Mrs. Clinton

Domestic women's issues

Domestic women's issues

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

May 18, 1999

Memorandum for Hillary Rodham Clinton

From: Neera Tanden
Ruby Shamir

Subject: Your Activities in the Wake of Littleton

You have participated in the following activities post-Littleton (listed here in chronological order):

April 22	Al Shanker Speech before AFT
April 27	Event with the President on Guns Control Initiative
April 28	Column on Littleton
April 29	Principal for a Day
April 29	Jefferson Jackson Dinner
May 8	Mother's Day Event on Guns
May 10	White House Strategy Session on Children, Violence and Responsibility
May 12	Column on Gun Control and National Campaign
May 20	Trip to Littleton

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release May 18, 1999

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

I want to commend the Senate for reversing its position of last year and voting overwhelmingly today to require that child safety locks be provided with every gun sold. This was a courageous, common sense vote that will help prevent tragic shootings and gun-related accidents in the future.

I also want to thank Speaker Hastert for agreeing that we should close the gun show loophole and raise the age of handgun ownership from 18 to 21. The Senate should likewise put progress over politics and give its strong backing to these reasonable measures to keep guns out of the hands of children and criminals. I urge Senator Lott to let the Senate keep working on the juvenile crime bill and give every Senator the chance to vote on these common sense provisions.

30-30-30

TO: The First Lady

FROM: Neera Tanden

RE: Crime Issues

Date: May 17, 1999

I wanted to provide you with a brief update on gun control and other crime issues.

I. Gun Amendments to the Juvenile Crime Bill

As part of its consideration of juvenile crime legislation last week, the Senate voted on a number of gun-related amendments:

(1) Gun shows: The Senate narrowly passed two amendments dealing with gun shows. After voting to table the Lautenberg amendment to require background checks at all gun shows (51-47), the Senate passed a Craig amendment establishing a system of voluntary background checks for unlicensed sellers at gun shows. After considerable criticism, Republicans tried to strengthen their gun shows amendment the next day by making background checks mandatory for some gun sales at gun shows. However, the Republicans' revised amendment remains problematic for a number of reasons:

(a) It continues to exempt some gun sellers -- or a new class of "special licensees" created by the amendment -- from mandatory background checks.

(b) It rolls back current law to exempt pawnshops from conducting background checks on redeemed firearms. It is worth noting that persons who redeem firearms at pawnshops are more than 3 times as likely to be a prohibited purchasers under law.

(c) It undermines federal law enforcement by not requiring a new class of persons allowed to conduct background checks -- special registrants" -- to assist law enforcement in tracing firearms, and by not allowing federal law enforcement to require gun show sellers to certify that they are in compliance with state and local gun laws, as the Lautenberg amendment would.

(d) It would weaken the Brady Law by requiring background checks at gun shows to take place within a 24-hour period (not a business day). Under the Brady Law, the FBI has up to 3 business days if necessary to clarify arrest records, and it requires additional time in about 20 to 30 percent of the background checks. Thus, a background check conducted Saturday morning at a gun show would have to be completed by Sunday morning, even though the state court officer -- where many criminal records are kept -- would be closed.

Despite these problems, the Republican gun shows "fix" passed by a 48-47 vote (with 4 Democrats not voting). This amendment also included $50 million for enhanced federal firearms prosecutions, increased penalties for criminals who use firearms, a watered down version of juvenile Brady, and an expansion of the Youth Crime Gun Interdiction Initiative.

(2) Assault weapons: The Senate passed versions of two proposals included in the Administration's gun legislation. The Senate passed an Ashcroft amendment to bar juvenile possession of assault rifles and large capacity ammunition clips. Unlike the Administration's proposal, however, the Ashcroft ban contains numerous exemptions that track those for handguns in the Youth Handgun Safety Act (e.g., hunting, ranching, etc.), and it only bans possession through age 18. The Administration's bill would have banned assault weapons and clips in every instance and for all persons under the age of 21. The Senate also passed the Feinstein amendment to bar the importation of all large capacity ammunition magazines.

(3) Internet sales: The Senate voted down a Schumer amendment to require background checks for firearms sold on the Internet.

Although the Senate is expected to resume consideration of the juvenile crime bill and other gun amendments this week, the bill may be taken off the floor if Republicans and Democrats do not reach any agreement on how to limit the number of outstanding amendments.

II. 1998 FBI Crime Data

Yesterday, the FBI released the preliminary 1998 Uniform Crime Report, which showed that overall crime fell by 7 percent from 1997. Between 1997 and 1998, both violent and property crime decreased by 7 percent. Violent crime: murder dropped by 8 percent, rape and assault fell by 5 percent each, and robbery fell by 11 percent. Property crime: larceny-theft fell 6 percent, burglary and arson down 7 percent each, and motor vehicle theft declined by 10 percent. Crime decreased in all regions, with the West reporting the largest drops in violent crime (9 percent) and the Midwest reporting the smallest decreases (4 percent). Serious crime fell in cities of all sizes, with large cities (populations from 250,000-999,999) and suburban cities (50,000 to 99,999) reporting the largest decreases (8 percent each) and smaller cities with populations of less than 10,000 reporting the smallest decreases (4 percent). This is the seventh year the nation has witnessed a decline in violent crime.

May 9, 1999

BRIEFING ON STATISTICS RELATED TO YOUTH VIOLENCE

FROM: **NEERA TANDEN**
RUBY SHAMIR

The following are statistics on factors that may contribute to youth violence. The first section is a synopsis of several studies on media violence and its effects on children's behavior. The second section, on the state of the nation's children, notes that feelings of depression and isolation appear to be growing. The third section includes statistics on gun violence.

Media and Violence

There have been numerous studies on the effects of television violence on children. The vast majority of these studies, which cover a range of settings and issues, have concluded that violence on television promotes aggressive behavior in children.

Impact of Media Violence

Studies on the effects of television violence on children have taken place in a range of settings and the vast majority of them have concluded that violence on television leads to aggressive behavior.

- The 1972 Surgeon General Report said "We know that children imitate and learn from everything they see – parents, fellow children, school, the media; it would be extraordinary, indeed, if they did not imitate and learn from what they see on television." Experiments carried out for this report revealed that violence on television causes children either to mimic directly the actions they view, or it may instigate aggressive behavior. Other studies found that if an actor is rewarded for violent behavior, children are more likely to imitate it.

- In 1992, the Journal of the American Medical Association reported that "they (young children) do not possess an instinct for gauging a priori whether a behavior ought to be imitated…up through the ages 3 and 4 years, many children are unable to distinguish fact from fantasy in television programs…"

- According to the American Psychiatric Association, ignoring consequences of violence or depicting the consequences unreasonably sets in motion a destructive encoding process. Viewers become desensitized and fearful and begin to identify with aggressors and the aggressors' solutions to various problems. The violent behaviors and attitudes thus encoded, aggression is now all the more likely in personal situations.

