heard," he said in an speech Thursday to U.S. and Chilean business leaders.

The White House plans another attempt to get Congress to approve "fast track," although officials have not yet decided when. Nor does there seem much prospect that U.S. organized labor will back off its implacable opposition to the idea.

The first Summit of the Americas, which took place in Miami in December 1994, was criticized for its overemphasis on trade issues. The United States and its colleagues did not want the same thing said about Santiago, Mr. McLarty said.

Another thrust of the two-day summit was to preserve the hemisphere's embrace of democracy. Cuba, which has the only non-elected leader in the region, was the sole nation not invited.

Cuba was the subject of some discussion in the closed morning session. A senior U.S. official said Caribbean countries are considering some sort of

initiative toward Cuba, perhaps inviting it to join the Caricom trade grouping.

"There is a country that is missing" from the summit, Brazilian President Fernando Henrique Cardoso said afterward, expressing the wish that Cuba will be able to come to the next summit in Canada. Mr. Cardoso was greeted with applause and slaps on the back after he spoke.

"No holdouts and no backsliders," is how Mr. Clinton described the region's attitude toward democracy.

To address the very real threats to democracy, the 34 nations agreed to:

- * Appoint a special envoy to document threats and restrictions against the news media in the hemisphere.
- * Establish a region-wide alliance against drugs.
- * Take steps to combat corruption and strengthen judicial systems.

The Washington Times, April 20, 1998

Other initiatives were aimed at helping women, small entrepreneurs, indigenous peoples and those without title to land.

"We have heard very often that the concerns of civic society have been left outside the scope of the summit. . . . This belief has no basis in reality," said Chilean President Eduardo Frei, the summit host.

GRAPHIC: Photos, A) All eyes are on President Clinton as he leaves Chile's Foreign Ministry after addressing 33 leaders at the Summit of the Americas yesterday.; B) Paraguayan President Juan Carlos Wasmosy (right) talks with Canada's Jean Chretien (left) and Brazil's President Fernando Henrique Cardoso., Both By AP

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: April 20, 1998

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Cox News Service

March 27, 1998, Friday 18:31 Eastern Time

SECTION: International news

LENGTH: 1119 words

HEADLINE: CLINTON-SOUTHAFRICA-COX

BODY:

**CLINTON VISITS MANDELA'S PRISON CELL; THEY DIFFER ON MAKING PEACE
WITH ADVERSARIES**

By BOB DEANS

c. 1998 Cox News Service

CAPE TOWN, South Africa Hailing Nelson Mandela's journey from political prisoner to head of state as "one of the true heroic stories of the 20th Century," President Clinton paid an emotional visit Friday to the jail where the aging South African leader spent nearly a fifth of his life.

Earlier, the two differed sharply on whether the United States should make peace with adversaries in Cuba, Libya and Iran.

"This was my home," the 79-year-old Mandela told Clinton as the two came to tiny cell No. 5 at the former prison, now a museum. "It was so big at the time. I don't know why it's so small now."

Clinton, accompanied by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, also visited the limestone quarry where Mandela toiled with picks and shovels for much of the 18 years he spent at the infamous prison on Robben Island, six miles off the Cape Town coast.

He praised Mandela's resilience as a triumph of the human spirit.

"My first thought was to thank God that the person who occupied this cell was able to live all those years, in that way, without having his heart turn to stone and without giving up on his dreams for South Africa," Clinton said. "This is a good object lesson in life for all young people."

Clinton, midway into a six-country Africa tour, is scheduled to travel to Johannesburg on Saturday. There he will visit the black township of Soweto,

before traveling on Sunday to the neighboring country of Botswana.

If Mandela and Clinton harmonized Friday on the powerful symbolism of South Africa's victory over apartheid a harsh system of racial separation officially abandoned in 1991 they differed sharply over the U.S. role in a changing world.

Mandela used a joint press conference to deliver an unvarnished critique of U.S. diplomacy, going out of his way to highlight differences between the two countries over issues as diverse as Cuba, Libya and even the terms of trade between the United States and Africa.

"At my age, I can afford to be honest," Mandela said later.

Insisting that he would never "betray" countries that supported black South Africans in their fight to dismantle apartheid, Mandela, who led that fight, defended his close ties with Cuba's Fidel Castro and Libya's Moammar Gadhafi, dictators the United States has sought to isolate.

Cuba, the only non-democratic country in the Western Hemisphere, has labored under three and a half decades of U.S. economic sanctions.

The United States blames Libya for a long string of terrorist acts, including the 1988 bombing of a Pan Am flight that exploded over Lockerbie, Scotland, killing 270 people.

Mandela said, however, he would stand by countries that stood by him.

"Our moral authority dictates that we should not abandon those who helped us in the darkest hour in the history of this country," said Mandela. "Not only did they support us in rhetoric, they gave us the resources for us to conduct the struggle, and the will."

Mandela dismissed as "unacceptable" legislation pending in the U.S. Congress that the White House has touted as offering incentives for increased American trade with and investment in African countries.

Several African countries have voiced concern that the African Growth and Opportunity Act, passed by the House and now before the Senate, offers little of substance to Africa but would impose painful economic reforms upon impoverished African nations. Critics of the legislation also say it disproportionately benefits American businesses.

Warming to the moment, Mandela went on to lecture Clinton. Instead of punishing or threatening its foes, Mandela said, the United States should "call upon its enemies to say 'Let's sit down and talk peace.'"

White House Africa expert Joe Wilson insisted Clinton was not taken aback by Mandela's remarks. He said Mandela would support the pending trade legislation if he understood it better, but he acknowledged that the two leaders agreed to disagree on a number of issues during nearly two hours of private talks Friday.

"I didn't see it as a slap in the face. I certainly don't think it was intended as a slap in the face," said Wilson, director of African affairs for the White House National Security Council. "We don't stand in fear of honest differences or debate."

Softening his own stance on one of Africa's harshest dictators, Clinton said he hoped Nigeria's President, Gen. Sani Abacha, would shed his authoritarian skin and emerge as a genuine democrat in elections planned for October.

The State Department has called Abacha one of the worst human rights abusers on the continent and has said anything less than a full transition from his military dictatorship to civilian rule is "unacceptable."

Citing Nigeria's importance as Africa's most populous nation, a major regional military force and a huge oil producer, however, Clinton suggested that U.S. influence over Abacha is limited and that the United States could live with him if he takes off his uniform by autumn.

"My policy is to do all that we can to persuade General Abacha to move toward general democracy and respect for human rights," said Clinton. Referring to elections Abacha has vowed to hold by October, Clinton said, "If he stands for election, we hope he stands as a civilian."

The comments were tempered in comparison with those two weeks ago in Washington by Susan Rice, assistant secretary of state for African affairs.

"Let me state clearly and unequivocally that an electoral victory by any military candidate in the forthcoming presidential elections in Nigeria would be unacceptable," Rice said. "Nigeria needs and deserves a real transition to democracy and civilian rule, not another military regime dressed up in civilian clothes."

Wilson insisted that Clinton's remarks represented no retreat from earlier policy, saying the White House is focused on process, not personality, in Nigeria.

Abacha seized power in a 1993 coup. Two years later he hanged prominent opposition leader Ken Saro-Wiwa, ignoring U.S. protests.

Abacha runs a ruthless regime that has imprisoned, abused and murdered its

political opponents as recently as last year, the State Department reported in its annual human rights survey, issued in January.

Human rights advocates have called for an end to U.S. oil purchases from Nigeria, which relies on petroleum exports for virtually all of its revenue.

The U.S. business community has staunchly opposed an oil embargo, however, noting that Nigeria supplies one-fifth of the oil consumed along the U.S. East Coast.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: March 28, 1998

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19

Divider Title: _____

State of the Union Address
January 19, 1999

Section of Speech: A Strong America in a New World

Fact: First Lady led a mission to Central America in the wake of devastating hurricanes; saw thousands of American troops and volunteers; rededicated a hospital rebuilt by the Dominicans and Americans working arm in arm -- led by Sammy Sosa

Source: "First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton Remarks During NGO Briefing on Hurricane Mitch," 11/24/98; Washington Post, 12/10/98

Explanation: In her November 24, 1998 briefing on Hurricane Mitch, the First Lady said she was "proud to meet with our American troops at Soto Cano in El Salvador and Guatemala, and in Haiti...I also visited with a lot of aid workers, Peace Corps volunteers, and representatives from many NGO's in this room..."

According to the December 10, 1998 *Washington Post*, the First Lady and Sammy Sosa "met last month in his native Dominican Republic during her Central American and Caribbean tour to deliver hurricane relief...Hillary Clinton and Sosa rededicated a hospital in Sosa's home town of San Pedro de Macoris that had been devastated by the storm."

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton Remarks During NGO Briefing on Hurricane Mitch

The White House - OEOB 450
November 24, 1998

Thank you. Thank you all. I too want to welcome Senator Domenici and Senator DeWine and Senator Landrieu. We're very grateful to have you here. Any long-term effort will require a great deal of careful thought, deliberation and support from the Congress. And I was pleased that not only did some members accompany Mrs. Gore, but others will be going down in the days and weeks ahead, which I think is really important to show all of us in the most direct way possible what is at stake. I want to thank Maria Echeveste and Hattie Babbitt, General Maher and Marge Tosouris, and my friend Tipper Gore, all of whom have given you a lot to think about and a lot to chew over. I just want to add a few points.

I did just return from a visit to Honduras, Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala. I also visited the Dominican Republic and Haiti, and I want to mention them because they both still face long-term challenges of reconstruction as a result of Hurricane Georges. They lost a great deal of their agricultural capacity. They had a lot of damage to irrigation systems, to housing. They lost lives. They have a lot of shelter needs. So I think we also have to keep them in mind, because clearly they too are faced with an enormous monetary challenge that will be difficult for them to bear alone.

I met with the presidents of each of the countries who briefed me on the extent of the damage, the loss of life they sustained, the emergency responses that they were involved in, and spoke about the long-term needs and hopes. I was also very proud to meet with our American troops at Soto Cano, in El Salvador and Guatemala, and in Haiti, and I can report to you that they are very positive, their morale is high about what they're doing because they can see the results of what is happening as they not only save lives, but begin to work on reconstruction. I also visited with a lot of our aid workers, Peace Corps volunteers, and representatives from many NGO's in this room and others who are doing extraordinary work in providing food, medical supplies, and helping in the rebuilding effort.

Obviously it is critically important in each of these countries to assist in the coordination of these services. There is lots coming in. There is an enormous international outpouring of concern. I can't really think of any other recent international disaster that has had such a universal international response. Just while I was in those countries, President Chirac from France visited the four Central American countries that I visited. There was a Japanese plane on the tarmac in Honduras delivering supplies. The Mexican military had taken over large sections of various of the countries to provide reconstruction, law and order, and other services. So there is an enormous effort that includes European countries, other Latin American countries, and even Asian countries.

One of the challenges that these countries face is coordinating all of that aid, making sure that it is well used, that it meets the purposes for which it is intended. I was impressed in each of the Central American countries that they seem to be aware of this problem, and are dealing with it. In Nicaragua, for example, the president has turned over the coordination to the church. In Guatemala, they had a very well organized emergency response effort that they explained to me in a briefing. But I think as we go on, one of the ways that we will be working with them is to help them sort out and obtain the best possible coordinated response from the many, many efforts that you and others are involved in.

I also was pleased to announce additional relief from our government. As you probably know, the President announced \$70 million in relief assistance on November 5th. That support has now grown to more than \$250 million. It is largely being channeled through USAID, the Department of Defense and USDA. Those are the three major governmental agencies that are on the ground, delivering not only supplies, but also services. USAID is

providing \$70 million, primarily for food, medicine, shelter and relief supplies, as well as development assistance and microenterprise credits to try to get some economic activity back in the field, particularly in rural areas where the crops have been wiped out.

As we heard from General Maher, the Department of Defense is now up to a deployment of 5,600, and it's very good news that they have got some of the heavy-lift helicopters in, because there is still a lot of work to be done. And General, one thing that I learned when I was visiting with the troops with Secretary of the Army Caldera, is that in order to do spraying for malaria, there needs to be that heavy-lift capacity, because of the tanks that have to be transported, and that is becoming a critical need to be able to do that as soon as possible.

The U.S.....(end of tape side 1 -- lost some comments).

(Tape side 2 begins)....corn and other food grants. The Peace Corps Crisis Corps has been mobilized. The AID, working with the Inter-American Development Bank, has put together a package of \$17 million as a rescue fund for very small businesses and micro-entrepreneurs.

In response to the requests that have been received from these countries, the United States Government, along with the Paris Club, is working on what can be done about debt relief. Now in some cases, like Nicaragua, we had already condoned the debt of Nicaragua back in the early 1990's. But they have a lot of multilateral debt that they're gonna need some relief for. In the case of some of the other countries, they have bilateral as well as multilateral debt. So we're gonna have to look carefully about how we deal with that particular problem.

The deportations have been postponed -- delayed until into January -- but there's a double-edged problem here for those countries with the immigrants. One is that they can not accommodate people at this time. They've literally nowhere for people to live or to be put. They also would collapse completely in some cases without the funds coming in from the people who are working and sending, in some cases, in at least one of the countries, up to a billion dollars a year, which is a huge part of their gross domestic product.

The real tragedy of this is not just humanitarian, although that is the most immediate and terrible impact of what has happened. But this hurricane carries with it political, economic and social implications that are far-reaching, not only for the country at stake, but for the entire region, and I would argue, also for our country as well. If you look at where those countries have come from in the last ten years -- they all have democratically elected governments. I believe that each of the presidents and the governments that he represents are reform-minded, they've made progress against often great political odds. In the case of El Salvador and Guatemala, they've only been at peace six years and two years, respectively. So that the ideas and the aspirations that those countries and their new leaders held for themselves have suffered an enormous blow.

If you take Guatemala, for example, which ended that terrible 36 years of bloodshed just two years ago in the peace accords -- which was a brilliant act of peacemaking by the current president -- one of the very strongest parts of that peace accord was not only the demilitarization and demobilization, which were critical, but a commitment to increase social spending on education and health care. Because this current government understands very well that long-term peace is gonna require more education in a country that has a very high illiteracy rate; more access to health care in a country that has one of the highest infant and maternal mortality rates. They were on the road to making progress. They now have to worry that they've lost dozens if not hundreds of schools, wiped out their rudimentary health care clinics, and so are facing a deep hole as opposed to starting off from where they were to begin with.

Each of the countries, I think, is worried to some extent about political stability in the face of the challenges that are confronting them. Certainly their economic growth, which were

showing rather significant signs in some of their cases, will now be lucky if it stays above zero and doesn't fall into a negative position.

So the hurricane reversed a lot of hard-won progress in the eyes of a lot of these leaders, and in the eyes of many of the people. I had a woman in Nicaragua tell me that the hurricane -- and I asked her to repeat this because I found it such a stunning statement -- "The hurricane was worse than the earthquake and the war combined." And I said, "Excuse me?" And she said, "Absolutely, because the earthquake was confined to a relatively small part of the country -- Managua -- and not out into the countryside. The hurricane went back and forth across the country, reaping damage in so many places." And that the war was also, in her view, isolated in certain areas that were terribly impacted, but that this affected the entire country.

I think that, to me, summed up the kind of feeling that the people in this region had for what has occurred to them.

Now as you've heard from other speakers, the president and our government are committed to providing short-term relief, but I also hope we are going to be committed to providing medium-term and long-term as well. It is critical that we work together -- public, private-sector, all agencies of the government, in every respect, including the Congress -- to think about what we can do that is productive and effective to provide such assistance.

Each of the presidents with whom I spoke asked that I raise with the president and with members of Congress to whom I will send a report of my trip, their hope that the Caribbean Basin Initiative can be revived, and perhaps put into some form of legislation that would find favor in the Congress this year, because they view that as an essential part of what they will need to recover fully and get back to where they thought they were going.

We also want to be sure that as you are talking with constituency groups whom you represent, that you understand some of the limitations that we face from the government's end. It is very difficult for the United States Government to pay to send a lot of the donations that are being collected. One of the reasons why we've asked for more cash is to try to create some opportunities for transportation. But the best thing to do is to try to create a fund that will provide for shipping costs. The quickest way for the public to provide help is to contact directly the private voluntary organizations who are currently working in Central American and Caribbean regions. A handout in the packet includes the number that Tipper and Dennis Martinez were saying -- the 1-800 number for private-sector donations and businesses, and a clearinghouse number for all organizations working in disaster areas. USAID does not have the capacity to pay to move donated goods or volunteers, but it can help identify transportation in partnership with non-governmental organizations and the Department of Defense.

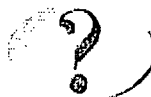
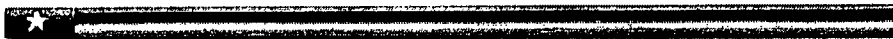
We're trying to be cost-effective so that the money actually gets where it needs to be to help people. And at a certain point, they will have enough used clothes and they will have enough canned goods, and what they will need is money to buy building materials. And one of the problems we face is that there are many, many millions of Americans who want to contribute. If they would contribute money that could then be used to buy the building supplies, that would actually be a more helpful contribution than contributing canned goods or clothing at this point. Once we get a better assessment of needs at this time rather than a month ago, then we may need more clothing and canned goods.

But the biggest need that these countries have is cash, that they can then use to buy relief supplies, medical supplies, but particularly shelter. You heard one of the earlier speakers say that there are nearly two million people who have no shelter. We cannot keep them in crowded shelters without fear of disease. When I was in Guatemala, one of our officers in the military mission there told me they had just flown out four cholera cases to a military hospital. So we have to be very cautious about how we dump materials into places so that we don't keep people in small confined spaces, but we try to get them back into areas that

have been cleared and are safe, and get them materials so that they can begin rebuilding for themselves.

The disease efforts are just beginning to be significant now. Obviously you have to do the emergency work first. But as many of you who have worked natural disasters know so well, there's often a fear that given even the extraordinary loss of life just from the impact of the hurricane, disease often takes two to three times that number of people -- if you're dealing with denghi fever, or you're dealing with malaria, and you're dealing with cholera. So we're in this for the long haul, we are grateful for everything all of you have done, and we look forward to a partnership that I predict is going to last for some time, because I think it is in our long-term interest to do everything we can to help these countries get back on their feet.

Thank you very much.



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December 10, 1998, Thursday, Final Edition

SECTION: SPORTS; Pg. F01

LENGTH: 588 words

HEADLINE: Sosa Lights Up Christmas Tree Ceremony; Baseball

BYLINE: Athelia Knight, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

Chicago Cubs slugger Sammy Sosa joined President Clinton and several local scouts to light thousands of green and gold bulbs on the national Christmas tree last night on the Ellipse.

"Like the Star of Bethlehem, these lights shine upon us with hope and renewal," Clinton said. "Like the candles of Hanukkah, they stand for freedom against tyranny. Like the lamps that will soon light the mosques in the coming months of Ramadan, they evoke a call to community."

Sosa was greeted with cheers and loud applause from the crowd of several thousand when he was introduced after the president and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton took the stage and just before the arrival of Santa Claus.

Sosa thanked the Clintons for inviting him to last night's ceremony. **Hillary Clinton invited Sosa to the ceremony after the two met last month in his native Dominican Republic during her Central American and Caribbean tour to deliver hurricane relief.**

Sosa has been collecting and distributing aid for victims of Hurricane Georges, which killed at least 283 people and left more than 100,000 homeless in his homeland last September. **Hillary Clinton and Sosa rededicated a hospital in Sosa's home town of San Pedro de Macoris that had been devastated by the storm.**

"On behalf of my country, my people, thank you very much," Sosa said to the Clintons last night. Then, he told the crowd that he appreciated their support during the past baseball season. "I'm just here to spend a beautiful time with all the people who supported me in 1998," Sosa said.

Last month, Sosa was named the National League most valuable player after a season in which he and the St. Louis Cardinals' Mark McGwire shattered the previous single-season home run record of 61 set by Roger Maris in 1961. Sosa hit 66 home runs and McGwire hit 70.

Sosa helped the Cubs make the playoffs. They finished 90-73 and won a one-game playoff with the San Francisco Giants to capture the NL's wild-card playoff berth. The Cubs lost to the Atlanta Braves in the first round.

John J. Betchkal, president of last's night ceremony called the Pageant of Peace, asked Sosa if he is ready for next season.

"I'm ready. I can't wait to go to spring training," Sosa said. But, he added, "It was so beautiful for me in 1998. I don't want 1998 to go."

Asked by Betchkal if baseball fans could expect him to hit 80 home runs next season, Sosa said, "I'll let you know next year."

Many in the crowd were pleased to see Sosa. "He's just terrific," said Susan Naill, 55, of Kensington, who was with her two grandchildren and a friend. "My 5-year-old grandson was so happy. That guy has more class with him. He's so charitable. . . . It was a big surprise. It was better than Santa Claus."

Darrick Stancil Jr., 10, of Palmer Park, said, "I think that he's a wonderful black man and that he can hit a lot of home runs." Stancil, who attends Matthew Henson Elementary School, also said, "He put a lot of effort in [the past season], and I think he should go for it next time."

Singers Jose Feliciano, Tony Bennett and Leona Mitchell were among those who performed last night. At the end of the hour-long program, Sosa stood beside Clinton, Jessica Scott, a Brownie, and cub scout Edgar Allan Sheppard Jr. to turn on the lights for the tree, marking the 75th year of the lighting of the tree. After lighting Christmas tree on Ellipse, Cubs star Sammy Sosa looks on with first lady as president signs autographs for Jessica Scott and Edgar Allan Sheppard Jr.

GRAPHIC: Photo, james a. parcell

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: December 10, 1998

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20

Divider Title: _____

State of the Union Address
January 19, 1999

Section of Speech: **21st Century Communities**

Fact: we will soon reach our goal of putting 100,000 community police officers on street -- ahead of schedule and under budget

Source: U.S. of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, COPS Fact Sheet, 1/22/98; Fact Sheet 1/8/99

Explanation: On September 13, 1994, President Clinton signed into law the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 which authorized \$8.8 billion over six years to fund 100,000 community police officers. As of January 8, 1999, the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) has funded nearly 93,000 police officers, distributing \$5.3 billion in funding. Thus, we are on path to fund 100,000 new police this year, one year ahead of schedule and under budget.



COPS Facts

Accomplishments and Initiatives

During his 1994 State of the Union address, President Clinton pledged to put 100,000 additional police officers and sheriffs' deputies on America's neighborhood streets. On September 13, 1994, with bipartisan support, President Clinton signed into law the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 — popularly known as the Crime Act — that authorized \$8.8 billion over six years to fund 100,000 officers and advance community policing nationwide.

Officers funded under the Crime Act are paid for through the Violent Crime Reduction Trust Fund. Created by Congress, the trust fund is a promise to the American people to take the money saved by cutting the level of the Federal workforce by 270,000 and invest the savings into proven, effective crime-fighting programs.

To implement the new law, Attorney General Janet Reno created the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) in the U.S. Department of Justice to be responsible for putting the additional officers on the streets and promoting community policing strategies.

Accomplishments

Hiring Goals Exceeded: By May 1998, just over three years into the 6-year program, police departments and sheriffs across the country have already received grants to add over 75,000 community policing officers.

Widespread Impact: COPS grants have been awarded to more than half the policing agencies in the country. As a result, these officers will join agencies that serve more than 87 percent of the American public. Many chiefs and sheriffs credit community policing and COPS support with dramatic drops in crime rates around the nation.

Customer Service: Under COPS, each grant recipient is assigned a grant advisor and direct-dial phone number

to answer questions and assist in filling out applications. A toll-free Response Center was established so citizens can call for information about COPS and other Crime Act programs. (1-800-421-6770)

Easy Applications: COPS grants make it easy for policing agencies to apply for grants. For example, a grant application for smaller communities was just one page. Rather than continually reapply, communities that already have received COPS hiring grants and are seeking additional officers simply confirm the number of officers originally requested with the COPS Office.

Initiatives

Hiring Grants: To put 100,000 officers on America's streets as quickly as possible, COPS created a series of hiring grants that feature streamlined applications. For qualifying agencies, COPS pays 75 percent of the salaries and benefits for new

officers for three years, up to a maximum of \$75,000 per officer. By law, half of the funds are granted to jurisdictions with populations under 150,000. Currently, local policing agencies apply for funds to hire new officers under the COPS

What is Community Policing?

Community policing is a policing philosophy that promotes and supports organizational strategies to address the causes and reduce the fear of crime and social disorder through problem-solving tactics and community-police partnerships.

Universal Hiring Program (UHP).

Equipment, Technology and More: COPS MORE (Making Officer Redeployment Effective) provides funds to acquire new technologies and equipment and hire civilians for administrative tasks. This allows local policing agencies to redeploy officers so more of their time is spent on the streets solving problems instead of at the station completing



paperwork.

Promoting Innovation: The COPS Office responded to President Clinton's call to relieve the burden on the 911 emergency system. In response to a COPS Office request, the FCC approved a 311 non-emergency number for use on a voluntary basis nationwide. The COPS Office, in partnership with the Baltimore Police Department and AT&T, funded a pilot 311 project in Baltimore that has proven extremely successful. 311 is effectively diverting non-emergency calls from 911, thus allowing critical emergency calls to get immediate assistance.

Many COPS grant programs, such as the *Youth Firearms Violence Initiative*, *Community Policing to Combat Domestic Violence*, the *Anti-Gang Initiative*, *Advancing Community Policing* and *Problem-Solving Partnerships*, bring effective and innovative community policing strategies to communities across the country. By providing necessary funds, the COPS Office helps law enforcement agencies advance their community policing efforts to target specific crimes, work in partnership with their communities, and develop the

infrastructure to support and sustain community policing.

Training and Technical Assistance: COPS is dedicated to providing training and technical assistance for agencies receiving COPS grants. COPS funds training programs at police academies, law enforcement agencies and universities across the country. Through the Community Policing Consortium, COPS provides training and technical assistance to practitioners across the country. - - - - -

Helping Communities Help Themselves: COPS continues to encourage communities to work together to eliminate persistent crime problems. The Distressed Neighborhoods Pilot Project funds 100% of officers' entry-level salaries and benefits for three years. They will be deployed into communities with higher crime rates, poverty and unemployment.

Information: For more information, call the Response Center at 1-800-421-6770 or visit the COPS web site at: <http://www.usdoj.gov/cops/>

State Total Summary

1/8/99

<u>State</u>	<u>Number of Officers</u>	<u>Estimated Funds</u>
AK	239.0	15,209,890.10
AR	1,341.9	76,671,852.57
AS	1,005.3	53,729,334.74
AZ	30.0	1,126,006.00
CA	1,756.5	117,598,657.69
CO	12,423.9	784,083,683.24
CT	1,004.8	57,596,069.52
DC	994.2	63,709,221.77
DE	809.0	14,964,114.00
FL	416.8	21,077,232.16
GA	5,550.6	327,630,967.20
GU	1,968.6	109,434,711.13
HI	40.0	2,959,343.00
IA	467.9	16,825,662.00
ID	552.3	35,397,280.88
IL	262.1	16,011,128.87
IN	4,639.8	280,006,905.11
KS	1,206.8	67,871,641.23
KY	658.2	40,368,889.19
LA	1,017.6	53,317,076.33
MA	1,738.4	81,694,702.36
MD	2,703.3	168,019,411.73
ME	2,176.0	118,770,097.91
MI	230.6	15,216,176.99
MN	2,960.0	161,921,977.17
MO	1,161.4	68,767,762.75
MP	1,946.5	106,628,144.77
MS	45.0	2,429,679.00
MT	1,042.7	52,443,325.94
NC	232.3	13,967,961.05
ND	2,168.5	107,415,915.01
NE	197.0	11,846,831.03
NH	424.6	23,618,566.45
NJ	366.6	20,353,337.77
NM	3,557.2	212,789,140.98
NV	613.5	33,750,923.52
NY	246.8	13,364,388.50
OH	10,233.4	621,857,011.82
OK	3,144.4	189,989,832.32
OR	829.4	46,278,353.58
PA	1,085.5	73,537,235.40
RI	3,106.5	170,300,851.42

<u>State</u>	<u>Number of Officers</u>	<u>Estimated Funds</u>
PR	2,856.5	98,364,049.50
RI	322.3	15,133,543.82
SC	850.3	51,950,242.86
SD	268.8	17,463,021.00
TN	1,762.3	102,192,880.53
TX	4,167.6	252,497,757.09
UT	725.5	49,488,127.68
VA	1,877.3	110,596,312.54
VI	114.6	8,403,228.60
VT	174.8	10,905,996.19
WA	1,596.7	103,492,653.09
WI	1,024.4	63,401,528.82
WV	551.2	29,069,002.84
WY	65.4	3,952,638.50
Grand Total:	92,952.6	5,387,462,277.26



COPS Fact Sheet

www.usdoj.gov/cops/

COPS Accomplishments

Since its creation in 1994, the COPS Office has awarded over \$5.3 billion in grants to more than 11,300 state and local law enforcement agencies to fund the addition of more than 92,000 officers to the beat.

- These numbers put the COPS Office ahead of schedule and under budget on its way to fulfilling President Clinton's pledge to promote community policing and add 100,000 community policing officers to the beat.
- COPS grants have been awarded to more than half the policing agencies in the country. As a result, these officers will join agencies that serve more than 87 percent of the American public. Many chiefs and sheriffs credit community policing and COPS support with dramatic drops in crime rates around the nation.
- The COPS Office has made a significant commitment to training and education efforts in the area of community policing. COPS-funded Regional Community Policing Institutes (RCPIs) have trained more than 10,000 law enforcement officials and community members. COPS also funds the Community Policing Consortium, which delivers community policing training and technical assistance to police and Sheriff's departments across the nation. To date, the Consortium has

trained over 11,000 law enforcement officers.

- Many COPS grant programs, such as the Youth Firearms Violence Initiative, Community Policing to Combat Domestic Violence, the Anti-Gang Initiative, Advancing Community Policing, School Based Partnerships and Problem-Solving Partnerships, bring effective and innovative community policing strategies to communities across the country. By providing necessary funds, the COPS Office helps law enforcement agencies advance their community policing efforts to target specific crimes, work in partnership with their communities, and develop the infrastructure to support and sustain community policing.
- The COPS Office has made a commitment to helping communities combat school violence. The School Based Partnership program funds 155 partnerships between schools and law enforcement agencies to address specific problems of crime and violence. The COPS Office has also made \$60 million available under the COPS in Schools program to fund the hiring of community policing officers to work in schools.

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21

Divider Title: _____

State of the Union Address
January 19, 1999

Section of Speech: 21st Century Communities

Fact: the Brady Bill has stopped a quarter million felons, fugitives and stalkers from buying guns

Source: "Presale Handgun Checks, 1997" Bureau of Justice Statistics Bulletin, 6/98

Explanation: According to the BJS Bulletin "Presale Handgun Checks, 1997," *"From March 1, 1994 through the end of 1997, handgun sellers submitted an estimated 10.4 million inquiries about potential handgun buyers of whom about 242,000 were rejected."*



Bureau of Justice Statistics Bulletin

June 1998, NCJ 171130

A National Estimate

Presale Handgun Checks, 1997

By Donald A. Manson
BJS State Program Manager

Darrell K. Gilliard
BJS Statistician

During 1997 about 2,574,000 background checks of potential handgun buyers prevented an estimated 69,000 purchases. The inquiries revealed purchasers' ineligibility to buy a handgun under State or Federal laws, particularly the Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act (Pub. L. No. 103-159, 107 Stat. 1536 (1993)), which became effective on February 28, 1994. Sixty-two percent of those rejected had been convicted of a felony or were under felony indictment.

From March 1, 1994, through the end of 1997, handgun sellers submitted an estimated 10.4 million inquiries about potential handgun buyers of whom about 242,000 were rejected. These estimates include about 62,000 rejections of handgun purchase applications in the last 10 months of 1994, 41,000 for all of 1995, and 70,000 for all of 1996.

The Firearm Inquiry Statistics (FIST) program administered by the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) collected the data. FIST was initiated in 1994 to describe presale background checks of applicants to buy a handgun from a Federal firearm licensee. Chief law enforcement officers made the checks in accordance with the Brady Act or comparable State legislation.