- Studies have shown that television violence has a particularly negative effect on children who have a tendency towards aggressive behavior. However, it is important to note that television

violence affects youngsters of all ages, both genders, all socioeconomic levels and all levels of intelligence. Dr. Leonard Eron of the University of Chicago has said that television violence creates a vicious cycle in which televised violence causes children to become more aggressive, and these more aggressive children in turn, watch more violence on television to justify their own behavior.

- Recent studies have measured the longer-term effects of television violence by tracking subjects from childhood to adulthood. Dr. Eron led a study in 1960 that tracked 870 youth in New York and found that a boy's early childhood aggression in elementary school was statistically related to aggressive anti-social behavior 10 years later. A 22-year follow-up with the same group of children found that their early violence viewing related to their adult criminality at age 30.

- NOTE: There has been no major research on video games or the Internet. The proposed Surgeon General's report would include new research on the effects of these new media.

Violent Programming Content

- The level of violence in prime time television has remained at approximately five violent acts per hour, while the level of violence in children's Saturday morning programming is much higher at about 20 to 25 violent acts per hour.

- Children witness 8,000 murders and 100,000 other assorted acts of violence by the time they graduate from elementary school, and an estimated 200,000 acts of violence, and 16,000 simulated murders, by the time they are teens.

- According to the 1996 National Television Violence Study, a three-year study financed by the cable industry, the majority of television programs (57%) contained some violent content.

- The National Television Violence Study also found that perpetrators of violent acts on television go unpunished 73% of the time and that 25% of violent acts on television involve the use of a handgun. Children's programs posed special concerns because they were least likely to depict the long-term consequences of violence (5%) and they portray violence in a humorous fashion 67% of the time.

State of the Nation's Children

Children and Depression

The National Mental Health Association (NMHA) cites a number of studies and statistics on childhood depression. The NMHA also marked May 6 as Childhood Depression Awareness Day to bring attention to childhood depression.

- The rate of suicide for five to 24 year olds has nearly tripled since 1960, making it the leading cause of death in adolescents and the second leading cause of death among college age youth. (AACAP, 1995)

- As many as one in every 33 children and one in eight adolescents may have depression. (U.S. Center for Mental Health Services (CMHS), 1996)

- Once a young person has experienced a major depression, he or she is at risk of developing another depression within the next five years. (CMHS, 1996)

- Two-thirds of children with mental health problems do not get the help they need. (CMHS, 1996)

- Suicide is the third leading cause of death for 15 to 24 year olds (approximately 5,000 young people) and the sixth leading cause of death for five to 15 year olds. (American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry (AACAP), 1995.)

Youth Attitudes

As you know, the Ad Council produced a study entitled "Kids These Day: What American Really Think About the Next Generation," covering a range of issues. The study, a collection of surveys, found that young people today face a moral crisis because parents are not sufficiently engaged in the lives of their children. The study further noted that parents do not feel that they are able to spend enough time with their children, because they must work harder.

The study had a special focus on teen's attitudes. Teenagers described themselves as happy and said that they have warm relationships with their parents and other adults. Many, however, noted that they have a lot of free, unstructured time and said that their environs are filled with hazards and potential trouble.

Statistics on Gun Violence

Gun Violence

Gun violence is also on the rise, as the firearm injury rate is ten times higher than the polio epidemic in the first half of the century. The Centers for Disease Control estimates that by 2003 the leading cause of death from injury will be from gunshots.

- In 1996, 4,643 children and teenagers were killed by firearms in murders, suicides, and unintentional shootings.

- Gunshot wounds are the second leading cause of death for all people aged 10-34.

- According to a February 1997 report by the Centers for Disease Control, the rate of firearm deaths among children 0-14 years old is nearly twelve times higher in the United States than in 25 other industrialized countries combined.

Gun Ownership
According to a 1996 Department of Justice report:

- There are approximately 200 million guns in private hands even though only 25 % of all adults in America own guns.

- 20% of all gun-owning households had a loaded, unlocked gun in the home, a figure that was significantly higher among households that had a handgun, as opposed to a long gun. Further, the study found that 53% of long guns and 57% of handguns are usually kept unlocked.

- 26% of all guns and 55% of handguns are usually kept loaded. Loaded guns of either type are more likely to be unlocked than are unloaded guns. The result is that one in three handguns, and one in six long guns, is kept loaded and unlocked.

PROMOTING SCHOOL SAFETY & PREVENTING YOUTH VIOLENCE
President Clinton's Record

SCHOOL VIOLENCE PREVENTION

Hosting the White House Conference on School Safety. Convening experts, parents, principals, students, law enforcement and local community leaders, the President and First Lady held the first-ever White House Conference on School Safety on October 15, 1998, to provide an opportunity for Americans to learn more about how they can make their own schools and communities safer. The Conference focused both on the recent incidents of extreme violence as well as the causes of youth violence more generally. It included members of communities affected by school shootings and was linked by satellite to schools and communities across the nation.

Launching a Community-Wide Response to School Safety and Youth Violence. Last month, the President launched the Safe Schools/Healthy Students Initiative, which will provide up to $180 million this year -- and a total of $380 million over the next three years -- to help 50 communities develop and implement community-wide responses to school safety and youth violence. This initiative, which was also a product of the White House School Safety Conference, represents an unprecedented collaboration between the Departments of Justice, Education and Health and Human Services to provide comprehensive educational, law enforcement, mental health, juvenile justice, and other services to help communities prevent youth violence and drug abuse, in and out of school. Communities have until June 1, 1999 to apply for as much as $3 million each through this initiative.

Helping to Make All Schools Safe, Disciplined and Drug-Free. In 1994, President Clinton expanded the Drug-Free Schools Act into the Safe and Drug-Free Schools Act, making violence prevention a key part of this program. Safe and Drug-Free Schools provides support for violence and drug prevention programs to 97 percent of the nation's school districts. At the White House Conference on School Safety, President Clinton announced his plan for a significant overhaul of the nearly $600 million Safe and Drug-Free Schools and Communities Program to focus more on effective violence prevention initiatives. Under the President's proposal, schools will be required to adopt rigorous, comprehensive school safety plans that include: tough, but fair, discipline policies; safe passage to and from schools; effective drug and violence policies and programs; annual school safety and drug use report cards; funding for mental health services; links to after school programs; efforts to involve parents; and crisis management plans.

Responding to the Early Warning Signs of Troubled Youth. President Clinton directed the Secretary of Education and the Attorney General to develop a guide to help teachers and principals identify and respond to the early warning signs of troubled youth that can lead to school violence. In August 1998, the Departments of Justice and Education released *Early Warning, Timely Response: A Guide to Safe Schools*. The guide, aimed at teachers, principals, parents, and others who work with young people, provides information on how to identify and respond to the early warning signs of troubled youth that can lead to violence in schools. In addition, the guide also instructs schools on how to develop a violence prevention plan and

provides a crisis procedure checklist for schools to use if violence occurs. Finally, the guide lists actions students can take -- such as listening to troubled friends, involving trusted adults, and asking law enforcement to conduct school safety audits -- to help create safer schools. More than 200,000 guides already have been distributed to schools across the nation, and 150,000 additional copies will be distributed next week.

Creating a New Federal Response for Violent Deaths in Schools. President Clinton has proposed a $12 million School Emergency Response to Violence -- or Project SERV -- in his FY 2000 budget to help schools and local communities respond to school-related violent deaths, such as those that occurred last school year in Jonesboro, Arkansas; Paducah, Kentucky; Pearl, Mississippi; and Springfield, Oregon. Developed with input from local officials and educators in these and other communities, Project SERV will enable the federal government to assist local communities in much the same way that the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) assists in response to natural disasters. The program will also help communities build the infrastructure necessary to bring more mental health services into their schools.

Hiring School Resource Officers, Targeting Assistance to Schools with Serious Crime Problems. To help give schools with crime problems the tools they need to put the security of our children first, at the White House Conference on School Safety, the President announced a new $65 million initiative to hire up to 2,000 community police and School Resource Officers to work in schools -- and to train police, educators and other members of the community to help recognize the early warning signs of violence.

Forging School-Based Partnerships Between Schools and Law Enforcement. Under the School-Based Partnerships grant program, the Clinton Administration released $16.4 million in grants to 155 law enforcement agencies in September 1998. The School-Based Partnerships grants will be used by policing agencies to work with schools and community-based organizations to address crime at and around schools. This initiative emphasizes using principles of community policing and problem-solving methods to address the causes of school-related crime. The grants will help forge or strengthen partnerships between local law enforcement and schools to focus on school crime, drug use and discipline problems.

Issuing the First Annual Report on School Safety. In December 1997, President Clinton called for an Annual Report on School Safety, which was released on October 15, 1998 and sent to every school in the nation. The report includes: an analysis of all existing national school crime data and an overview of state and local crime reporting; examples of schools and strategies that are successfully reducing school violence, drug use and class disruption; actions that parents can take locally to combat school crime; and resources available to schools and communities to help create safe, disciplined and drug-free schools.

GUN CONTROL

Keeping Guns Out of the Hands of Children. A number of laws and initiatives are keeping guns out of the hands of children and away from criminals. For instance, since the Brady Law's enactment, over 250,000 felons, fugitives and stalkers have been denied handguns, and the 1994 Crime Bill banned 19 of the deadliest assault weapons and their copies -- keeping assault

weapons off America's streets. The Youth Crime Gun Interdiction Initiative (YCGII) is cracking down on the illegal gun markets that supply firearms to juveniles and criminals in 37 target cities. The ATF has already traced more than 77,000 crime guns in the YCGII cities, which has led to the investigation and arrest of hundreds of illegal gun traffickers supplying guns to juveniles and criminals. The Administration's FY 2000 budget proposal proposes adding ATF agents to new YCGII cities to assist in gun trafficking investigations. In addition to these programs, President Clinton signed a directive to every federal agency, requiring child safety locking devices with every handgun issued to federal law enforcement officers. And, in an historic agreement, eight major gun manufacturers have voluntarily agreed to provide child safety locking devices with all their handguns, helping to protect our children.

Enforcing Zero Tolerance for Guns and Other Weapons in Schools. In October 1994, President Clinton signed into law the Gun-Free Schools Act, requiring states to have in effect a law requiring local education agencies (LEAs) to expel students who bring guns to school. The President issued a Presidential Directive later that month to enforce "zero tolerance" for guns in schools, a policy requiring the expulsion of students who bring guns to schools. In school year 1996-97, the U.S. Department of Education estimates that, under zero tolerance policies, 6,093 students were expelled from public schools for bringing a firearm to school.

CULTURE

Giving Families A New Tool -- A Content-Based Television Ratings System. Striving to protect children from violence and adult content on television, the President and Vice President garnered a breakthrough agreement from the television industry to create a content-based voluntary ratings system. The new system went into effect October 1, 1997, giving parents the information they need to determine if TV shows are appropriate for viewing by their children and identifying which programs they want to block from their homes through screening technology (the V-chip). The voluntary rating system includes age- and content-based ratings.

Helping Parents Control What Comes Into Their Living Room with the V-Chip. Four years ago, President Clinton and Vice President Gore used the Family Policy Conference in Nashville to call for V-chip legislation -- to give parents new tools to help them screen out television programs that are not fit for their kids. Under strong leadership from the White House, the following year saw Congress enact the Telecommunications Act of 1996 which included V-chip legislation. Now, by January 2000, all new televisions are scheduled to include this screening technology.

Hosting the White House Conference on Children's Television. In July 1996, the President, Vice President, and First Lady convened the White House Conference on Children's Television to improve and expand education television for children. Conference participants included parents, industry representatives, advocates, experts and advertisers. At the Conference, the television industry joined with the President and agreed to air more educational and instructional children's shows.

Encouraging More Educational Television. At the President's urging, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) adopted clear and concrete rules to encourage the

development and promotion of TV programming that would be both welcomed by parents and watched by children. The rules require three hours of regularly scheduled, half-hour weekly educational and instructional programming as a requirement for license renewal.

Promoting a "Family Friendly" Internet. The President and Vice President have worked to make cyberspace a safe place for children. The Administration has enlisted the assistance of numerous stakeholders, including industry leaders, teachers, parents, Internet users and librarians to work towards the creation of a "family friendly" Internet. The Administration's three part strategy includes: 1) industry commitments to provide blocking, filtering and labeling technology for use by parents and teachers using the 'Net; 2) effective enforcement of existing laws; and 3) increased parental awareness and involvement. This strategy is designed to give parents and teachers the tools they need to prevent children from getting access to inappropriate material on the Internet, and to guide them towards high-quality educational resources.

MENTAL HEALTH ISSUES

Increased Funding for Children's Mental Health Services: From 1993 to 1999, the President has increased funding for children's mental health services from just $5 million to $78 million. Significant parts of this funding will be used to provide link schools with mental health services.

Substantial New Increases to Improve Substance Abuse Prevention and Treatment. In 1999, the Congress responded to the Administration's proposal to substantially increase substance abuse prevention and treatment activities. Congress has approved a critical $275 million increase in the Substance Abuse Block Grant at the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMSHA). With this increase, over $1.5 billion will be allocated to the block grant in FY1999 enabling tens of thousands of high-risk youth, pregnant women, and other underserved Americans to get much-needed drug treatment and prevention services.

New Investments in Mental Health Services at SAMHSA. The President's FY 99 budget included a new $13 million increase in mental health block grant. With this increase, the block grant will contain $288 million in mental health spending this year. These services provide much needed treatment, counseling and services for thousands of people with mental illnesses.

VIOLENCE PREVENTION

Providing Safe After-School Opportunities for More than a Million Children a Year. Last year (FY98), the 21st Century Community Learning Centers program was expanded to $200 million. This funding is already supporting hundreds of school-based after-school programs in rural and urban schools in 44 states and the District of Columbia, including weekend and summer programs. This year, the President proposed to triple this initiative -- to $600 million -- to provide safe and educational after-school opportunities for up to 1.1 million school-age children in communities across the country. In addition, the Education Department released a report in June 1998, titled *Safe and Smart: Making the After-School Hours Work for Kid.* This report shows that after-school programs can lower juvenile crime and improve academic performance. *Safe and Smart* was sent to every school district in the country.