Highlights

Presale handgun checks: Estimates of inquiries and rejections, 1997

	Presale checks for handguns, 1/1/97-12/31/97		
	All States	Original Brady States*	Brady States during 1997
Inquiries and rejections			
Inquiries/applications	2,574,000	1,197,000	803,000
Rejected	69,000	42,000	24,000
Rejection rate	2.7%	3.5%	3.0%
Reasons for rejection			
Felony indictment/conviction	43,000	30,000	12,000
Other	26,000	12,000	12,000

Note: All estimated counts are rounded. Percentages were calculated from unrounded data. Detail may not add to total because of rounding.

*Original Brady States are the 32 States required to follow presale review procedures set out in the Brady Act when it became effective on February 28, 1994. At the end of 1997, 23 of the 32 were still Brady States. (See table 2.)

- During 1997 about 69,000 out of an estimated 2,574,000 applications for the purchase of a handgun were rejected due to presale background checks of the potential purchasers.

- About 62% of the rejections were for a prior felony conviction or a current felony indictment. Domestic violence misdemeanor convictions accounted for over 9% of rejections; domestic violence restraining orders, 2%.

- In the 46 months from the inception of the Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act to yearend 1997, an estimated 10,356,000 applications for handgun purchases resulted in 242,000 rejections through background checks.

- At the beginning of the Brady Act, March 1, 1994, 32 States and Puerto

Rico were required to follow the procedures set forth in the act (Brady States). Currently there are 23 Brady States.

- After November 1998 —
 - presale background checks will be required for sales of all firearms, not just handguns

- background checks will be made to the FBI's National Instant Criminal Background Check System (NICS), either directly or through the State Point of Contact (POC), unless the State operates under an approved firearm permit system.

- During 1997 the FBI received 3,930,000 inquiries to its National Crime Information Center about persons applying to carry or purchase a firearm.

Table 1. Reasons for rejection of handgun purchase applications, national estimates, 1997

Reason for rejection	All States	Original Brady States	Brady States during 1997
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Felony (indictment/conviction/no disposition)	61.7	69.9	50.3
Fugitive	5.9	7.5	12.8
Domestic violence			
Misdemeanor convictions	9.1	9.6	14.6
Restraining order	2.1	2.2	0.4
State law prohibition	6.1	3.0	5.7
Mental illness or disability	0.9	0.1	0.2
Drug addiction	1.6	2.2	5.2
Local law prohibition	0.9	0.1	0.1
Other*	11.7	5.4	10.7

*Includes illegal aliens, juveniles, persons discharged from the armed services dishonorably, persons who have renounced their U.S. citizenship, and other unspecified persons. At the end of 1997, 23 of the 32 original Brady States were still under the Brady Act.

The estimates of applications and rejections for handgun purchases include States operating under the Brady Act (Brady States) and States with comparable statutes preventing handgun sales to prohibited persons (Brady-alternative States). The original 32 Brady States started following the Brady Act review procedures on February 28, 1994. There were 18 original Brady-alternative States. At the end of 1996, because of changed statutes, there were fewer Brady States (23) and more Brady-alternative States (27) than originally; there was no change to this status in 1997.

Rates of rejection of potential handgun purchases in 1997 can be compared for these sets of States — the original or current grouping of Brady and Brady-alternative States.

In 1997 the original Brady States processed 1,197,000 applications and rejected about 42,000, a rejection rate of 3.5%. The original Brady-alternative States processed 1,378,000 applications and rejected 27,000 — 1.9%, which differed significantly from the rate for the original Brady States. In 1996 the original Brady States processed an estimated 1,213,000 applications and rejected about 44,000, a 3.6% rejection rate (*Presale Handgun Checks, 1996*, BJS Bulletin, NCJ 165704, September 1997).

The original Brady-alternative States processed 1,380,000 applications and rejected 26,000 — 1.9%.

The current Brady States in 1997 processed 803,000 applications, of which they rejected 24,000, a rejection rate of 3.0%. The current Brady-alternative States processed 1,771,000 and rejected 45,000 — 2.5%, a rate lower than the rejection rate of current Brady States. For 1996, the current Brady States processed 816,000 applications and rejected 25,000, a 3.1% rate, and the current Brady-alternative States processed 1,778,000 applications and rejected 45,000 — 2.5%.

For all States in both 1996 and 1997, the most prevalent reason for rejection was that the applicant either was under felony indictment or had a felony conviction (67.8% in 1996 and 61.7% in 1997).

In 1997 a misdemeanor conviction for domestic violence (9.1%) or being a violator of a State law prohibition (6.1%) were the next most prevalent reasons for rejection of a handgun purchase, followed by being a fugitive from justice (5.9%). In 1996 rejection for being a fugitive was 6%, and State law prohibition was 5.5%. Misdemeanor conviction for domestic violence was not added as a prohibited category until October 1996.

Almost all States are able to check computer databases to determine past criminal convictions (table 2). Some States are able to refer to other databases to check additional characteristics that may make a person ineligible to purchase a handgun — fugitive status, court restraining orders, and mental illness.

In the 44 States that reported rejections for fugitive status, 6.7% of handgun application rejections were for such a status. In the 36 States checking for a disqualifying domestic-violence related restraining order, potential purchasers accounted for 5.5% of application rejections. Fifteen States reported rejections for applicants with mental illness; in these States mental illness accounted for 1.9% of the handgun application rejections. In States that reported rejections based on misdemeanor convictions for domestic violence, 10.9% of handgun application rejections were due to a prior misdemeanor conviction.

Nonfelony reasons	Percent of rejections in States that search records for specific nonfelony reasons
Fugitive	7%
Mental illness	2
Domestic violence	
Misdemeanor convictions	11
Restraining orders	6

Note: Percentages cannot be added because a different set of States is included in each category of reasons.

Statewide reporting of handgun applications and rejections

State governments, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) have cooperated to identify about 5,400 law enforcement agencies and their heads as chief law enforcement officers (CLEOs) nationwide. Data for 1997 were collected from 268 CLEOs out of a sample of 600. 311 CLEOs provided data in 1996. The decline is due in part to the U.S. Supreme Court decision in June 1996 that CLEOs were no longer required to make a mandatory background check (see *Background* for further details).

Among the responding CLEOs, 21 served as the only CLEO for the State and provided statewide totals (table 3).

These States, which represented 50% of U.S. resident population and over half of the total applications

for handgun purchases during 1997, processed 1,440,963 applications and rejected 35,382 — a rejection rate of 2.5%. Sixty percent of rejections were for a past felony conviction or felony indictment.

Table 2. Background checks for handgun purchases, by State, 1997

State ^a	Brady status		Number of law enforcement agencies responsible for record checks	State databases being accessed				
	Original 3/1/94	Current 12/31/97		Criminal histories	Wanted fugitives	Re-straining orders	Mental health	Domestic violence misdemeanor
Alabama	■	■	67	■	■	■		
Alaska	■	■	35	■	■	■		■
Arizona	■	■	1	■	■			
Arkansas	■	■	1	■	■	■		■
California ^b			1	■	■	■	■	■
Colorado	■		1	■	■	■		■
Connecticut ^b			1	■	■	■		■
Delaware ^b			1	■	■	■	■	■
Florida ^b			1	■	■	■	■	■
Georgia	■		1	■	■		■	■
Hawaii ^b			4	■			■	■
Idaho	■		1	■	■	■		■
Illinois ^b			1	■	■	■	■	■
Indiana			1	■				
Iowa			100	■	■	■		■
Kansas	■	■	123	■				■
Kentucky	■	■	5	■	■	■		
Louisiana	■	■	64	■	■			
Maine	■	■	128	■	■	■		
Maryland			1	■	■	■		■
Massachusetts			270	■	■	■	■	■
Michigan			595	■	■	■	■	■
Minnesota	■		568	■	■	■	■	
Mississippi	■	■	263	■				
Missouri			115	■	■	■		■
Montana	■	■	56	■	■			
Nebraska			95	■	■			
Nevada	■	■	1	■	■			■
New Hampshire	■		1	■	■	■		■
New Jersey ^b			505	■	■	■		■
New Mexico	■	■	113	■				■
New York			58	■	■	■	■	■
North Carolina	■		100	■	■	■		■
North Dakota	■	■	53	■	■	■		
Ohio	■	■	1	■	■			■
Oklahoma	■	■	440	■				
Oregon			1	■	■	■	■	
Pennsylvania	■	■	67	■	■			
Rhode Island ^b	■	■	39	■	■	■	■	■
South Carolina	■	■	1	■	■	■		■
South Dakota	■	■	66	■	■	■		
Tennessee	■		96	■	■	■		■
Texas	■	■	991	■	■	■		■
Utah	■		1	■	■	■		■
Vermont	■	■	22	■	■	■		■
Virginia ^b			1	■	■	■	■	■
Washington ^b	■		291	■	■	■	■	■
West Virginia	■	■	1	■	■	■		■
Wisconsin			1	■	■	■	■	■
Wyoming	■	■	40	■	■			
Total	32	23	5,390	49	44	36	15	34

Note: Not all States that reported having a database reported reasons for rejections.

^aIn the Brady States contacts are the chief law enforcement officers; in Brady-alternative States these contacts are identified according to criteria of each State.

^bBackground checks are required for handguns and long guns.

Reason for rejection by 21 statewide CLEOs

Felony (indictment/conviction/no disposition)	64%
Domestic violence	
Misdemeanor conviction	10
Restraining order	2
Fugitive	6
State law prohibition	5
Mental illness or disability	1
Drug addiction	1
Other ^c	11

^cIncludes illegal aliens, juveniles, persons discharged from the armed services dishonorably, persons who have renounced their U.S. citizenship, and other unspecified reasons.

Background

Thirty-two States and Puerto Rico were required to follow the review process.

Table 3. Number of applications to buy handguns received or rejected in 21 States reporting complete data, 1997

State	Number of applications		Rejection rate
	Received	Rejected	
Total	1,440,963	35,382	2.5%
Arizona	62,266	2,277	3.7%
Arkansas	14,556	202	1.4
California	204,409	1,839	0.9
Colorado	46,853	2,476	5.3
Delaware ^a	11,369	491	4.3
Florida	196,922	7,348	3.7
Georgia	83,673	7,136	8.5
Idaho	22,761	790	3.5%
Illinois ^a	171,865	1,843	1.1
Indiana	110,999	1,085	1.0
Maryland	31,599	275	0.9
Nevada	24,765	686	2.8
New Hampshire	12,557	232	1.8
New Jersey	25,386	214	0.8
Ohio	55,074	473	0.9%
Oregon	48,597	1,370	2.8
South Carolina	50,789	2,650	5.2
Utah	32,389	792	2.4
Virginia ^a	180,527	2,364	1.3
West Virginia	20,577	295	1.4
Wisconsin	31,030	444	1.4

Note: Each State had 1 CLEO that reported complete statewide data for applications and rejections for 1997. Kentucky reported 79,574 applications and 1,973 rejections, but excluded data from 4 counties.

^aCounts include handguns and long guns.

Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms estimates of inquiries and rejections, March 1, 1994, to December 31, 1995

Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms estimates — may include handguns, long guns, and carry permits ^a				
	3/1/94 to 12/31/94		1/1/95 to 12/31/95	
	All States	Original Brady States ^b	All States	Original Brady States ^b
Inquiries and rejections				
Inquiries/applications	3,679,000	1,696,000	4,009,000	1,884,000
Rejected	92,000	42,000	60,000	28,000
Rejection rate	2.5%	2.5%	1.5%	1.5%
Reasons for rejection				
Felony indictment/conviction	65,000	30,000	43,000	20,000
Other	26,000	12,000	17,000	8,000

Note: All estimated counts are rounded. Percentages were calculated from unrounded data. Detail may not add to total because of rounding.
^aData for 1994 and 1995 from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms are based on inquiries to the FBI's National Crime Information Center.
^bOriginal Brady States are the 32 States required to follow presale review procedures set out in the Brady Act when it became effective on February 28, 1994.

The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) calculated the number of applications for firearm purchases from March of 1994 to the end of 1995. (See *Presale Firearm Checks*, BJS Bulletin, NCJ-162787, February 1997.) The BATF estimates were calculated using the number of firearm-coded inquiries to the FBI's National Crime Information Center (NCIC). The percentage of denials used for these estimates was based on the experiences of jurisdictions that had implemented presale firearms check procedures prior to the Brady Act.

After the first 10 months of implementation of the Brady Act, the number of NCIC firearm-coded inquiries per 100,000 adult U.S. residents remained relatively consistent:

1994*	2,262
1995	2,083
1996	1,957
1997	1,984

*January and February numbers were imputed, using the average of those months, 1995-97.

Estimated number of handgun inquiries (applications to purchase) and rejections, from March 1, 1994, to December 31, 1997

Estimate	3/1/94 - 12/31/94	1/1/95 - 12/31/95	1/1/96 - 12/31/96	1/1/97 - 12/31/97
Number of handgun inquiries	2,483,000	2,706,000	2,593,000	2,574,000
Number of rejections	62,000	41,000	70,000	69,000
Rejection rate	2.5%	1.5%	2.7%	2.7%

On average during 1997 the FBI receives every month nearly 328,000 inquiries to the NCIC to qualify a person to purchase or carry a firearm. (See figure 1, page 5.)

The FIST data, also stable across the 4-year period, describe only applications for handgun purchases, a fraction of the larger number of potential firearm purchases. (The interim provisions of the Brady Act also cover only applications for a handgun purchase.)

Data collection for FIST began in January 1996. The estimated number of inquiries for handgun purchases during the year was 67% of the total number of firearm inquiries to the NCIC (3,842,000). To estimate the number of inquiries for handgun purchase applications before 1996, the BATF estimates were multiplied by 67%.

dures set forth in the Brady Act when it became effective (identified in this Bulletin as original Brady States). By the end of 1996 and through 1997, the number of States following the Brady Act review procedures rather than alternative State statutes had dropped to 23 (identified as current Brady States; see table 2 for each State's Brady status.)

Pursuant to the Federal Gun Control Act of 1968, as codified at 18 U.S.C. § 922, the sale of firearms is prohibited if the prospective purchaser —

- is a juvenile
- is a fugitive from justice
- is under indictment for, or has been convicted of, a crime punishable by imprisonment for more than 1 year
- is an unlawful user of a controlled substance
- has been adjudicated as a mental defective or committed to a mental institution
- is an alien unlawfully in the United States
- was discharged from the armed forces under dishonorable conditions
- has renounced U.S. citizenship
- is subject to a court order restraining him or her from harassing, stalking, or threatening an intimate partner or child or
- is a person convicted of domestic violence.

The Brady Act was enacted in November 1993 and became effective in February 1994. The interim provisions of the Act require that federally licensed firearm dealers request a presale check on all potential handgun purchasers. The requests are made to CLEOs in the jurisdictions where the prospective purchasers reside.

The Federal firearms licensee must wait 5 business days before transferring the handgun to the buyer, unless earlier approval is received from the CLEO. These interim procedures will terminate no later than November 30, 1998.

The "interim provision" also permits States to follow a variety of alternative State procedures. (See *Survey of State Procedures Related to Firearm Sales, 1996*, BJS report, NCJ-163918, September 1997.) To qualify under these alternatives, State law must require that before any licensee completes the transfer of a handgun to a nonlicensee, a government official must verify that possession of a handgun by the transferee would not be a violation of law. Examples of Brady-alternative States include California ("point-of-sale check"), Virginia ("instant check"), and Missouri (permit).

After November 1998 a Federal firearms licensee will be required to obtain background checks on potential purchasers of all firearms. These inquiries will be made through the National Instant Criminal Background Check System (NICS) that the FBI will operate and maintain.

Under the permanent NICS configuration, firearm dealers can make NICS presale firearm inquiries either through the State, which will serve as a Point of Contact (POC) to the FBI, or directly to the FBI. The Brady Act also enables States to meet the requirements of the permanent system through an ATF-approved permit system. Felony and other criminal record data will be accessed by means of the Interstate Identification Index. In addition, the FBI NICS Index will provide States with access to Federal data on nonfelony prohibiting categories, such as illegal aliens. States serving as POCs will also have access to State data on nonfelony prohibiting categories.