Cracking Down on Truancy. Truancy prevention initiatives have been shown to keep more children in school and dramatically reduce daytime crime. The Education Department issued a guidebook to the 15,000 school districts nationwide which outlines the central characteristics of a comprehensive truancy prevention policy and highlights model initiatives in cities and towns across the country. Since then, the Education Department has provided grants to local school districts to develop innovative truancy prevention programs of the kind described in the guidebook.

Encouraging Schools to Adopt School Uniform Policies. School uniforms have been found to be a promising strategy to reduce violence while promoting discipline and respect in school. Because of this, the Clinton Administration has encouraged schools to consider adopting school uniform policies by sharing with every school district a school uniforms manual prepared by the Department of Education in consultation with local communities and the Department of Justice. Since the President highlighted school uniforms, a growing number of schools have adopted these policies including: New York City, Dade County, San Antonio, Houston, Chicago and Boston.

Supporting Curfews at the Local Level. Community curfews are designed to help keep children out of harm's way and enhance community safety. Because of their success, President Clinton has encouraged communities to adopt curfew policies. A 1997 survey by the U.S. Conference of Mayors has shown that 276 of 347 cities surveyed -- or 80 percent -- had youth curfew laws, up from 70 percent in 1995.

Developing a Comprehensive Anti-Gang and Youth Violence Strategy. President Clinton has proposed a comprehensive strategy to (1) target gangs and violent youths with tougher punishments and by expanding anti-gang task forces and the use of racketeering statutes (i.e., RICO) for gang-related offenses; (2) crack down on kids and guns by prohibiting violent juveniles from buying guns and increasing penalties for selling handguns to youths; and (3) keep kids off the streets and out of trouble by expanding after-school programs and promoting anti-truancy initiatives and youth curfews.

Supporting Civic, Community and Faith-Based Organizations. Recognizing the important role that civic, community and faith-based organizations can play in reducing crime, the Administration launched a new Values-Based Violence Prevention Initiative to make $2.2 million in grants available to 16 community-based collaboratives, including religiously-affiliated organizations, that target youth violence, gangs, truancy, and other juvenile problems by promoting common-sense values and responsibility.

Encouraging Conflict Resolution. The Departments of Education and Justice have developed and distributed 40,000 conflict resolution guides to schools and community organizations, providing guidance on how to develop effective conflict resolution programs; Education and Justice are training community officials and educators on these conflict resolution measures.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release May 10, 1999

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT,
THE FIRST LADY,
THE VICE PRESIDENT AND MRS. GORE

AFTER WHITE HOUSE STRATEGY SESSION
ON CHILDREN, VIOLENCE AND RESPONSIBILITY

The Rose Garden

2:06 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Please be seated, everyone. We're getting our group up here, you see. It's a little slow -- it's a large and, as you can see, diverse and distinguished group. We just had a wonderful meeting in the East Room of the White House. We had not only the Vice President and Tipper and Hillary and I, but many members of our administration and four members of Congress -- Senator Brownback and Senator Reid, and Leader Gephardt and Representative Jennifer Dunn were there.

And we listened to several hours of discussions; over 40 people spoke, many of them already heavily involved in the efforts to give our children a safe childhood and protect them from violence.

This was exactly the kind of session I had hoped for, where everyone was talking about the problems and the opportunities; everyone was talking about what could be done to accept responsibility. No one was pointing the finger of blame.

In the weeks and months ahead, as we launch our national campaign to prevent youth violence, we will build on the strong foundation of this day, and on many of the things which have been said and many of the people who have said them.

I want to say a special word of appreciation to the young people who are here today and who are working in their own communities to try to help their fellow students have a safe and

wholesome life.

As the national campaign gets underway, we know we'll have to overcome the old ways of doing business. We've seen some of that today as well, in the remarkable support that gun manufacturers have given to many of our common-sense gun proposals. We see in the efforts of networks like ABC and CBS, and private family foundations like Kaiser, and agencies like the FCC, all of whom have supported the television rating systems, and giving parents the tool of the V-chip to protect children from excessively violent programming.

We know that there is more for each of us to do at home and at school, in Hollywood and in the heartland and here in Washington. Every parent, every teacher, every leader has something more to do.

First and most fundamentally, we must do more to help parents fulfill their most important responsibilities, those to their children. Challenging parents to turn off the television when they don't like what they see; to use the new tools the Vice President announced recently to keep an eye on the computer screen; to refuse to buy products that glorify violence. If no

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one consumes these products, people will stop producing them. They will not build it if you don't come.

To the media and entertainment industries, I also say we need your wholehearted participation in this cause. There are many changes which have occurred over the last generation in our society. It is true that we've had a lot of breakdowns in families, schools and communities. It is true that we have had a rise in the availability of weapons. It is also true that there has been a coarsening of the culture in many ways. And those who influence it must be sensitive to that.

I mentioned today that not very long ago there was a fascinating story on the birth of Hollywood, the virtual creation of Hollywood by immigrants, on one of our cable channels. And the story really graphically demonstrated how these immigrants -- who came to the United States, faced initial discrimination, went to California to make a new life -- created an image of America, and an image of the American Dream and an image of American life in the movies that they made that had a very positive impact on the culture of America for decades.

We cannot pretend that there is no impact on our culture and our children that is adverse if there is too much violence coming out of what they see and experience. And so, we have to ask people who produce things to consider the consequences of them -- whether it's a violent movie, a CD, a video game. If they are made, they at least they should not be marketed to children.

Finally, I urge Congress to join in this campaign by passing the legislation necessary to keep guns out of the hands of children. As a group of gun manufacturers and sportsmen made clear today, these are common-sense measures that they support.

There are also other things that we can do that I hope we will do -- to provide more support for counseling services, for mental health services, for other things which will help to improve our efforts.

Again, let me say, I want to thank the Vice President and Tipper Gore for the work they have done on these issues for years. I want them to come forward and speak. But first, I want to ask the First Lady to speak -- and acknowledge that she has to go to a school as soon as she finishes talking here.

She had the idea for us to call this national conference and to try to organize a national grass-roots campaign. It was a good idea and it looks like a lot better idea after today's meeting. So I want to thank Hillary for everything she's done and ask her to come forward and say a few words. (Applause.)

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you, all. I think everyone who participated in the meeting this morning came away with the positive feeling that there isn't any problem that we face when it comes to our young people, that if we're honest enough to talk about it we can come up with ideas about how to address it, and we can better empower all parts of our society to be part of the solution.

To that end, the President mentioned that we want to have a national campaign to prevent youth violence. It's modeled on the national campaign against teenage pregnancy, the national campaign that was launched to convince employers to hire people coming off of welfare to go to work. It's in the greatest of American traditions of the kind of public-private partnership that is unique to our country.

And in the next weeks that campaign will be put

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together. It will be a not-for-profit, 501-C3 effort that will bring together many of the people around the table today in the East Room and many others. It will come forward, we hope, with very specific suggestions about what parents can do, what schools can do, what community groups can do, what the media can do, what gun manufacturers can do, what all of us can do.

You probably know that I really do think it takes a village; but my book had a subtitle, and that was, it takes a village to raise a child and other lessons children teach us. And the most important lesson I think all of us are learning, once again because of the tragedy in Littleton and the consequences that flow from that, are that we have to do a better job doing our most important job, and that is helping to raise our children and create a climate in our country that is good for children.

We have to battle a lot of attitudes and cynicism and skepticism and hopelessness and helplessness, and a sense by many people that the forces that are arrayed against families and children are just too big to try to deal with, and maybe the only thing we can do is just shut the doors of our own home and try to deal with what goes on there. But we have to do that as well.

So I'm very encouraged by the conversation that we had this morning, and I'm very excited about the prospects for this national campaign. And I hope that everyone, everyone in America, will realize that there's a role for each of us in trying to prevent youth violence. And more than that -- trying to reach out and listen to our children so that we can provide the kind of support that they need.

And someone who has known that and done it in her own life, and done it in our public life for many years, who has continually addressed the issue of mental health and particularly how it affects children -- someone who I admire greatly and who will be chairing the first ever White House Conference on Mental Health on June 7 -- and that is Tipper Gore. (Applause.)

MRS. GORE: Thank you very much, Mrs. Clinton. And to everyone that participated in the strategy session today, we want to thank you. We want to thank members of the media for being here, because certainly in some of the things that we heard we would like to ask the media to help get the word out to the parents, to all members of the community, that we are all part of a solution to helping better support our kids.

We heard loudly and clearly that every member of the community -- whether it was the entertainment industry, the gun industry, businesses giving more flexibility, time to their employees so that they could strengthen their families by spending more time with their children whenever that was necessary -- we really heard that children need to spend more time with adults. Children themselves, the kids involved in the strategy session said that they need to have more involvement from adults, parents, in their lives. And that's a call to action that we've got to answer.

Something else that we heard loudly and clearly is that, yes, while Littleton was symbolic for so many of us and such a tragedy and a wake-up call, that there have been little massacres going on in our society for years. And many people have been very, very concerned about that, and we continue to be.
But we all come together now, around the table -- just as I hope all Americans will come around their tables, in their own homes, in their own neighborhoods, in their own communities, to say, how can we better support children?

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One way we clearly can is by providing more counselors in schools, more access to mental health support and mental health help. When we hear children talk to us about other kids who are headed toward violence either against others or against themselves -- since suicide is the second leading cause of death among teenagers -- we have to have adults in place in all parts of the community that will listen, but especially in the schools.

So that is something that I wanted to mention, and that I would like to ask also for the media's help in our coverage of these issues very specifically, in the first-ever White House Conference on Mental Health, which will happen on June the 7th, with some 1,000 downlinks all around the country. And it will be at Howard University.

You can do a great deal to help us talk to kids, and tell children in America that we are willing and ready to listen to them, as well as -- I'd like to ask for people in the media, themselves, the programmers and others, if they will consider the effect they have in reporting the news on kids, the effect that they may have, and the way that they portray people with a mental illness in their programming. They can go a long way -- all of us can -- if we just join our hands and hearts together in a very positive way,

and ask a central question: Is what we are doing good enough to help our kids mature into healthy adults? Because that's in the interest of all of us, for all Americans.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

And now I'd like to present someone who has even more to say on this subject, in particular, about giving parents tools to use in order to do their job more effectively, the Vice President, Al Gore. (Applause.)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Thank you, Tipper. And, Mr. President, I want to thank you and congratulate you and the First Lady for taking the initiative to pull this rather extraordinary strategy session together that we just had. I know that I speak for all of the men and women and children who participated in this session in saying it was quite a useful, even inspiring, certainly encouraging, session.

And just to try to briefly capture the spirit of it for those of you who were not there -- and, incidentally, I'm sure it would not have been as good if it was open to the press. (Laughter.) Even you, Sam. (Laughter.) But people who have had differing points of view on contentious issues for years and years spoke directly to one another about how they wanted to reconsider some of the assumptions they have held in the past, how they wanted to have an open mind about new approaches to solving problems that obviously have not been solved up until now. It was really an occasion for quite a bit of reconciliation.

So I want to thank you, Mr. President and the First Lady. I want to thank Tipper for being my inspiration and source of education on these issues for a long time now. Twenty-two years ago, she formed a citizens group on violence in the media, and as others have mentioned, the White House Conference on Mental Health Care is coming up.

I want to thank Leader Dick Gephardt, and Jennifer Dunn, Harry Reid and Sam Brownback, all of my colleagues in the Cabinet, and all of the leaders from the various sectors of industry and society, who were present here today.

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One of the other very impressive things about this gathering was that it didn't just point fingers, and it didn't try to

simplistically settle on one particular cause of a very complex problem. And I think it's a sign of maturation in our society that people from all different sectors could come together and really see this issue in all of its complexity.

Obviously, better parenting is the main and most important solution. But some of the participants raised new aspects of that that haven't been always talked about in connection with this issue. Let's look at the prevalence of domestic violence in our society, and realize that the painful real-life lessons that children learn from seeing domestic violence, as common as it is -- even if it's seldom reported to the extent that it occurs -- those lessons are far more powerful, in the impact on those children than the imagery they see in the media.

Obviously, all of the adults in this nation have to take more responsibility for becoming involved in the lives of all children. Dr. Maya Angelou talked about the epidemic of rage and cynicism that can only be cured if adults become more involved and more constructively involved with children.

We talked about the importance of early childhood education and after-school care -- both areas where communities can help parents by filling in the times of the day when it's so difficult for some families to do the job they need to do. Of course, we talked about the problems in schools, how some of them are too big, how we need smaller schools, or at least smaller schools within large schools; more teachers; more guidance counselors.

We talked about how to heal communities that foster a feeling of alienation and isolation, that hurts the ability to establish a sense of connectedness that is so important for children to learn. Of course, we talked about how to limit the availability of guns to children and to criminals and to those who are obviously unsuitable to have guns.

And we talked about the role of the media. And I want to commend ABC and CBS and most of the cable networks and satellite networks for participating in the V-chip system that is going to hold the promise of dramatically improving the ability of parents to protect their children against images they feel their children are not capable of handling.

We talked about the Internet. Steve Case and others described the new safeguards that are going into effect in just a couple of months, and video games. And a new breakthrough occurred

right in the meeting with an agreement between the video game industry and the Internet industry to plug a loophole that now makes it possible for children to get unrated and violent video games over the Internet, where it's impossible for them to buy them in stores.

We talked about self-restraint and a movement starting within the entertainment industry to recognize that, obviously, since billions of dollars is spent on advertising because it affects behavior, the plague of ultra-violent images that are planted like seeds in the minds of children bear bitter fruit in some vulnerable children. Most can handle it; they've been given the strength to do so by their families and by their faith and by their communities. But it was so encouraging to hear the

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entertainment industry describe the steps already taken, others in prospect, and the movement within the industry.