On June 27, 1997, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned the provision requiring mandatory background checks by CLEOs in Brady States (see *Printz* [95-1478] and *Mack* [95-1503] v. *United States*). Since then, CLEOs in the Brady States continuing to do background checks do so on a voluntary basis. In Brady-alternative States (including States operating under a permit system) checks are made in accordance with State law. The impact of this decision on making a national estimate of presale handgun checks is addressed in *Methodology*.

Number of Inquiries to the FBI's National Crime Information Center for potential firearm purchases or carry permits

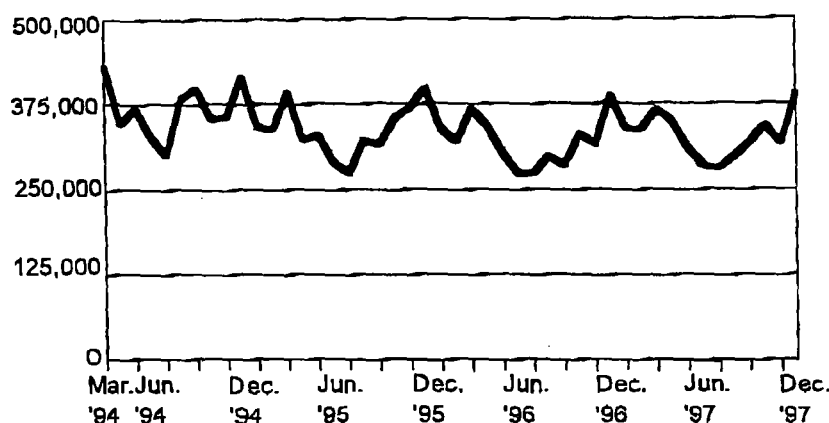


Figure 1

The National Criminal History Improvement Program (NCHIP)

To ensure immediate availability of complete and accurate State records, the Brady Act established a grant program authorized at \$200 million. An additional authorization of \$20 million was made available through the National Child Protection Act of 1993 (Pub. L. No. 103-209, 107 Stat. 2490 (1993)), and \$6 million were authorized under the Violence Against Women Act (42 USC 13701 et seq.). The NCHIP program under which these funds are awarded is designed to assist States to develop or improve existing criminal history records systems and to establish an interface with the NICS.

Under NCHIP over \$162 million was given in direct awards to the States during fiscal years 1995, 1996, and 1997. The appropriation for 1998 is \$47.75 million. NCHIP funds have supported direct technical assistance to States, evaluation, and research related to improving criminal and other nonfelony records within the States.

The FIST program was established under NCHIP. Information requested from CLEOs does not include data traceable to an applicant and none of the FIST information provided from agencies to BJS contains or reveals the identity of individual applicants. The computer program that was subsequently developed and used by some

agencies for both operational purposes and to collect FIST data transmits only the appropriately aggregated or categorized responses. Moreover, the computer program assists agencies to purge records after the delay times specified by law.

Methodology

The following presents the approach used to derive the 1997 estimates from a sample of chief law enforcement officers charged with determining eligibility to purchase a handgun. The data were stratified by size of the population served. Information collected included the following:

- handgun applications made to the CLEO;
- handgun applications rejected by the CLEO; and
- the reasons for rejection.

The sample for the survey was selected from a population of 5,400 CLEOs. These CLEOs ranged from State agencies which served an entire State population (category X); local CLEOs which served a population greater than 100,000 (category C); local CLEOs which served a population between 10,000 and 100,000 (category B); and local CLEOs which served a population of less than 10,000 (category A). Population size was based on 1990 Census information.

The population categories were chosen to be consistent with those commonly used by the FBI when conducting similar studies. A total of 600 CLEOs were randomly selected for inclusion in the study.

Since the start of this study two States have implemented operation of statewide CLEOs, and one State has begun reporting data for local jurisdictions. These changes have reduced the total number of CLEOs selected to 579.

The sample universe includes all 25 statewide CLEOs (category X), all 118 CLEOs who service populations in excess of 100,000 persons (category C), 189 CLEOs from category B, and 247 from category A. For each State 4% or a minimum of five CLEOs were selected in their respective A and B categories.

Overall, 268 CLEOs provided data for a response rate of 46%. Respondents included 23 statewide CLEOs, 41 local CLEOs in category C, 95 local CLEOs in category B, and 109 local CLEOs in category A. The 268 agencies that submitted data serviced 158,815,381 people or 64% of the 248,102,973 people who were identified in the 1990 Census.

Based on data provided by these CLEOs, national estimates were developed using weighting factors derived from the original stratification. When a CLEO did not provide data for all months, a simple linear extrapolation or interpolation was used to generate a 12-month total.

Information for one State required further analysis. New Jersey provided data on the number of applications and the number of rejections for the whole State, but did not provide reasons for rejections. Local CLEOs that had been sampled in New Jersey provided data on the reasons for rejection.

For purposes of applications, rejections and rejection rates, information from the statewide CLEO was used. The descriptive information about reasons for rejections used the data from both the local and State CLEOs.

Maine is one of several States that use both local CLEOs and the State police in areas not serviced by a local CLEO. In the other States, data from the State police were classified as category A data because of the rural area that is normally being served. However, Maine, because of the large portion of the State that the State police service (40%) and the wide range of population classifications they serve, State police data were classified as category X data.

Three agencies with a rejection rate over four standard deviations above the average standard rejection rate were classified as outliers and their data were not used for projection of estimates. In addition, one agency was classified as an outlier because its final rejection rate could not be determined with sufficient accuracy. The data provided by the outliers were added to the total estimated counts to get the final national totals.

To compensate for the June 1997 Supreme Court decision, the CLEOs from Brady States that had been selected for this study were surveyed to determine if they stopped performing background checks. For each size category, a percentage of the population which had stopped participating was computed. These percentages were then applied to the estimated number of rejections for that size category and subtracted from the total estimated number of rejections.

The accuracy of the estimates presented in this report depends on two types of errors: nonsampling and sampling. In this study, nonsampling error may occur from the following: nonresponse; differences in the ways CLEOs process, code, store and retrieve their information; differences in interpretation of the survey questions; and even activities which delay personnel from doing paperwork.

Also, the process of a researcher receiving data and storing it in the computer for analysis can introduce

nonsampling error. In any sample survey, the full extent of nonsampling error is never fully known. However, steps were taken to minimize the potential for error. Extensive telephone follow-ups were made to encourage responses, answer questions about misunderstood requests, and generally help CLEOs in assembling the information in a form useable by FIST. Extensive verification of the data ensured the accuracy of the numbers.

Because of the sampling design, State comparisons cannot be made. The estimates are only for the 50 States and do not include U.S. territories or the District of Columbia. Sales of all firearms are prohibited in the District of Columbia except to law enforcement officers.

Data collection procedures

The Regional Justice Information Service (REJIS), through a cooperative agreement with BJS under the Firearm Inquiry Statistics program (FIST), collected the data.

The CLEOs supplied data on either paper or diskette. Several different forms were provided to meet the varying office procedures of the CLEOs. In addition REJIS wrote and provided special software that was distributed free of charge to requesting CLEOs. This software was designed to simplify the record tabulating functions of the CLEO. It also helped to reduce the burden of keeping the statistical data since one of the capabilities of the software was to automatically collect the data needed for the study. In all cases the data that the CLEO sent to REJIS contained only statistical information and would not allow the identification of an individual.

Determining populations

For local CLEOs, a State may choose to have county officials (usually the sheriff) as the CLEO or municipal officials (police departments) or a combination of the two. To evaluate properly the application and rejection rates for purchasing handguns within a given area, the appropriate CLEO population was needed and was determined as follows:

- The stratification classification of the county was based on the size of the largest city within the county.
- If cities within a participating county CLEO were acting as their own CLEOs, their populations were subtracted from the county population.
- If a municipal CLEO was discovered to be providing services for other selected municipalities, then populations for those municipalities were added to the populations of the city having the CLEO.
- Those CLEOs selected to participate in the study but found to be relying on other jurisdictions to conduct background checks were replaced by those other jurisdictions (for example, a town being replaced by a county).

The Bureau of Justice Statistics is the statistical agency of the U.S. Department of Justice. Jan M. Chaiken, Ph.D., is Director.

BJS Bulletins present the first release of findings from permanent data collection programs such as the Firearm Inquiries Statistics program. State and local officials have cooperated in reporting the data presented.

Don Manson, BJS Program Manager, and Darrell K. Gilliard, BJS Statistician, wrote this Bulletin under the supervision of Carol Kaplan, Chief, Criminal History Improvement Programs, BJS. Gene Lauver, manager of the Firearm Inquiry Statistics program, Regional Justice Information Service (REJIS of St. Louis, MO), collected and analyzed the FIST data presented. Terry Tomazic, Ph.D., professor of research methodology at St. Louis University, provided statistical consultation. Priscilla Middleton and Tom Hester produced and edited the report. Marilyn Marbrook, assisted by Yvonne Boston and Jayne Robinson, administered final report production.

Further information on the FIST program may be obtained from:

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June 1998, NCJ-171130

This report and others from the Bureau of Justice Statistics are available through the Internet —

<http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/>

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22

Divider Title: _____

State of the Union Address
January 19, 1999

Section of Speech: 21st Century Communities

Fact: last year, the crime rate dropped for the 6th straight year; the murder rate is the lowest in 30 years

Source: Uniform Crime Reports for the United States 1997; Uniform Crime Reports January - June 1998; "Nation's Largest Cities Lead the Way As Homicides Fall to Lowest Rate in Three Decades," U.S. Department of Justice Press Release, 1/2/99

Explanation: Every year since 1991, the crime rate has decreased from the previous year.

Year	Crime Rate per 100,000 Inhabitants
1991	5,897.8
1992	5,660.2
1993	5,484.4
1994	5,373.5
1995	5,275.9
1996	5,086.6
1997	4,922.7

Note: Data for the first half of 1998 showed a 5 percent decline in serious crime from the first half of 1997.

According to the January 2, 1999 DOJ press release, "*The nation's murder rate last year fell to its lowest level in three decades...*"

UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS

for the United States

1997

SUMMARY

CRIME INDEX

CRIMES CLEARED

PERSONS ARRESTED

TOPICAL STUDY

**PRINTED
ANNUALLY**

Federal Bureau of Investigation
U.S. Department of Justice
Washington, D.C. 20535

ADVISORY:

Committee on Uniform Crime Records
International Association of Chiefs of Police;
Committee on Uniform Crime Reporting
National Sheriffs' Association;
Criminal Justice Information Services Advisory Policy Board

LAW ENFORCEMENT PERSONNEL

APPENDICES

Table 1. — Index of Crime, United States, 1978-1997

Population ¹	Crime Index total ²	Modified Crime Index total ³	Violent crime ⁴	Property crime ⁴	Murder and non-negligent manslaughter	Forcible rape	Robbery	Aggravated assault	Burglary	Larceny-theft	Motor vehicle theft	Arson ⁵
Number of Offenses												
Population by year:												
1978-218,059,000	11,209,000		1,085,550	10,123,400	19,560	67,610	426,930	571,460	3,128,300	5,991,000	1,004,100	
1979-220,099,000	12,249,500		1,208,030	11,041,500	21,460	76,390	480,700	629,480	3,327,700	6,601,000	1,112,800	
1980-225,349,264	13,408,300		1,344,520	12,063,700	23,040	82,990	565,840	672,650	3,795,200	7,136,900	1,131,700	
1981-229,146,000	13,423,800		1,361,820	12,061,900	22,520	82,500	592,910	663,900	3,779,700	7,194,400	1,087,800	
1982-231,534,000	12,974,400		1,322,390	11,652,000	21,010	78,770	553,130	669,480	3,447,100	7,142,500	1,062,400	
1983-233,981,000	12,108,600		1,258,090	10,850,500	19,310	78,920	506,570	653,290	3,129,900	6,712,800	1,007,900	
1984-236,158,000	11,881,800		1,273,280	10,608,500	18,690	84,230	485,010	685,350	2,984,400	6,591,900	1,032,200	
1985-238,740,000	12,431,400		1,328,800	11,102,600	18,980	88,670	497,870	723,250	3,073,300	6,926,400	1,102,900	
1986-241,077,000	13,211,900		1,489,170	11,722,700	20,610	91,460	542,780	834,320	3,241,400	7,257,200	1,224,100	
1987-243,400,000	13,508,700		1,484,000	12,024,700	20,100	91,110	517,700	855,090	3,236,200	7,499,900	1,288,700	
1988-245,807,000	13,923,100		1,566,220	12,356,900	20,680	92,490	542,970	910,090	3,218,100	7,705,900	1,432,900	
1989-248,239,000	14,251,400		1,646,040	12,605,400	21,500	94,500	578,330	951,710	3,168,200	7,872,400	1,564,800	
1990-248,709,873	14,475,600		1,820,130	12,655,500	23,440	102,560	639,270	1,054,860	3,073,900	7,945,700	1,635,900	
1991-252,177,000	14,872,900		1,911,770	12,961,100	24,700	106,590	687,730	1,092,740	3,157,200	8,142,200	1,661,700	
1992-255,082,000	14,438,200		1,932,270	12,505,900	23,760	109,060	672,480	1,126,970	2,979,900	7,915,200	1,610,800	
1993-257,908,000	14,144,800		1,926,020	12,218,800	24,530	106,010	659,870	1,135,610	2,834,800	7,820,900	1,563,100	
1994-260,341,000	13,989,500		1,857,670	12,131,900	23,330	102,220	618,950	1,113,180	2,712,800	7,879,800	1,539,300	
1995-262,755,000	13,862,700		1,798,790	12,063,900	21,610	97,470	580,510	1,099,210	2,593,800	7,997,700	1,472,400	
1996-265,284,000 ⁶	13,493,900		1,688,540	11,805,300	19,650	96,250	535,590	1,037,050	2,506,400	7,904,700	1,394,200	
1997-267,637,000	13,175,100		1,634,770	11,540,300	18,210	96,120	497,950	1,022,490	2,461,100	7,725,500	1,353,700	
Percent change:												
number of offenses:												
1997/1996	-2.4		-3.2	-2.2	-7.3	-1	-7.0	-1.4	-1.8	-2.3	-2.9	
1997/1993	-6.9		-15.1	-5.6	-25.8	-9.3	-24.5	-10.0	-13.2	-1.2	-13.4	
1997/1988	-5.4		+4.4	-6.6	-11.9	+3.9	-8.3	+12.4	-23.5	+3	-5.5	
Rate per 100,000 Inhabitants												
Year:												
1978	5,140.3		497.8	4,642.5	9.0	31.0	195.8	262.1	1,434.6	2,747.4	460.5	
1979	5,565.5		548.9	5,016.6	9.7	34.7	218.4	286.0	1,511.9	2,999.1	505.6	
1980	5,950.0		596.6	5,353.3	10.2	36.8	251.1	298.5	1,684.1	3,167.0	502.2	
1981	5,858.2		594.3	5,263.9	9.8	36.0	258.7	289.7	1,649.5	3,139.7	474.7	
1982	5,603.6		571.1	5,032.5	9.1	34.0	238.9	289.2	1,488.8	3,084.8	458.8	
1983	5,175.0		537.7	4,637.4	8.3	33.7	216.5	279.2	1,337.7	2,868.9	430.8	
1984	5,031.3		539.2	4,492.1	7.9	35.7	205.4	290.2	1,263.7	2,791.3	437.1	
1985	5,207.1		556.6	4,650.5	7.9	37.1	208.5	302.9	1,287.3	2,901.2	462.0	
1986	5,480.4		617.7	4,862.6	8.6	37.9	225.1	346.1	1,344.6	3,010.3	507.8	
1987	5,550.0		609.7	4,940.3	8.3	37.4	212.7	351.3	1,329.6	3,081.3	529.4	
1988	5,664.2		637.2	5,027.1	8.4	37.6	220.9	370.2	1,309.2	3,134.9	582.9	
1989	5,741.0		663.1	5,077.9	8.7	38.1	233.0	383.4	1,276.3	3,171.3	630.4	
1990	5,820.3		731.8	5,088.5	9.4	41.2	257.0	424.1	1,235.9	3,194.8	657.8	
1991	5,897.8		758.1	5,139.7	9.8	42.3	272.7	433.3	1,252.0	3,228.8	659.0	
1992	5,660.2		757.5	4,902.7	9.3	42.8	263.6	441.8	1,168.2	3,103.0	631.5	
1993	5,484.4		746.8	4,737.6	9.5	41.1	255.9	440.3	1,099.2	3,032.4	606.1	
1994	5,373.5		713.6	4,660.0	9.0	39.3	237.7	427.6	1,042.0	3,026.7	591.3	
1995	5,275.9		684.6	4,591.3	8.2	37.1	220.9	418.3	987.1	3,043.8	560.4	
1996 ⁷	5,086.6		636.5	4,450.1	7.4	36.3	201.9	390.9	944.8	2,979.7	525.6	
1997	4,922.7		610.8	4,311.9	6.8	35.9	186.1	382.0	919.6	2,886.5	505.8	
Percent change:												
rate per 100,000 inhabitants:												
1997/1996	-3.2		-4.0	-3.1	-8.1	-1.1	-7.8	-2.3	-2.7	-3.1	-3.8	
1997/1993	-10.2		-18.2	-9.0	-28.4	-12.7	-27.3	-13.2	-16.3	-4.8	-16.5	
1997/1988	-13.1		-4.1	-14.2	-19.0	-4.5	-15.8	+3.2	-29.8	-7.9	-13.2	

¹ Populations are Bureau of the Census provisional estimates as of July 1, except 1980 and 1990 which are the decennial census counts.

² Because of rounding, the offenses may not add to total.

³ Although arson data are included in the trend and clearance tables, sufficient data are not available to estimate totals for this offense.

⁴ Violent crimes are offenses of murder, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault. Property crimes are offenses of burglary, larceny-theft, and motor vehicle theft.

Data are not included for the property crime of arson.

⁵ The 1996 figures have been adjusted. See "Crime Trends," page 402 for details.

Complete data for 1997 were not available for the states of Illinois, Kansas, Kentucky, Montana, New Hampshire, and Vermont; therefore, it was necessary that their crime counts be estimated. See "Offense Estimation," pages 401-402 for details.

All rates were calculated on the offenses before rounding.



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FOR RELEASE
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1998
6 P.M. EASTERN TIME

The Federal Bureau of Investigation released preliminary figures for serious crime in the United States for the first 6 months of 1998. The statistics, collected by the FBI's Uniform Crime Reporting Program, indicate a 5-percent decline in serious crime when comparing the half-year figures of 1998 to those of 1997.

Serious crime, measured by the Crime Index, is composed of violent and property crimes. According to the reports for the 6-month period, law enforcement agencies nationwide recorded a 7-percent decline in violent crime and a 5-percent drop in property crime.

During the first half of 1998, decreases were recorded for each of the violent crimes: 11 percent for robbery; 8 percent for murder; and 5 percent each for aggravated assault and forcible rape. Among the property crimes, motor vehicle theft fell 8 percent; larceny-theft dropped 5 percent; and burglary declined 3 percent. Arson, a property crime counted only in the Modified Crime Index, decreased 12 percent.

Geographically, each of the Nation's regions registered declines in serious crime: the Northeast, 8 percent; the West, 6 percent; the South, 5 percent; and the Midwest, 1 percent.

Cities throughout the country also recorded lower numbers of serious crime incidents for the first half of 1998, ranging from an 8-percent decline in cities with populations of 50,000 to 99,999 to a 3-percent downward slide in cities under 10,000. Suburban and rural counties showed decreases of 6 and 2 percent, respectively.

The complete semiannual UNIFORM CRIME REPORT is available on the FBI's Internet site at <http://www.fbi.gov>

#####

UCR Reports - Press Releases - FBI Home Page

The number of Crime Index offenses reported to law enforcement agencies throughout the United States decreased 5 percent during the first 6 months of 1998 when compared to the figures reported during the same period of 1997. The violent crimes of murder, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault fell 7 percent, and the property crimes of burglary, larceny-theft, and motor vehicle theft dropped 5 percent.

During the first quarter of 1998, a decline of 4 percent in serious crime was reported when compared with the numbers reported for the same quarter of 1997. Second quarter numbers decreased 7 percent.

Crime Index trends by population groups and by geographic regions appear in Tables 1 and 2 below.

TABLE 1. CRIME INDEX TRENDS: Percent change January through June 1998 over 1997 offenses known to the police

Population Group and Area	Number of agencies	Population (thousands)	Crime Index total	Modified total	Violent crime	Property crime	Murder	Forcible rape	Robbery	Aggravated assault	Burglary	Larceny-theft	Motor vehicle theft	Arson*
Total	9,069	193,688	-5	-5	-7	-5	-8	-5	-11	-5	-3	-5	-8	-12
Cities:														
Over 1,000,000	9	20,922	-6	-6	-6	-6	-11	-3	-11	-2	-8	-3	-12	-16
500,000 to 999,999	18	11,865	-5	-5	-13	-3	-8	-6	-15	-12	-1	-2	-9	-5
250,000 to 499,999	33	12,210	-5	-5	-10	-4	-12	-8	-12	-8	-3	-4	-5	-13
100,000 to 249,999	145	21,157	-4	-4	-7	-4	-5	-6	-9	-5	-1	-5	-6	-13
50,000 to 99,999	280	19,007	-8	-8	-9	-7	-11	-3	-11	-9	-7	-7	-11	-11
25,000 to 49,999	523	18,168	-5	-5	-8	-5	-9	-6	-11	-8	-4	-5	-6	-19
10,000 to 24,999	1,201	18,907	-4	-4	-6	-4	+8	-1	-9	-5	-1	-4	-5	-19
Under 10,000	4,326	15,049	-3	-3	-3	-3	-20	-11	-5	-2	-1	-4	-3	-12
Counties:														
Suburban ¹	873	37,725	-6	-6	-5	-6	-3	-2	-10	-3	-3	-6	-12	-8
Rural ²	1,661	18,678	-2	-2	+1	-3	+3	-10	-7	+3	-2	-4	+1	-6
Areas:														
Suburban Area ³	4,581	73,803	-5	-5	-5	-5	-3	-2	-9	-4	-3	-5	-9	-12
Cities outside Metropolitan Areas	2,343	16,065	-4	-5	-8	-4	-12	-9	-14	-7	-2	-5	-2	-18

Includes crimes reported to sheriffs' departments, county police departments, and state police within Metropolitan Statistical Areas.

Includes crimes reported to sheriffs' departments, county police departments, and state police outside Metropolitan Statistical Areas.

³ Includes crimes reported to city, county, and state law enforcement agencies within Metropolitan Statistical Areas, but outside the central cities.

TABLE 2. CRIME INDEX TRENDS BY GEOGRAPHIC REGION

Region	Crime Index total	Modified total	Violent crime	Property crime	Murder	Forcible rape	Robbery	Aggravated assault	Burglary	Larceny-theft	Motor vehicle theft	Arson*
Total	-5	-5	-7	-5	-8	-5	-11	-5	-3	-5	-8	-12
Northeast	-8	-8	-8	-8	-10	-5	-12	-5	-10	-6	-13	-12
Midwest	-1	-2	-3	-1	-4	-3	-6	-2	+1	-1	-7	-14
South	-5	-5	-8	-5	-5	-6	-12	-6	-2	-6	-8	-8
West	-6	-6	-9	-5	-13	-6	-13	-7	-5	-5	-7	-16

TABLE 3. CRIME INDEX TRENDS: January through June each year over previous year

Years	Crime Index total	Modified total	Violent crime	Property crime	Murder	Forcible rape	Robbery	Aggravated assault	Burglary	Larceny-theft	Motor vehicle theft	Arson*
1995/1994	-1	-1	-5	0	-12	-7	-10	-2	-4	+3	-5	-7
1996/1995	-3	-3	-5	-2	-7	-1	-5	-5	-5	-1	-4	+2
1997/1996	-4	-4	-5	-4	-9	-2	-9	-3	-5	-4	-5	-9
1998/1997	-5	-5	-7	-5	-8	-5	-11	-5	-3	-5	-8	-12

* The Modified Crime Index total is the sum of the Crime Index offenses, including arson. Data for arson are not included in the property crime totals.

BUED BY Louis J. Freeh, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. 20535
Advisory: Criminal Justice Information Systems Committee, International Association of Chiefs of Police;
Criminal Justice Information Services Committee, National Sheriffs' Association;
Criminal Justice Information Services Advisory Policy Board.

HOMICIDE TRENDS IN THE UNITED STATES

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ADVANCE FOR RELEASE AT 4:30 P.M. EST BJS
SATURDAY, JANUARY 2, 1999 202/307-0784

NATION'S LARGEST CITIES LEAD THE WAY AS HOMICIDES FALL TO LOWEST RATE IN THREE DECADES

WASHINGTON, D.C. The nation's murder rate last year fell to its lowest level in three decades, the Justice Department's Bureau of Justice Statistics announced today. Much of the decline was in the nation's largest cities, those with more than 1 million inhabitants, where the rate fell from 35.5 per 100,000 population in 1991 to 20.3 per 100,000 during 1997. The sharp increase in homicides in the late 1980s and much of the subsequent decline is attributable to a rise and fall in gun violence by juveniles and young adults.

Murder rates for those 25 years old and older have declined steadily during the last 20 years, but the rates for younger groups--teenagers and young adults--rose sharply in the late 1980s and early 1990s before falling more recently.

Homicide is of interest not only because of its severity, but also because it is a fairly reliable barometer for all violent crime. At the national level no other crime is measured as accurately.

The 1997 murder rates, especially those involving guns, were higher in the South and on the West Coast and lower than the national average in New England, the Rocky Mountain States and in the East North Central regions of the United States.

Among the report's other findings:

--There were dramatic increases in both homicide victimization and offending rates among young black males in the late 1980s and 1990s before recent declines in both categories.

--From 1976 through 1997, 85 percent of white murder victims were killed by whites and 94 percent of black victims were killed by blacks.

--During the same period, blacks were seven times more likely than whites to be homicide victims and eight times more likely than whites to commit homicides.

--Also from 1976 through 1997, the number of husbands, wives, boyfriends and girlfriends killed in each race and gender group fell: among black female victims by 46 percent, black males by 77 percent, white males by 55 percent and white

females by 14 percent.

--The number of infanticides (victims under age five) has grown, roughly in proportion to the number of young children in the population, with most of the perpetrators being their parents.

--In homicides in which the victim was killed by an acquaintance, 1 in 10 was interracial, whereas when the killer was a stranger, three in 10 were interracial.

--The annual number of law enforcement officers killed in the line of duty declined.

--Males are most often the victims and the perpetrators in homicides: males were more than nine times more likely than women to commit murder, and male and female offenders are more likely to target male than female victims.

The data are contained in a BJS Internet report on homicide trends. It also cites homicide rate changes among specific racial and age groups that do not always follow the general trends.

The report, "Homicide Trends in the United States," is an analysis of data the Federal Bureau of Investigation gathers through its Uniform Crime Reporting series. It was prepared by James Alan Fox, a BJS Visiting Fellow and Professor of Criminal Justice at Northeastern University, and BJS statistician Marianne W. Zawitz. It is available on the Internet at BJS's website:

<http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/>

Additional criminal justice materials can be obtained from the Office of Justice Programs Internet homepage at:

<http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov>

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After hours contact: Stu Smith at 301/983-9354

(end of file)

Bureau of Justice Statistics
Homicide trends in the United States
www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/homicide/homtrnd.htm

Homicide victimization rates, 1950-97

Year	Homicide Rate
------	------------------

1950	4.6
1951	4.4
1952	4.6
1953	4.5
1954	4.2
1955	4.1
1956	4.1
1957	4.0
1958	4.8
1959	4.9
1960	5.1
1961	4.8
1962	4.6
1963	4.6
1964	4.9
1965	5.1
1966	5.6
1967	6.2
1968	6.9
1969	7.3
1970	7.9
1971	8.6
1972	9.0
1973	9.4
1974	9.8
1975	9.6
1976	8.8
1977	8.8
1978	9.0
1979	9.7
1980	10.2
1981	9.8
1982	9.1
1983	8.3
1984	7.9
1985	7.9
1986	8.6
1987	8.3
1988	8.4
1989	8.7
1990	9.4
1991	9.8
1992	9.3
1993	9.5
1994	9.0
1995	8.2
1996	7.4
1997	6.8

Source: FBI, Uniform Crime Reports,
1950-97

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23

Divider Title: _____

State of the Union Address
January 19, 1999

Section of Speech: 21st Century Communities

Fact: Congress should restore the 5-day waiting period for buying a handgun

Source: “Implementation of Permanent Provisions of the Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act,” Department of the Treasury’s Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Press Release, 10/29/98

Explanation: As passed, the Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act included an interim five day waiting period to purchase a handgun that expired on November 30, 1998.

Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms



ATFNEWS



24 Hour Telephone: (202) 927-8500

FY 98-16
Date: October 29, 1998

Implementation of Permanent Provisions of the Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act

WASHINGTON - Today, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) announced an amendment of regulations to implement the provisions of Public Law 103-159, relating to the permanent provisions of the Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act. These regulations implement the law by requiring, with some exceptions, a licensed importer, manufacturer, or dealer to contact the national instant criminal background check (NICS) before transferring any firearm to an unlicensed individual. NICS will advise the licensee whether the system contains any information that by law prohibits the prospective purchaser from possessing or receiving a firearm. The law requires that the permanent system be established not later than November 30, 1998.

On November 30, 1993, the Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act was enacted, amending the Gun Control Act of 1968. The Brady Law imposed as an interim measure a waiting period of 5 days before a licensed importer, manufacturer, or dealer may sell, deliver, or transfer a handgun to an unlicensed individual. The waiting period applies only in states without an acceptable alternate system of conducting background checks on handgun purchasers. The interim provisions of the Brady law became effective on February 28, 1994, and cease to apply on November 30, 1998. While the interim provisions of the Brady law apply only to handguns, the permanent provisions of the Brady law apply to all firearms.

For further information refer to the October 29, 1998, issue of the Federal Register, contact ATF's Public Information Division at (202) 927-8500, or visit ATF's web site at www.atf.treas.gov. For additional information regarding the implementation of NICS, contact the NICS Program Office at (304) 625-2750.

[Click here for Brady Regulations.](#)

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24

Divider Title: _____

State of the Union Address
January 19, 1999

Section of Speech: 21st Century Communities

Fact: last year we were horrified and heartbroken by the tragic killings in Jonesboro, Paducah, Pearl, Edinboro, and Springfield

Source: Associated Press, 11/18/98

Explanation: According to the November 18, 1998 Associated Press, "The plot comes after a round of school violence that shocked the nation this year and last. Three girls were killed when a fellow student opened fire on their high school prayer circle in West Paducah, Ky. Two students were killed in Pearl, Miss., and four students and a teacher died in an ambush in Jonesboro, Ark. A teacher was killed at a school dance in Edinboro, Pa., and two students were shot to death in Springfield, Ore."

The Associated Press

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November 18, 1998, Wednesday, AM cycle

SECTION: Domestic News

LENGTH: 447 words

HEADLINE: Boys rounded up in plot to attack school had access to guns, police said

BYLINE: By JIM CHILSEN, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: BURLINGTON. Wis.

BODY:

Five boys accused of planning a bloodbath at their school in revenge for being teased had access to an unlocked box of guns owned by one their fathers, police said.

The boys, all 15 or 16, planned the plot in detail, down to snipping phone lines and taking top administrators hostage, investigators said. They had intended to carry out the attack on Monday at Burlington High School, but an informant tipped police, and one of the students said it was all a joke.

Neither police nor the town of 9,500 was laughing in light of a series of school shootings in other states.

Three of the boys were charged in juvenile court today with three counts of conspiracy to commit first-degree intentional homicide. A judge made no decision on a prosecutor's request to charge the boys as adults and for psychological evaluations.

All five were rounded up Sunday night, though two who sought to back out of the plot were turned over to their parents, including the boy whose father had the guns, police said.

"The human tragedy right now is the mother and the father," Gerald Boyle, an attorney for one of the three boys charged, said today. "They're just beside

themselves with fear and anxiety."