And, of course, the need for more mental health services and early detection and an ability to intervene early because, as someone said, a 1st grade teacher can often tell you within a couple of weeks after the start of the school year that one or two children in her or his new class is going to be vulnerable to trouble if there's not intervention. But there are waiting lines and not enough services.

Finally, we talked about the faith dimension of this and the need to -- with all, of course, due respect and utmost observance of the principle of separating government from religion -- of making it easier to reconnect faith communities with some of the efforts that are now underway.

In closing, as the President mentioned, this is just the beginning of an important new partnership. And he mentioned -- excuse me -- the First Lady mentioned that this was modeled after the campaign against teen pregnancy. Secretary Shalala has played a big role in that one. And I had the privilege of announcing the success, the new figures that show success in that -- where, again, it was recognized there's not a single cause, there has to be a community-wide effort to address all of the factors that go into that. And it's succeeding.

So I'm encouraged. And, Mr. President, I want to thank you again for the kind of leadership that has made this possible. And I know that all of the people who joined us here would like to join with Tipper and me in thanking you for convening this session.

(Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Thank you. (Applause.)

Q -- forces? Is that good enough?

Q Mr. President, are you encouraged by word of a Serb withdrawal?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I'm encouraged by any good word, but I think that the conditions that we set out are the minimal ones to make this work. I don't think that the -- after all the Serbs -- after all the buildup, and the hundreds of thousands of Kosovars have been driven out, many, many killed, I don't think they'll come back with that. So I think we have to do better.

But any little daylight, any little progress is -- it's better than it was the day before. We just have to bear down and keep working, and we'll work through it.

But I think that forces have got to be withdrawn. There has to be an international security force there. Otherwise, they won't come home. And that's the important thing.

Thank you.

Q Mr. President, as a high-schooler, how can I reconcile these images we see on the news?

perfectly legal for 18-20 year-olds to possess handguns or to buy them from unlicensed sellers -- even though law enforcement traces more crime guns to 18- and 19-year-olds than all other age groups. The President has proposed raising the legal age of handgun ownership from 18 to 21 years, while maintaining current exemptions for employment, hunting, target shooting, ranching, and military service.

- **Holding adults responsible for child access to guns**. Child Access Prevention (CAP) laws promote gun safety and responsibility by holding adults responsible if they allow children easy access to firearms and ammunition. The President has proposed imposing felony penalties on adults who knowingly or recklessly allow a child to have access to a gun that is later used to cause death or injury.

- **Helping law enforcement to trace more firearms used in crimes.** Over the past two years, the President has expanded comprehensive crime gun tracing to 37 cities -- helping them to trace all crime guns to their source, to identify illegal gun markets, and to crack down on gun traffickers. Last year, ATF initiated over 300 investigations in these cities, which involved over 3,300 illegally trafficked firearms. The President has proposed expanding comprehensive tracing nationwide, starting by doubling the program to 75 cities.

MAKING THE V-CHIP WORK

The V-Chip is a device that allows parents to block television programming they consider inappropriate for their children. President Clinton and Vice President Gore led the successful fight for legislation that requires that the V-Chip be installed in all new television sets sold beginning January 1, 2000. At today's strategy session, the President will announce two new initiatives to make sure the V-Chip becomes a useful tool for parents.

- **V-Chip Task Force.** To ensure that the V-Chip law is implemented effectively, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) will establish a V-Chip Task Force. The Task Force will: (1) ensure that the V-Chip requirement is enforced promptly and comprehensively; (2) promote parental awareness about the V-Chip and work closely with organizations sharing this goal; (3) encourage adoption of a standard label identifying television sets that contain the V-Chip and; (4) study the use of the V-Chip and evaluate the effectiveness of the industry's ratings system. FCC Chairman William Kennard has appointed Commissioner Gloria Tristani to chair the Task Force.

- **The V-Chip Survey and Education Project.** According to a survey released today by the Kaiser Foundation, while many parents (77%) say they want to use the V-Chip, fewer than four out of ten parents (39%) have ever seen information on how the system works. The Kaiser Foundation and the Center for Media Education announced today a major national effort to educate parents about the V-Chip TV ratings system. The educational campaign will include free booklets for parents on how the V-chip TV ratings system works. The free parent information will be available through a toll-free telephone number and will be promoted through partnerships with TV manufacturers, retailers, parents' organizations, newspapers, and television stations.

A NATIONAL CAMPAIGN TO PREVENT YOUTH VIOLENCE

Recognizing that youth violence is a problem that government cannot solve alone, the President, the First Lady, the Vice President and Mrs. Gore will call for a national campaign to reduce youth violence. This campaign will work with all sectors of our society – the media, education groups, parents, religious leaders, and young people – to focus on this problem, find what is working, and spread it to new communities, while also helping to ensure that the media sends the right message to our children.

This campaign is modeled after two extremely successful efforts launched by the Clinton Administration. Four years ago, the President asked for a national campaign to reduce teen pregnancy. Today, under the leadership of Governor Tom Kean, former governor of New Jersey and now the President of Drew University, that campaign is playing an important role in reducing teen pregnancy rates nationwide. Two years ago, the President called for a national effort by businesses to hire people off welfare, to make sure the welfare reform effort would work. Today, under the leadership of Eli Segal, the Welfare to Work Partnership has grown to 10,000 companies that have helped move more than 40,000 people from the welfare rolls to the job rolls.

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A Conference on Youth Violence

In the past it was hard not to be struck by the way time seemed to roll over a tragedy like a school shooting, by the disparity between the enduring grief of parents who lost children in places like Paducah and Jonesboro and the swift distraction of the rest of us. This time, perhaps, things may be different. The Littleton shootings have forced upon the nation a feeling that many parents know all too well — that of inhabiting the very culture they are trying to protect their children from.

What happened at Columbine High School has for a moment embodied the violence in our society, allowing us to look directly at it. The questions it raises make nearly everyone uncomfortable. Do we have the power to change the culture we inhabit? And, harder still, do we have the tools to change it without destroying basic freedoms and without dividing a largely shared culture into warring fragments?

These questions lay behind yesterday's White House strategy session on children, violence and responsibility. The list of participants who gathered for three hours in the East Room included representatives from the Administration, from television and motion pictures, from the gun industry and from the anti-gun industry. There were medical experts, religious leaders, students, parents, teachers and executives from the worlds of the Internet and video games. In short, those who were supposed to bear at least part of the blame for the climate of the Littleton shootings were seated next to those who were supposed to find at least part of the solution.

The tentative agreements that emerged from yesterday's meeting are a measure of the psychic wound inflicted at Littleton. Some representatives of the gun industry agreed in principle to legislation raising the legal age of handgun ownership to 21 and to requiring background checks on the sale of guns at gun shows, as well as several other measures. Internet executives promised to develop a ratings system for on-line video games, and television executives promised to promote the use of the V-chip.

These commitments, as well as President Clinton's national grass-roots campaign to prevent youth violence, are all signs of a consensus that has emerged, in part, out of shock. They will, if fulfilled, close several important legal loopholes that have made it hard to keep guns and violent entertainment out of the hands of children.