Each of the five boys had singled out people they intended to shoot, said Gary Large, assistant police chief.

The boys told investigators they were going to use 9mm, .357-caliber and .44-caliber guns kept by one of their fathers in an unlocked box, Large said.

"Initially, when they first made this plan they knew exactly what guns they wanted and where they were and in fact how to get them," Large said.

Some of the boys also told police they had another source for weapons, Large said.

None of the boys was identified because of their ages. One of the youths said the five are picked on by schoolmates because they wear black clothes and listen to heavy-metal music.

"If something was said by the most popular kids in school, it would have been taken as if they're just messing around," he said. "But we're looked down upon because we're dressed in black and we listen to Marilyn Manson."

The school suspended the boys pending an expulsion hearing, increased police patrols and held a community meeting attended by about 1,000 people.

The plot comes after a round of school violence that shocked the nation this year and last.

Three girls were killed when a fellow student opened fire on their high school prayer circle in West Paducah, Ky. Two students were killed in Pearl, Miss., and four students and a teacher died in an ambush in Jonesboro, Ark.

A teacher was killed at a school dance in Edinboro, Pa., and two students were shot to death in Springfield, Ore.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: November 18, 1998

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25

Divider Title: _____

State of the Union Address
January 19, 1999

Section of Speech: 21st Century Communities

Fact: a century ago, President Theodore Roosevelt defined our nation's "great, central task" as "leaving this land even a better land for our descendants than it is for us"

Source: The Writings of Theodore Roosevelt, p. 327

Explanation: In an August 31, 1910 speech at Osawatimie, Kansas, former President Theodore Roosevelt said: *"Of all the questions which can come before this nation, short of the actual preservation of its existence in a great war, there is none which compares in importance with the great, central task of leaving this land even a better land for our descendants than it is for us, and training them into a better race to inhabit the land and pass it on."*

The Writings of Theodore Roosevelt

EDITED BY WILLIAM H. HARBAUGH

The Writings of Theodore Roosevelt
WILLIAM H. HARBAUGH



THE AMERICAN HERITAGE SER

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We should do everything that can be done, by law or otherwise, to keep the avenues of occupation, of employment, of work, of interest, so open that there shall be, so far as it is humanly possible to achieve it, a measurable equality of opportunity; an equality of opportunity for each man to show the stuff that is in him. When it comes to reward, let each man, within the limits set by a sound and far-sighted morality, get what, by his energy, intelligence, thrift, courage, he is able to get, with the opportunity open. We must set our faces against privilege; just as much against the kind of privilege which would let the shiftless and lazy laborer take what his brother has earned as against the privilege which allows the huge capitalist to take toll to which he is not entitled. We stand for equality of opportunity, but not for equality of reward unless there is also equality of service. If the service is equal, let the reward be equal; but let the reward depend on the service; and, mankind being composed as it is, there will be inequality of service for a long time to come, no matter how great the equality of opportunity may be and just so long as there is inequality of service it is eminently desirable that there should be inequality of reward.

We recognize, and are bound to war against, the evils of to-day. The remedies are partly economic and partly spiritual, partly to be obtained by laws, and in greater part to be obtained by individual and associated effort; for character is the vital matter, and character cannot be created by law. These remedies include a religious and moral teaching which shall increase the spirit of human brotherhood; an educational system which shall train men for every form of useful service—and which shall train us to prize common sense no less than morality; such a division of the profits of industry as shall tend to encourage intelligent and thrifty tool-users to become tool-owners; and a government so strong, just, wise, and democratic that, neither lagging too far behind nor pushing heed-

lessly in advance, it may do its full share in promoting these ends.

The Progressive Synthesis

58. • "THE NEW NATIONALISM"

Long before he left the White House and long before he read Herbert Croly's *The Promise of American Life* (1909), Roosevelt had become an advanced progressive. Almost every plank in the Progressive party platform of 1912 had been foreshadowed in his messages and speeches of 1907 and 1908; and in his final Annual Message he had envisioned such a comprehensive reform program that the *New York Commercial and Financial Chronicle* had complained that if a fraction of its recommendations were put into law "they would commit the country to a course of new experiments and make over the face of social creation." In one sense, therefore, Roosevelt's famed "New Nationalism" speech was more a political than an ideological testament. As such, it signified his continuing commitment to progressivism and his determination to force the Taft administration to follow his policies or suffer the consequences. Yet the speech was also notable for its synthesis of Roosevelt's mature progressivism, a progressivism based, as he put it, on the proposition that "the object of government is the welfare of the people."

We come here to-day to commemorate one of the epoch-making events of the long struggle for the rights of man—the

A speech at Osawatimie, Kansas, August 31, 1910. Theodore Roosevelt, *The New Nationalism* (New York: The Outlook Company, 1910), pp. 3-33.

long struggle for the uplift of humanity. Our country—this great Republic—means nothing unless it means the triumph of a real democracy, the triumph of popular government, and, in the long run, of an economic system under which each man shall be guaranteed the opportunity to show the best that there is in him. That is why the history of America is now the central feature of the history of the world; for the world has set its face hopefully toward our democracy; and, O my fellow citizens, each one of you carries on your shoulders not only the burden of doing well for the sake of your own country, but the burden of doing well and of seeing that this nation does well for the sake of mankind.

There have been two great crises in our country's history: first, when it was formed, and then, again, when it was perpetuated; and, in the second of these great crises—in the time of stress and strain which culminated in the Civil War, on the outcome of which depended the justification of what had been done earlier, you men of the Grand Army, you men who fought through the Civil War, not only did you justify your generation, not only did you render life worth living for our generation, but you justified the wisdom of Washington and Washington's colleagues. If this Republic had been founded by them only to be split asunder into fragments when the strain came, then the judgment of the world would have been that Washington's work was not worth doing. It was you who crowned Washington's work, as you carried to achievement the high purpose of Abraham Lincoln.

Now, with this second period of our history the name of John Brown will be forever associated; and Kansas was the theatre upon which the first act of the second of our great national life dramas was played. It was the result of the struggle in Kansas which determined that our country should be in deed as well as in name devoted to both union and freedom; that the great experiment of democratic government on a national scale should succeed and not fail. In name we had the

Declaration of Independence in 1776; but we gave the lie by our acts to the words of the Declaration of Independence until 1865; and words count for nothing except in so far as they represent acts. This is true everywhere; but, O my friends, it should be truest of all in political life. A broken promise is bad enough in private life. It is worse in the field of politics. No man is worth his salt in public life who makes on the stump a pledge which he does not keep after election; and, if he makes such a pledge and does not keep it, hunt him out of public life. I care for the great deeds of the past chiefly as spurs to drive us onward in the present. I speak of the men of the past partly that they may be honored by our praise of them, but more that they may serve as examples for the future.

It was a heroic struggle; and, as is inevitable with all such struggles, it had also a dark and terrible side. Very much was done of good, and much also of evil; and, as was inevitable in such a period of revolution, often the same man did both good and evil. For our great good fortune as a nation, we, the people of the United States as a whole, can now afford to forget the evil, or, at least, to remember it without bitterness, and to fix our eyes with pride only on the good that was accomplished. Even in ordinary times there are very few of us who do not see the problems of life as through a glass, darkly; and when the glass is clouded by the murk of furious popular passion, the vision of the best and the bravest is dimmed. Looking back, we are all of us now able to do justice to the valor and the disinterestedness and the love of the right, as to each it was given to see the right, shown both by the men of the North and the men of the South in that contest which was finally decided by the attitude of the West. We can admire the heroic valor, the sincerity, the self-devotion shown alike by the men who wore the blue and the men who wore the gray; and our sadness that such men should have had to fight one another is tempered by the glad knowledge that ever hereafter their descendants shall be found fighting side by side, struggling in

one man or class of men the right to enjoy power, or wealth, or position, or immunity, which has not been earned by service to his or their fellows. That is what you fought for in the Civil War, and that is what we strive for now.

At many stages in the advance of humanity, this conflict between the men who possess more than they have earned and the men who have earned more than they possess is the central condition of progress. In our day it appears as the struggle of freemen to gain and hold the right of self-government as against the special interests, who twist the methods of free government into machinery for defeating the popular will. At every stage, and under all circumstances, the essence of the struggle is to equalize opportunity, destroy privilege, and give to the life and citizenship of every individual the highest possible value both to himself and to the commonwealth. That is nothing new. All I ask in civil life is what you fought for in the Civil War. I ask that civil life be carried on according to the spirit in which the army was carried on. You never get perfect justice, but the effort in handling the army was to bring to the front the men who could do the job. Nobody grudged promotion to Grant, or Sherman, or Thomas, or Sheridan, because they earned it. The only complaint was when a man got promotion which he did not earn.

Practical equality of opportunity for all citizens, when we achieve it, will have two great results. First, every man will have a fair chance to make of himself all that in him lies; to reach the highest point to which his capacities, unassisted by special privilege of his own and unhampered by the special privilege of others, can carry him, and to get for himself and his family substantially what he has earned. Second, equality of opportunity means that the commonwealth will get from every citizen the highest service of which he is capable. No man who carries the burden of the special privileges of another can give to the commonwealth that service to which it is fairly entitled.

I stand for the square deal. But when I say that I am for the square deal, I mean not merely that I stand for fair play under the present rules of the game, but that I stand for having those rules changed so as to work for a more substantial equality of opportunity and of reward for equally good service. One word of warning, which, I think, is hardly necessary in Kansas. When I say I want a square deal for the poor man, I do not mean that I want a square deal for the man who remains poor because he has not got the energy to work for himself. If a man who has had a chance will not make good, then he has got to quit. And you men of the Grand Army, you want justice for the brave man who fought, and punishment for the coward who shirked his work. Is not that so?

Now, this means that our government, National and State, must be freed from the sinister influence or control of special interests. Exactly as the special interests of cotton and slavery threatened our political integrity before the Civil War, so now the great special business interests too often control and corrupt the men and methods of government for their own profit. We must drive the special interests out of politics. That is one of our tasks to-day. Every special interest is entitled to justice—full, fair, and complete—and, now, mind you, if there were any attempt by mob-violence to plunder and work harm to the special interest, whatever it may be, that I most dislike, and the wealthy man, whomsoever he may be, for whom I have the greatest contempt, I would fight for him, and you would if you were worth your salt. He should have justice. For every special interest is entitled to justice, but not one is entitled to a vote in Congress, to a voice on the bench, or to representation in any public office. The Constitution guarantees protection to property, and we must make that promise good. But it does not give the right of suffrage to any corporation.

The true friend of property, the true conservative, is he who insists that property shall be the servant and not the master of the commonwealth; who insists that the creature of man's

making shall be the servant and not the master of the man who made it. The citizens of the United States must effectively control the mighty commercial forces which they have themselves called into being.

There can be no effective control of corporations while their political activity remains. To put an end to it will be neither a short nor an easy task, but it can be done.

We must have complete and effective publicity of corporate affairs, so that the people may know beyond peradventure whether the corporations obey the law and whether their management entitles them to the confidence of the public. It is necessary that laws should be passed to prohibit the use of corporate funds directly or indirectly for political purposes; it is still more necessary that such laws should be thoroughly enforced. Corporate expenditures for political purposes, and especially such expenditures by public-service corporations, have supplied one of the principal sources of corruption in our political affairs.

It has become entirely clear that we must have government supervision of the capitalization, not only of public-service corporations, including, particularly, railways, but of all corporations doing an interstate business. I do not wish to see the nation forced into the ownership of the railways if it can possibly be avoided, and the only alternative is thoroughgoing and effective regulation, which shall be based on a full knowledge of all the facts, including a physical valuation of property. This physical valuation is not needed, or, at least, is very rarely needed, for fixing rates; but it is needed as the basis of honest capitalization.

We have come to recognize that franchises should never be granted except for a limited time, and never without proper provision for compensation to the public. It is my personal belief that the same kind and degree of control and supervision which should be exercised over public-service corporations should be extended also to combinations which control neces-

saries of life, such as meat, oil, and coal, or which deal in them on an important scale. I have no doubt that the ordinary man who has control of them is much like ourselves. I have no doubt he would like to do well, but I want to have enough supervision to help him realize that desire to do well.

I believe that the officers, and, especially, the directors, of corporations should be held personally responsible when any corporation breaks the law.

Combinations in industry are the result of an imperative economic law which cannot be repealed by political legislation. The effort at prohibiting all combination has substantially failed. The way out lies, not in attempting to prevent such combinations, but in completely controlling them in the interest of the public welfare. For that purpose the Federal Bureau of Corporations is an agency of first importance. Its powers, and, therefore, its efficiency, as well as that of the Interstate Commerce Commission, should be largely increased. We have a right to expect from the Bureau of Corporations and from the Interstate Commerce Commission a very high grade of public service. We should be as sure of the proper conduct of the interstate railways and the proper management of interstate business as we are now sure of the conduct and management of the national banks, and we should have as effective supervision in one case as in the other. The Hepburn Act, and the amendment to the act in the shape in which it finally passed Congress at the last session, represent a long step in advance, and we must go yet further.

There is a wide-spread belief among our people that, under the methods of making tariffs which have hitherto obtained, the special interests are too influential. Probably this is true of both the big special interests and the little special interests. These methods have put a premium on selfishness, and, naturally, the selfish big interests have gotten more than their smaller, though equally selfish, brothers. The duty of Congress is to provide a method by which the interest of the whole

people shall be all that receives consideration. To this end there must be an expert tariff commission, wholly removed from the possibility of political pressure or of improper business influence. Such a commission can find the real difference between cost of production, which is mainly the difference of labor cost here and abroad. As fast as its recommendations are made, I believe in revising one schedule at a time. A general revision of the tariff almost inevitably leads to logrolling and the subordination of the general public interest to local and special interests.

The absence of effective State, and, especially, national, restraint upon unfair money-getting has tended to create a small class of enormously wealthy and economically powerful men, whose chief object is to hold and increase their power. The prime need is to change the conditions which enable these men to accumulate power which it is not for the general welfare that they should hold or exercise. We grudge no man a fortune which represents his own power and sagacity, when exercised with entire regard to the welfare of his fellows. Again, comrades over there, take the lesson from your own experience. Not only did you not grudge, but you gloried in the promotion of the great generals who gained their promotion by leading the army to victory. So it is with us. We grudge no man a fortune in civil life if it is honorably obtained and well used. It is not even enough that it should have been gained without doing damage to the community. We should permit it to be gained only so long as the gaining represents benefit to the community. This, I know, implies a policy of a far more active governmental interference with social and economic conditions in this country than we have yet had, but I think we have got to face the fact that such an increase in governmental control is now necessary.

No man should receive a dollar unless that dollar has been fairly earned. Every dollar received should represent a dollar's worth of service rendered—not gambling in stocks, but service

rendered. The really big fortune, the swollen fortune, by the mere fact of its size acquires qualities which differentiate it in kind as well as in degree from what is possessed by men of relatively small means. Therefore, I believe in a graduated income tax on big fortunes, and in another tax which is far more easily collected and far more effective—a graduated inheritance tax on big fortunes, properly safeguarded against evasion and increasing rapidly in amount with the size of the estate.

The people of the United States suffer from periodical financial panics to a degree substantially unknown among the other nations which approach us in financial strength. There is no reason why we should suffer what they escape. It is of profound importance that our financial system should be promptly investigated, and so thoroughly and effectively revised as to make it certain that hereafter our currency will no longer fail at critical times to meet our needs.

It is hardly necessary for me to repeat that I believe in an efficient army and a navy large enough to secure for us abroad that respect which is the surest guaranty of peace. A word of special warning to my fellow citizens who are as progressive as I hope I am. I want them to keep up their interest in our internal affairs; and I want them also continually to remember Uncle Sam's interests abroad. Justice and fair dealing among nations rest upon principles identical with those which control justice and fair dealing among the individuals of which nations are composed, with the vital exception that each nation must do its own part in international police work. If you get into trouble here, you can call for the police; but if Uncle Sam gets into trouble, he has got to be his own policeman, and I want to see him strong enough to encourage the peaceful aspirations of other peoples in connection with us. I believe in national friendships and heartiest good-will to all nations; but national friendships, like those between men, must be founded on respect as well as on liking, on forbearance as well as upon trust. I should be heartily ashamed of any American who did

not try to make the American Government act as justly toward the other nations in international relations as he himself would act toward any individual in private relations. I should be heartily ashamed to see us wrong a weaker power, and I should hang my head forever if we tamely suffered wrong from a stronger power.

Of conservation I shall speak more at length elsewhere. Conservation means development as much as it does protection. I recognize the right and duty of this generation to develop and use the natural resources of our land; but I do not recognize the right to waste them, or to rob, by wasteful use, the generations that come after us. I ask nothing of the nation except that it so behave as each farmer here behaves with reference to his own children. That farmer is a poor creature who skins the land and leaves it worthless to his children. The farmer is a good farmer who, having enabled the land to support himself and to provide for the education of his children, leaves it to them a little better than he found it himself. I believe the same thing of a nation.

Moreover, I believe that the natural resources must be used for the benefit of all our people, and not monopolized for the benefit of the few, and here again is another case in which I am accused of taking a revolutionary attitude. People forget now that one hundred years ago there were public men of good character who advocated the nation selling its public lands in great quantities, so that the nation could get the most money out of it, and giving it to the men who could cultivate it for their own uses. We took the proper democratic ground that the land should be granted in small sections to the men who were actually to till it and live on it. Now, with the water-power, with the forests, with the mines, we are brought face to face with the fact that there are many people who will go with us in conserving the resources only if they are to be allowed to exploit them for their benefit. That is one of the fundamental reasons why the special interests should be driven

out of politics. Of all the questions which can come before this nation, short of the actual preservation of its existence in a great war, there is none which compares in importance with the great central task of leaving this land even a better land for our descendants than it is for us, and training them into a better race to inhabit the land and pass it on. Conservation is a great moral issue, for it involves the patriotic duty of insuring the safety and continuance of the nation. Let me add that the health and vitality of our people are at least as well worth conserving as their forests, waters, lands, and minerals, and in this great work the national government must bear a most important part.

I have spoken elsewhere also of the great task which lies before the farmers of the country to get for themselves and their wives and children not only the benefits of better farming, but also those of better business methods and better conditions of life on the farm. The burden of this great task will fall, as it should, mainly upon the great organizations of the farmers themselves. I am glad it will, for I believe they are all well able to handle it. In particular, there are strong reasons why the Departments of Agriculture of the various States, the United States Department of Agriculture, and the agricultural colleges and experiment stations should extend their work to cover all phases of farm life, instead of limiting themselves, as they have far too often limited themselves in the past, solely to the question of the production of crops. And now a special word to the farmer. I want to see him make the farm as fine a farm as it can be made; and let him remember to see that the improvement goes on indoors as well as out; let him remember that the farmer's wife should have her share of thought and attention just as much as the farmer himself. Nothing is more true than that excess of every kind is followed by reaction; a fact which should be pondered by reformer and reactionary alike. We are face to face with new conceptions of the relations of property to human welfare,

chiefly because certain advocates of the rights of property as against the rights of men have been pushing their claims too far. The man who wrongly holds that every human right is secondary to his profit must now give way to the advocate of human welfare, who rightly maintains that every man holds his property subject to the general right of the community to regulate its use to whatever degree the public welfare may require it.

But I think we may go still further. The right to regulate the use of wealth in the public interest is universally admitted. Let us admit also the right to regulate the terms and conditions of labor, which is the chief element of wealth, directly in the interest of the common good. The fundamental thing to do for every man is to give him a chance to reach a place in which he will make the greatest possible contribution to the public welfare. Understand what I say there. Give him a chance, not push him up if he will not be pushed. Help any man who stumbles; if he lies down, it is a poor job to try to carry him; but if he is a worthy man, try your best to see that he gets a chance to show the worth that is in him. No man can be a good citizen unless he has a wage more than sufficient to cover the bare cost of living, and hours of labor short enough so that after his day's work is done he will have time and energy to bear his share in the management of the community, to help in carrying the general load. We keep countless men from being good citizens by the conditions of life with which we surround them. We need comprehensive workmen's compensation acts, both State and national laws to regulate child labor and work for women, and, especially, we need in our common schools not merely education in book-learning, but also practical training for daily life and work. We need to enforce better sanitary conditions for our workers, and to extend the use of safety appliances for our workers in industry and commerce, both within and between the States. Also, friends, in the interest of the working man himself we need

to set our faces like flint against mob-violence just as against corporate greed; against violence and injustice and lawlessness by wage-workers just as much as against lawless cunning and greed and selfish arrogance of employers. If I could ask but one thing of my fellow countrymen, my request would be that, whenever they go in for reform, they remember the two sides, and that they always exact justice from one side as much as from the other. I have small use for the public servant who can always see and denounce the corruption of the capitalist, but who cannot persuade himself, especially before election, to say a word about lawless mob-violence. And I have equally small use for the man, be he a judge on the bench, or editor of a great paper, or wealthy and influential private citizen, who can see clearly enough and denounce the lawlessness of mob-violence, but whose eyes are closed so that he is blind when the question is one of corruption in business on a gigantic scale. Also remember what I said about excess in reformer and reactionary alike. If the reactionary man, who thinks of nothing but the rights of property, could have his way, he would bring about a revolution; and one of my chief fears in connection with progress comes because I do not want to see our people, for lack of proper leadership, compelled to follow men whose intentions are excellent, but whose eyes are a little too wild to make it really safe to trust them. Here in Kansas there is one paper which habitually denounces me as the tool of Wall Street, and at the same time frantically repudiates the statement that I am a Socialist on the ground that that is an unwarranted slander of the Socialists.

National efficiency has many factors. It is a necessary result of the principle of conservation widely applied. In the end it will determine our failure or success as a nation. National efficiency has to do, not only with natural resources and with men, but it is equally concerned with institutions. The State must be made efficient for the work which concerns only the people of the State; and the nation for that which concerns all the

people. There must remain no neutral ground to serve as a refuge for lawbreakers, and especially for lawbreakers of great wealth, who can hire the vulpine legal cunning which will teach them how to avoid both jurisdictions. It is a misfortune when the national legislature fails to do its duty in providing a national remedy, so that the only national activity is the purely negative activity of the judiciary in forbidding the State to exercise power in the premises.

I do not ask for overcentralization; but I do ask that we work in a spirit of broad and far-reaching nationalism when we work for what concerns our people as a whole. We are all Americans. Our common interests are as broad as the continent. I speak to you here in Kansas exactly as I would speak in New York or Georgia, for the most vital problems are those which affect us all alike. The National Government belongs to the whole American people, and where the whole American people are interested, that interest can be guarded effectively only by the National Government. The betterment which we seek must be accomplished, I believe, mainly through the National Government.

The American people are right in demanding that New Nationalism, without which we cannot hope to deal with new problems. The New Nationalism puts the national need before sectional or personal advantage. It is impatient of the utter confusion that results from local legislatures attempting to treat national issues as local issues. It is still more impatient of the impotence which springs from overdivision of governmental powers, the impotence which makes it possible for local selfishness or for legal cunning, hired by wealthy special interests, to bring national activities to a deadlock. This New Nationalism regards the executive power as the steward of the public welfare. It demands of the judiciary that it shall be interested primarily in human welfare rather than in property; just as it demands that the representative body shall represent all the people rather than any one class or section of the people.

I believe in shaping the ends of government to protect

property as well as human welfare. Normally, and in the long run, the ends are the same; but whenever the alternative must be faced, I am for men and not for property, as you were in the Civil War. I am far from underestimating the importance of dividends; but I rank dividends below human character. Again, I do not have any sympathy with the reformer who says he does not care for dividends. Of course, economic welfare is necessary, for a man must pull his own weight and be able to support his family. I know well that the reformers must not bring upon the people economic ruin, or the reforms themselves will go down in the ruin. But we must be ready to face temporary disaster, whether or not brought on by those who will war against us to the knife. Those who oppose all reform will do well to remember that ruin in its worst form is inevitable if our national life brings us nothing better than swollen fortunes for the few and the triumph in both politics and business of a sordid and selfish materialism.

If our political institutions were perfect, they would absolutely prevent the political domination of money in any part of our affairs. We need to make our political representatives more quickly and sensitively responsive to the people whose servants they are. More direct action by the people in their own affairs under proper safeguards is vitally necessary. The direct primary is a step in this direction, if it is associated with a corrupt-practices act effective to prevent the advantage of the man willing recklessly and unscrupulously to spend money over his more honest competitor. It is particularly important that all moneys received or expended for campaign purposes should be publicly accounted for, not only after election, but before election as well. Political action must be made simpler, easier, and freer from confusion for every citizen. I believe that the prompt removal of unfaithful or incompetent public servants should be made easy and sure in whatever way experience shall show to be most expedient in any given class of cases.

One of the fundamental necessities in a representative gov-

ernment such as ours is to make certain that the men to whom the people delegate their power shall serve the people by whom they are elected, and not the special interests. I believe that every national officer, elected or appointed, should be forbidden to perform any service or receive any compensation, directly or indirectly, from interstate corporations; and a similar provision could not fail to be useful within the States.

The object of government is the welfare of the people. The material progress and prosperity of a nation are desirable chiefly so far as they lead to the moral and material welfare of all good citizens. Just in proportion as the average man and woman are honest, capable of sound judgment and high ideals, active in public affairs—but, first of all, sound in their home life, and the father and mother of healthy children whom they bring up well—just so far, and no farther, we may count our civilization a success. We must have—I believe we have already—a genuine and permanent moral awakening, without which no wisdom of legislation or administration really means anything; and, on the other hand, we must try to secure the social and economic legislation without which any improvement due to purely moral agitation is necessarily evanescent. Let me again illustrate by a reference to the Grand Army. You could not have won simply as a disorderly and disorganized mob. You needed generals; you needed careful administration of the most advanced type; and a good commissary—the cracker line. You well remember that success was necessary in many different lines in order to bring about general success. You had to have the administration at Washington good, just as you had to have the administration in the field; and you had to have the work of the generals good. You could not have triumphed without that administration and leadership; but it would all have been worthless if the average soldier had not had the right stuff in him. He had to have the right stuff in him, or you could not get it out of him. In the last analysis, therefore, vitally necessary though it was to have the right

kind of organization and the right kind of generalship, it was even more vitally necessary that the average soldier should have the fighting edge, the right character. So it is in our civil life. No matter how honest and decent we are in our private lives, if we do not have the right kind of law and the right kind of administration of the law, we cannot go forward as a nation. That is imperative; but it must be an addition to, and not a substitution for, the qualities that make us good citizens. In the last analysis, the most important elements in any man's career must be the sum of those qualities which, in the aggregate, we speak of as character. If he has not got it, then no law that the wit of man can devise, no administration of the law by the boldest and strongest executive, will avail to help him. We must have the right kind of character—character that makes a man, first of all, a good man in the home, a good father, a good husband—that makes a man a good neighbor. You must have that, and, then, in addition, you must have the kind of law and the kind of administration of the law which will give to those qualities in the private citizen the best possible chance for development. The prime problem of our nation is to get the right type of good citizenship, and, to get it, we must have progress, and our public men must be genuinely progressive.

59. • THE CAUSE IS GREATER THAN ITS LEADER

On October 14, 1912, just as the Bull Moose Campaign was moving into its climax, Roosevelt was shot in the chest by a de-

A speech at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, October 14, 1912. *Progressive Principles*, ed. Elmer H. Youngman (New York: Progressive National Service, 1913), pp. 102-14.

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

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26

Divider Title: _____

State of the Union Address
January 19, 1999

Section of Speech: 21st Century Communities

Fact: restoring the Florida Everglades, saving Yellowstone, preserving the red-rock canyons of Utah, protecting California's redwoods, and our precious coasts

Source: "Vice President Gore Unveils Plan to Restore Freshwater Supplies for Florida's Everglades," Office of the Vice President Press Release, 10/13/98; "White House Official Hails Completion of Pact to Protect Yellowstone," Council of Environmental Quality Press Release, 9/15/98; San Francisco Examiner, 9/22/98 (red-rock canyons); Interior Department Headwaters Forest Fact Sheet (redwoods); Los Angeles Times, 6/13/98 (precious coasts)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Vice President

For Immediate Release
Tuesday, October 13, 1998

Contact:
(202) 456-7035

**VICE PRESIDENT GORE UNVEILS PLAN TO RESTORE FRESHWATER
SUPPLIES FOR FLORIDA'S EVERGLADES**

Federal-State Blueprint Also Would Ensure Water for Farmers, Growing Cities

Palm Beach, Florida -- Vice President Gore today unveiled a comprehensive blueprint for rebuilding freshwater supplies in South Florida, a key element in the Administration's long-term effort to restore the Everglades and to ensure adequate water supplies for agriculture and for the region's growing population.

The draft plan, developed by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in partnership with the South Florida Water Management District, recommends \$7.8 billion in water system improvements over 20 years. Many of the proposed changes would capture fresh water that now flows to the ocean and make it easier to deliver those supplies when and where they are needed.

"With this new action plan, we take the next major step to restore Florida's precious Everglades, one of America's greatest natural treasures -- strengthening our environment and our economy well into the 21st Century," Vice President Gore said. "By working in partnership, across party lines, we will protect and preserve South Florida's water supply for farmers, for families, and for future generations to enjoy."

The Administration's Everglades restoration plan, announced by the Vice President in February 1996, includes strategic land acquisitions, accelerated research and restoration projects, increased federal funding, and strengthened partnerships with state and local government and private interests.

The plan released today advances these efforts by recommending significant improvements to the Central and Southern Florida Flood Control Project, a network of levees and canals covering 18,000 square miles. The system was created in 1948 to provide flood protection and water supplies for South Florida. Half a century later, the freshwater diversions have taken a toll on the Everglades, and population growth has far outstripped the system's capacity. While the project was designed to serve the water needs of 2 million people, the region's population now stands at more than 6 million and is projected to reach 8 million by 2010.

The draft plan, called the "Central and Southern Florida Project Comprehensive Review

Study,” or “Restudy,” identifies measures to help restore historic flows to the Everglades and to avert future water shortages by augmenting supplies for urban and agricultural users. The project’s cost would be shared equally by the federal government and the state of Florida.

Following public comment on the draft “Restudy,” a final report will be completed in spring 1999 and sent to Congress in July, 1999.

Highlights of the plan include:

- several storage areas designed to capture and hold much of the excess water now sent to the Atlantic Ocean or the Gulf of Mexico, including underground water storage to better meet current and future demands;
- manmade wetlands to treat urban and agricultural runoff water before it is discharged to natural areas;
- two wastewater reuse facilities to increase the amount of available water;
- changes to improve how and when water is delivered to the remaining Everglades, including removal of barriers to natural overland sheet flow, and;
- changes in operations to improve ecological conditions in Lake Okeechobee and the coastal estuaries.

Additional information on the plan is available by calling the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers toll free at 800-291-9405 or, by Internet, at www.restudy.org.



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

For Immediate Release:
Tuesday, September 15, 1998

Contact: Elliot Diring
(202) 456-6224

White House Official Hails Completion of Pact to Protect Yellowstone
Land Transfer Eliminates Potential Threat of Mine Runoff

GARDINER, Mont. -- President Clinton's top environmental adviser joined representatives of federal agencies, Crown Butte, Inc., and conservation organizations today in an event marking the culmination of a major collaborative effort to protect Yellowstone National Park from mining.

Under a \$65 million agreement announced by President Clinton in August 1996, the U.S. Forest Service is taking title to the 1,625-acre New World Mine site northeast of Yellowstone. Crown Butte had proposed developing a gold mine on the site, posing the potential threat of acid runoff to the park.

"President Clinton made a commitment to protect Yellowstone, and today that commitment has been fulfilled," said Kathleen A. McGinty, Chair of the White House Council on Environmental Quality. "We are now a step closer to fulfilling the vision of a restored Yellowstone ecosystem. And by protecting one of America's true natural treasures, we help ensure the region's economic future as well."

In her remarks, Ms. McGinty also called on Congress to approve funding for acquisition of the Royal Teton Ranch near Yellowstone to provide critical winter range for bison, elk and other migrating species.