But closing legal loopholes, valuable as that is, is not the same as changing the culture of violence that is visible through those loopholes. To address a problem so deeply entrenched in the very habit of being American will require spending a great deal of political capital, something the White House and Congress have been reluctant so far to do.

"Responsibility" was a word used often at yesterday's strategy session, both as a counterbalance to "blame" and as a way to suggest that youth violence cannot be curbed by government action alone. Most parents feel, rightly, that responsibility begins at home but that it also begins in the executive offices of the entertainment and gun industries and in the halls of Congress and the White House. If the grass-roots campaign the President has in mind is to work, those are the places its influence must be felt.

What parents want for their children is not just devices that will screen out the worst choices in an open market. They want better choices. The urge to do something about youth violence is very strong, as yesterday's meeting evinced, but it will require an urge to do many things, and to do them with considerable ingenuity and dedication, before symptomatic violence of the kind that occurred at Littleton begins to seem truly improbable, not just as unlikely as the last shooting.

The New York Times

TUESDAY, MAY 11, 1999

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Embargoed For Release
Until 10:06 A.M. EDT
Saturday, May 15, 1999

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE NATION

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning. In the past few weeks, ever since that terrible day in Littleton, people all across America have searched their souls and searched for solutions to prevent this kind of tragedy from happening again, and to reduce the level of violence to which our children are exposed.

Last Monday, at our White House strategy session on children and violence, representatives of every sector of society agreed on one fundamental fact: making progress requires taking responsibility by all of us. That begins at home. Parents have a duty to guide children as they grow and to stay involved in their lives as they grow older and more independent. Educators have a responsibility to provide safe learning environments, to teach children how to handle conflicts without violence and how to treat all young people, no matter how different, with respect. They also need to teach them how to get counseling or mental health services if they're needed.

Communities have a responsibility to make sure that there is a village, as the First Lady said, that supports all its children -- especially those who don't get their needs met at home. And the community needs to do more to get our kids involved in working with each other and serving the community, not being isolated from it.

And here in Washington we have a responsibility. We've got a responsibility to keep guns out of the hands of criminals and children. There's a broad national consensus on that point. At the White House conference the gun manufacturers agreed that we need common sense approaches. Everybody agrees except the U.S. Senate. For example, everyone knows we need a real law to close the deadly gun show loophole, through which thousands, indeed, tens of thousands of guns are sold each year without background checks -- even though they'd have to have a background check to be sold in a gun store.

Now, the Senate declined to pass that bill. Even worse, the Senate's substitute bill is riddled with new loopholes -- permitting convicted felons to get guns at pawn shops, no questions asked; and making it harder, not easier, for law enforcement to trace guns used in crimes. If the Senate wants to fix the problem, it should fix the

problem, not make it worse. The American people deserve better. They know law abiding citizens don't need loopholes in our gun laws, only criminals do. I sure hope that in the coming weeks the Senate will step up to its responsibility and do the right thing by our children.

I've always said the entertainment industry must do its part, too. In 1993, shortly after I became President, I traveled to Hollywood and spoke there, to members of the community about their responsibility. I said then, you have the capacity to do good, to help change the way we behave, the way we think of ourselves; examine what together you might do to help us rebuild the frayed bonds of community, to give children nonviolent ways to resolve their frustrations.

After six years of work the entertainment industry is helping parents to limit children's exposure to violence, working with the administration on a voluntary rating system for television and the V-chip to enforce it; and on parental screening for the Internet and ratings for all Internet game sites. But there is still too much violence on our nation's screens, large and small. Too many creators and purveyors of violence say there is nothing they can do about it. And there are still too many vulnerable children who are steeped in this culture of violence, becoming increasingly desensitized to it and to its consequences and, therefore, as studies show, hundreds of them more liable to commit violence themselves.

By the age of 18, the typical American will see 40,000 dramatized murders. There are those who say they can or should do nothing about this. But I believe they're wrong. Every one of us has a role to play in giving our kids a safe future. And those with greater influence have greater responsibility. We should see movies and music, TV programs, video games and advertising for them made by people who made them as if their own children were watching. Members of the entertainment community can make a big difference.

Today, I want to issue three specific challenges to them. First, the whole industry should stop showing guns in any ads or previews children might see. Second, I challenge theater and video store owners all across our country to enforce more strictly the rating systems on the movies they show, rent and sell. You should check IDs, not turn the other way as a child walks unchaperoned into an R-rated movie. Third, I challenge the movie industry to reevaluate its entire ratings systems, especially the PG rating, to determine whether it is allowing too much gratuitous violence in movies approved for viewing by children.

Our administration is fighting to do all we can to protect children. The entertainment industry should do everything it can, too. Across America people are coming together, saying, yes, together we can change this culture of violence; together we can give our children a safer future and a culture of values we'll be proud to pass on to future generations. We can do it together.

Thank you.

President Clinton:
Challenging the Nation to Address Youth Violence
May 15, 1999

As part of his weekly radio address, the President outlines measures that the government and media can take to address youth violence. The President criticizes the Senate for its refusal to adopt simple measures to keep our children safe from guns, and he calls on the entertainment industries to take steps to reduce our children's exposure to gratuitous violence.

Challenging the Entertainment Industries to Reduce Youth Access to Violence. In his radio address, the President calls on those in the entertainment business to think carefully about the content of their products, and make movies, music, TV programs, and video games as if their own children were watching The President issues three specific challenges to members of the entertainment industries:

Curbing the Use of Guns in Previews and Advertisements. The President issues a challenge to the entire entertainment industry to stop showing guns in any advertisements and previews children might see. The film industry currently prohibits the depiction of drug use in movie trailers viewed by children, on the view that these images can promote harmful behavior. Images of guns in advertisements and previews seen by children can act in a similar way to increase the allure of these objects. Many in the entertainment industries have said that guns are behind the problem of youth violence. Banning guns from ads and previews to which children have access is one simple step to help solve this problem.

Making the Movie Ratings System Work Better for Parents. The President also challenges the movie industry to re-evaluate its ratings system, with a specific focus on the PG-13 rating, to determine whether it is allowing gratuitous violence in movies viewed by children. When a movie is labeled PG-13, parents should not have to worry about their teenagers watching it. Yet many of these movies contain gratuitous and graphic violence -- violence of the kind that parents want to and properly should know about. In a recent national PTA survey, 80 percent of parents said that they wished the ratings system gave clearer information as to a film's level of violence.

Limiting Children's Access to Inappropriate Entertainment Through Tougher Enforcement. The President challenges theater and video store owners to enforce, strictly and uniformly, the R-rating prohibition for underage children by requiring young patrons to show proof of age. Many children now see R rated films even though they should not be able to. According to a recent Gallup poll, half of American teens say they have seen an R rated movie in the last month, including 42 percent of those aged 13-15.