Ms. McGinty was joined at today's event by Yellowstone Park Superintendent Mike Finley, Regional Forester Dale Bosworth of the Forest Service, Crown Butte Board Chairman Karl Elers and Greater Yellowstone Coalition Director Mike Clark. As part of the event, Elers signed a ceremonial deed marking the property's transfer to the Forest Service and presented it to Bosworth.

The 1996 agreement among the federal government, Crown Butte and a coalition of Montana environmental groups ended years of litigation and set in motion a process leading to the property's transfer to the Forest Service. Congress last year appropriated \$65 million for the acquisition. An independent appraisal later placed the property's value at \$69 million.

One of the last hurdles to completing the agreement was cleared in June when Crown Butte agreed to pay \$22.5 million to clean up contamination from nearly 100 years of mining in the New World Mining District. Title to the property was formally transferred to the Forest Service on August 7.

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The San Francisco Examiner

September 22, 1996, Sunday; Fifth Edition

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. C-16

LENGTH: 547 words

**HEADLINE: Salvation in Utah;
President Clinton invokes preservation of the Grand Canyon as he creates a
new national monument of 1.7 million acres**

SOURCE: EXAMINER EDITORIAL WRITER

BODY:

IMAGINE Yosemite Valley with mining scars and 92-foot double tractor trailers loaded with 60 tons of coal rumbling down the road to El Portal every three minutes. **That's the sort of ruin President Clinton forestalled last week when he designated as a national monument 1.7 million acres of eerily beautiful red-rock canyons in southeastern Utah.**

To make the announcement, he chose the south rim of the Grand Canyon. That was fitting because 90 years ago, President Theodore Roosevelt saved this national treasure, even as mining companies held claims to its mineral riches.

President Clinton acted on Wednesday under the same executive authority as Roosevelt had, the Antiquities Act of 1906, which has been used to safeguard natural areas on more than 60 other occasions. No congressional approval is required.

Wearing khakis and cowboy boots, Clinton echoed: "We are saying very simply: Our parents and grandparents saved the Grand Canyon for us. Today, we will save the grand Escalante Canyons and the Kaiparowits Plateaus of Utah for our children and grandchildren."

Nonetheless, Republican congressional representatives from Utah were incensed and environmentalists nervous.

"This is the mother of all land grabs," fumed Sen. Orrin Hatch, who complained that Clinton's unilateral action exceeded his authority and failed to heed local citizens.

Environmentalists worried when Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt gave a yes / no / maybe response on whether mining would be prohibited absolutely.

Claims to perhaps \$ 1 trillion-worth of coal in the new Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument are held by Andalex Resources, a Dutch company. Administration officials want to swap land elsewhere, but Andalex has refused to cooperate.

Clinton says he intends to prevent mining in the new national monument. He shouldn't be allowed to backslide one inch.

Entitled to preservation are ancient rock drawings of the Anasazi Indians; 4 billion years of geologic history, including natural bridges, pinnacles, arches, domes, grottoes, rincons and rock strata of pink, gray, chocolate and vermillion, and hundreds of species of mammals, birds, reptiles, amphibians and raptors.

Profit is Utah's. Tourism is a \$ 4 billion a year business, the state's biggest. Tourists won't flock to a coal mine.

In this fight to preserve, Clinton deserves credit. He has saved a bit of the wonder of our natural heritage. Ninety years from now perhaps another president will echo Clinton's words as he or she conserves one last piece of American wilderness.

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: September 23, 1996

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Los Angeles Times

<=1> View Related Topics

June 13, 1998, Saturday, Home Edition

SECTION: Part A; Page 10; National Desk

LENGTH: 941 words

**HEADLINE: CLINTON TAKES MIDDLE GROUND WITH OFFSHORE DRILLING BAN;
ENVIRONMENT: WITH MONTEREY BAY AS A BACKDROP, PRESIDENT ANNOUNCES 10 MORE YEARS OF MORATORIUM. HE ALSO UNVEILS PLANS TO PROTECT FISH.**

BYLINE: DOYLE McMANUS, TIMES WASHINGTON BUREAU CHIEF

DATELINE: MONTEREY, Calif.

BODY:

President Clinton came to the shore of Monterey Bay on Friday to announce a 10-year extension of the federal ban on new oil and gas drilling off the nation's East and West coasts and a stepped-up effort to protect the world's fish population.

Standing on a hastily built stage on a municipal beach off Cannery Row, with the shimmering bay as a backdrop, Clinton listed a series of new and old environmental actions and promised "to preserve our living oceans as a sacred legacy for all time to come."

Clinton's action extending the moratorium on new oil and gas drilling was widely expected, although environmentalists and California politicians had hoped to persuade him to make the ban permanent.

Instead, officials said, the president decided that extending the moratorium until the year 2012 was a reasonable compromise between environmental protection and the interests of the oil and gas industries, which argue that improved technology is making drilling safer.

Clinton announced that he is also making the ban permanent in national marine sanctuaries, including Monterey Bay and the Channel Islands sanctuary off Santa Barbara.

"We must save these shores from oil drilling," Clinton told an audience of local officials, Monterey area Democrats, scientists and activists attending a National Oceans Conference. "Here in California, you know all too well how oil spills from offshore drilling can spoil our coasts, causing not just the death of marine life but also . . . economic devastation."

The president's decision to stop short of a permanent ban came as a disappointment to environmentalists, who nonetheless praised him for taking a step in their direction.

"Our coastline deserves protection forever," said Sen. Barbara Boxer (D-Calif.), who had lobbied Clinton for a permanent ban. But she called Clinton's action "wonderful" because, she said, it moves down "the path toward permanent protection."

Others were more critical. "The reality is that the Clinton administration, time after time, has chosen commerce and environmentally irresponsible policies over the protection of our oceans," said David Phillips of the Earth Island Institute in San Francisco.

Clinton's action, an executive order, prevents the federal government from issuing any new oil and gas leases off most of the nation's Pacific and Atlantic coasts until 2012. The moratorium was first imposed in 1990 by President Bush for a 10-year term ending in 2000; the Interior Department then issued a plan that lengthened the ban until 2002; Clinton added an extra 10 years.

Kathleen McGinty, chairwoman of the President's Council on Environmental Quality, cast the decision as a sage compromise. "When you have the voices from right and left, and you sort of chart some place right in the middle, you must be doing something right," she said.

McGinty added that the Clinton administration is also proud that it has "equaled or surpassed previous administrations in the amount of oil and gas leasing that we have done."

That leasing has occurred mostly in the Gulf of Mexico, which is not covered by the moratorium--because it is "less environmentally fragile," she said.

A spokesman for oil companies operating in the Western states, on the other hand, dismissed Clinton's action as "political grandstanding" that merely leaves the existing situation unchanged.

"If they were to hold a lease sale tomorrow, I doubt anyone would show up," said Jeff Wilson, a spokesman for the Western States Petroleum Assn. in Los Angeles. He said state and local environmental restrictions have made it impractical and unprofitable to drill for oil off the California coast, even though the industry believes that technology has greatly reduced the risk of spills.

The oil drilling issue has consistently played a role in California elections, however, and Clinton made a point of praising both Boxer and Lt. Gov. Gray Davis, the Democratic candidate for governor, for lobbying him on it.

Environmentalists said some of Clinton's other, less visible actions may have equal impact over the long run.

The president announced several actions aimed at reversing the decline in the world's fisheries: He ordered federal agencies to act to restore depleted fish stocks, protect fish habitats and reduce the accidental catch of noncommercial species; and he ordered a ban on the sale or import of Atlantic swordfish under 33 pounds.

The order to protect fish habitats could prove controversial in some areas; in the Pacific Northwest, for example, it could lead to new restrictions on logging or development in areas near streams that salmon use for spawning. Republicans in Congress have moved to remove or weaken that provision of the 1996 Sustainable Fisheries Act, which instituted more aggressive federal management of the nation's fish stocks.

"Clinton's move is a very good start, especially his tough language on fish habitats," said Anne Platt McGinn, a researcher at the Washington-based Worldwatch Institute. "He is, in effect, warning Congress that he intends to enforce that law."

In other actions, Clinton issued an executive order to protect and restore coral reefs off Hawaii, Florida and other areas; called for a new \$ 800-million fund, paid for by fees levied against shippers, to repair and modernize the nation's ports; and renewed his plea to the Senate to ratify the Law of the Sea treaty--long blocked by the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.)--which provides the international legal framework that supports activities at sea, including fishing and military operations.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO: Doctoral students Raphael Sagarin and Nancy Eufemia join Clinton and Gore at tidal pools in Monterey. PHOTOGRAPHER: Associated Press
PHOTO: (A1) Policy Steps: President Clinton and Vice President Al Gore tour tidal pools in Monterey Bay. Clinton, at the National Oceans Conference,

announced an extended ban on offshore oil and gas drilling. PHOTOGRAPHER:
Agence France-Presse

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: June 13, 1998

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January 12, 1999 15:04 Eastern Time

SECTION: NATIONAL DESK, ENVIRONMENT WRITER

LENGTH: 1642 words

HEADLINE: Transcript of Clinton, Gore Remarks at Announcement of Lands Legacy Initiative (2/2)

CONTACT: White House Press Office, 202-456-2100

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, Jan. 12

BODY:

Following is a transcript of remarks made by President Clinton and Vice President Gore today during the announcement of the lands legacy initiative (2/2):

We just took this tour to learn about the vital research the Agriculture Department does here; to also hear about the young children, the families that use this facility. I also heard about the elementary schoolers who grow vegetables and donate much of their harvest to the D.C. Central Kitchen. I heard about the AmeriCorps members and hundreds of other dedicated volunteers who work here to make sure that we'll always have this beautiful sanctuary in the middle of our Capitol City.

I'd like to mention one of them who is here, Mary Morose, over here. Thank you for being here. She is a retired government geologist who recently donated more than \$1 million of her life's savings to help insure that the Arboretum will always be here, for the children to see. Thank you and God bless you. (Applause.)

We're just here trying to follow Mary's lead. We think every child in every community ought to have a chance to grow up around tall trees as well as tall buildings; to know what vegetables look like when they're growing in the ground, not just when they're in the grocery store; to know what it feels like to walk on a carpet of pine needles as well as one of asphalt.

At the dawn of the century, many Americans saw nature only as a resource to be exploited, or an obstacle to be overcome. We can all take pride, each of us, in the work that we have done and will do. But it really is truly astonishing

that, at the dawning of the Industrial Age in America, Theodore Roosevelt, even then, knew nature was a divine gift; that old-growth forests were more than trees to be cut down; that a pristine peak was more than a repository of ore. He set aside millions of acres of forests and mountains and valleys and canyons, land shaped by the hand of God over hundreds of millions of years. He defined his great central task as leaving this land even a better land for our descendants than it is for us.

In the last hundred years, I think only his kinsman, Franklin Roosevelt, approached his devotion to setting aside land and preserving resources. We have tried over these last six years to fulfill that vision. **We have set aside more than 1.5 million acres in the spectacular red-rock canyons in Utah.** And I might say, I think more and more folks out there have decided it's not such a bad idea. (Laughter.)

We have protected vast acres of the Mojave Desert of California, designating three new national parks; saved more than 400,000 pristine acres of land in Alaska. We're about to complete an historic agreement to save vast tracts of ancient Redwoods in California. We have worked hard to preserve the Florida Everglades and to restore much of them; and put a stop to a massive mining operation planned for right next to Yellowstone, America's very first national park.

But we have a lot to do. All of you know that. Our population is growing; our cities are growing; our commitment to conservation must grow as well. We'll never have a better time to act because of the unprecedented prosperity, because we had our first surplus this year -- or last year -- in nearly 30 years. And we ought to remember what Theodore Roosevelt said -- we are not building this country of ours for a day; we have to make sure it lasts through the ages.

So today I am proud to announce a Lands Legacy Initiative -- \$1 billion to meet the conservation challenges of a new century; fully paid for in my new balanced budget, more than doubling our already considerable commitment to protect America's land. It represents the single largest annual investment in protecting our green and open spaces since Theodore Roosevelt set our nation on the path of conservation nearly a century ago. And to keep on that path, we will be working with Congress to create a permanent funding stream for this purpose, beginning in 2001. (Applause.)

The first part of the plan builds directly on Theodore Roosevelt's conservation legacy by adding new crown jewels to our endowment of natural resources. Next year alone, we will dedicate \$440 million, largely from the sale of oil from existing offshore oil leases, to acquiring and protecting precious lands and coastal waters. Secretary Babbitt and I were talking about

it on the way in.

Among our many priorities, we intend to secure an additional 450,000 acres of private land in and around the new Mojave and Joshua Tree National Parks; to expand beautiful forest refuges in Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire and New York; to continue our massive restoration of Florida's Everglades; to extend America's marine sanctuaries and restore coastal reefs.

In addition, I will propose to add the highest level of wilderness protection to more than 5 million acres of backcountry lands within Yellowstone, Glacier, Great Smoky Mountain and other national parks. If Congress approves this request, then these places will never know the roar of bulldozers and chain-saws. They will never drown out the call of the wild. Families will still be free to enjoy the lands, but they will be expected to take only photographs and leave only footprints.

The second part of our plan, which works in tandem with the Livable Communities Initiative the Vice President announced yesterday, represents a new vision of environmental stewardship for the new century. Today it's no longer enough to preserve our grandest natural wonders. As communities keep growing and expanding, it's become every bit as important to preserve the small but sacred green and open spaces closer to home -- woods and meadows and seashores where children can still play; streams where sportsmen and women can fish; agricultural lands where family farmers can produce the fresh harvest we often take for granted.

In too many communities, farmland and open spaces are disappearing at a truly alarming rate. In fact, across this country, we lose about 7,000 acres every single day. And as the lands become more scarce, it becomes harder and harder for communities to then afford the price of protecting the ones that are left. That is why we have to act now.

So we will also dedicate nearly \$600 million to helping communities across our country save the open spaces that greatly enhance our families' quality of life. With flexible grants, loans and easements, we will help communities to save parks from being paved over. We'll help to save farms from being turned into strip malls. We'll help them to acquire new lands for urban and suburban forests and recreation sites. We'll help them set aside new wetlands, coastal and wildlife preserves. There will be no green mandates and no red tape. Instead, the idea is to give communities all over our country the tools they need to make the most of their own possibilities.

Let me just give you an example of what I mean. South Kingstown, Rhode Island, was a quiet farming town for more than two centuries. Today, it's the

fastest-growing community in the state. Its citizens welcome growth, but they want to maintain their parks and their open spaces. They want to make sure parents won't have to sit in traffic jams when they could be home reading to their children. They want to remain the kind of livable town where employers have no trouble recruiting educated workers interested in a high quality of life. So South Kingstown is setting aside one of every five acres as green space. They're revitalizing the historic downtown by creating a greenway along the Saugatucket River so people can stroll and bike right through the heart of town.

And in November, voters overwhelmingly approved a million-dollar bond measure to protect more farms and more open spaces. This is the work we will help them to complete, and the kind of work we will help people all over America to do. This is the kind of future-oriented community action all Americans, without regard to party or region, should be supporting -- action that combines a vigorous commitment to economic prosperity with an equally vigorous commitment to conservation.

Ever since Theodore Roosevelt launched our nation on the course of conservation, pessimists have claimed that this would hurt the economy. They've been wrong for 100 years now, but they haven't given up. Time and again they have been wrong. Whether the issue was park land preservation, acid rain, deadly pesticides, polluted rivers, the ozone hole, or any number of other environmental issues all of you know very well, we have always found ways to improve our environment, protect the public health, and enshrine our public heritage and still continue to grow our economy.

In fact, with the recent developments in technology and the looming problems of climate change, we now know that we will have a far more prosperous economy if we do the right things by the environment. And I hope that in the 21st century we will not have to fight that battle for another 100 years.

With this historic Lands Legacy Initiative, and the far-sighted, livable communities plan the Vice President announced yesterday, we will use flexible, innovative means to protect our nation's and our communities' natural heritage. We will help to create liveable cities where both citizens and businesses want to put down roots. We will honor the core principle Theodore Roosevelt set out for us 100 years ago: to leave this magnificent country even a better land for our descendants than it is for us.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END 12:42 P.M. EST

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: January 12, 1999