Challenging the Senate to Pass Common-Sense Gun Laws. Last year, over 4,000 gun shows were held across the country. An estimated 25-50 percent of the sellers at these shows need not conduct background checks: they can sell guns to criminals and youth with no questions asked. Twice this week, however, the Senate failed to close this gun-show loophole, and in fact created additional dangerous loopholes in our gun laws. Legislation approved by the Senate would (1) continue to allow some vendors at gun shows to sell guns without the background checks necessary to keep guns away from juveniles and criminals; (2) create a new "pawnshop loophole" for felons by exempting firearms redemptions at pawnshops from Brady background checks; (3) thwart law enforcement's ability to trace firearms sold at gun shows and later used in crimes; and (4) undermine the effectiveness of background checks by cutting the amount of time the FBI has to complete them from three days to 24 hours.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Los Angeles, California)

For Immediate Release May 15, 1999

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE DSCC AND DCCC DINNER

Greystone Mansion, Courtyard
Beverly Hills, California

10:20 P.M. PDT

THE PRESIDENT: I have never before had the honor of being the warmup act for Andrea Bocelli, but I will. I will do my best. (Laughter.) I want to -- and if I sing a little, you will just have to -- (laughter) -- I want to say first of all how grateful I am to all of you for being here, especially to the chairs and the cochairs of the dinner and, of course, to David and Steven and Jeffrey. I want to thank my leaders, Senator Daschle and Congressman Gephardt. I was looking at them up here. We knew each other, of course, before I was elected, but not so well as we do today. And I can tell you that it is a joy and an honor every day to work with them -- people that we can really be proud of.

And I have seen them in far less comfortable circumstances than we find ourselves tonight, and they are what they seem to be, and they're always there for the American people.

I'd like to thank Governor Davis and -- for coming. I'm thrilled by his success and was honored to be asked to campaign here a time or two last year. And I want to echo what has already been said about Senator Feinstein and Senator Boxer. They are on the forefront of this still ongoing and yet unfolding struggle to protect our children on the gun issues, and I want you to give them a big boost tonight and a lot of support, because it's been pretty tough there, although the American people did a great job in turning some of those votes around last week.

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I'd like to thank Senator Torricelli for being here. It's his unhappy, or sometimes happy duty to go around and try to make

sure that we've got someone to actually run for all these Senate seats and take on some very tough fights. I thank Congressman Kennedy and your Congressmen, Henry Waxman and Brad Sherman for being here, and Mayor Levin gave me a gift from the city tonight, so I'm delighted to be here. (Laughter.)

And I'm glad to be here and, as far as I know, the only beneficial product to the Teapot Dome Scandal here -- this beautiful place.

Most of what needs to be said has already been said, but I would like to try to put a few things in perspective, talk a little bit about some of the events of the present that are of great concern to people.

When I came to California in 1991 and early '92, this was a very different place in a different country. People were divided and confused and drifting and frustrated. And I believed very strongly it was because we had no overriding vision for our future, no strategy to achieve it. No way, therefore, of pulling the American people together and getting us pointed in the right direction. And that's really why I got in the race for the President.

It was not the easiest of races -- I was laughing with Goldie Hawn tonight because I remember her being in the Biltmore in Los Angeles on June 2, 1992, when I was nominated for President -- really officially -- I won in California and New Jersey and Ohio that night, so it was clear that I had enough votes to be nominated. And all the stories were the exit polls showing that Ross Perot was really in first place and I was in third place. I say that to caution you about reading too much into any polls. (Laughter.)

But I knew something, I thought, about the American people, about where we were at this moment in our history and where I thought we ought to go. Just six weeks later there had been a complete reversal in the polls and, thank the good Lord, they stayed that way through November and the people of California were very good to me and to Al Gore and to our families and our administration, twice. And I am very, very thankful. (Applause.)

What I want you to do -- you know what all the individual issues are, but what I want you to think about tonight, just for a minute, before we hear a magnificent performer, and before you go home and you go back to your lives tomorrow and the days

ahead, is what you would say to people if they asked you why you came tonight. You could say, well, Geffen made me. (Laughter.) Or there's a lot of things you could say.

But I hope you will have some really good answers. I guess the first thing I'd like to say to you is, obviously, this is a fundraiser for the Congress -- it's not for me, I can't run anymore. And I'm here because I believe very strongly that the people you just saw should lead the majorities in the House and Senate; because while I am very grateful for the opportunity I have been given to serve the American people as President, and for whatever role I was able to play in this remarkable economic turnaround, and the big drop in crime, and welfare, and the improvements in almost all the indicators of social health -- the lowest minority unemployment in history, the highest homeownership -- all the things that are moving in the right direction. I'm grateful that we've had a chance to be a force for peace and freedom around the world.

What I want you to understand is, first, most of what we have done could not have been done, had it not been for the support I received from the Democrats in the Congress. Second, most of what we stopped could not have been stopped, had it not been for their support.

And, third and most important, what we did grew out of a vision of 21st century America, as a place where there is opportunity for every responsible citizen; where we celebrate our differences, but we come together in one community; and a place that can still lead the world for peace and freedom and prosperity. And out of a willingness to think in different ways about the future, to break out of the old vices that were paralyzing Washington.

We believe, for example, that we can reward successful entrepreneurs, like many of you in this audience, and still expand the middle class and give poor people a chance to make it. We believe we can grow the economy and improve the environment. We believe we have an obligation to help people succeed not just at work but also at home, because raising children is the most important job of any society.

We believe these things. We believe that we can have a quality and excellence, and high standards and accountability in education. We believe we can be a force for peace in the world, and still stand up if we have to, against ethnic cleansing and

all of our work ought to be looked at against the backdrop of these two issues. I do think -- you heard Dick Gephardt talking about what the person who lost a child at Littleton said, don't let my child die in vain. I do believe that even more than all the terrible tragedies that happened last year because of the sheer scope and power of this event, it touched a deep nerve in America that has profoundly opened up our country to a serious examination of what it would take to give our children a safer childhood.

And last Monday I had a lot of people from every sector of our society into the White House, with Hillary and Al and Tipper, to talk about how we could have a national campaign against children's violence in the same way we have seen other national campaigns prevail in the past. And what I'd like to say is -- what I've pleaded with people to do is not to make this chapter 57 in the ongoing American culture war saga. You know, if the house next door here were burning down, we'd probably all be willing to go over there and help put the fire out.

And think how absurd it would be if Norm looked at David and said, I'm not going to help put the fire out because it's your fault you left your car running outside the house, and it's sparks from the fumes caused the fire. And David said, Norm, if you'd quit smoking years ago, you wouldn't have put a cigarette over in the yard, and that's what caused the fire. And so everybody gets in a fight about who's at fault here and we let the house burn down. That is a dumb thing to do. This is far more important. We can't let those children have perished in vain. And I don't know -- you know, probably a lot of you are like me. I have watched the parents of these children being interviewed. I have seen the school people. I have seen some of the wounded children.

I have been, on the whole, profoundly moved and impressed by these people -- by the depth of their faith and their conviction and their genuine striving to understand and go beyond this.

So for me, I think we ought to -- since I think what happens to our kids is more important than whether the house next door burns down -- I think we ought to have the same attitude. We ought to say, okay, I'm showing up for work, tell me what I can do. And I believe that we have to do more to help parents do their job, whether it's better child care or family leave programs or -- literally helping people understand that your kids can become strangers in your own home.

And I agree with what has already been said. It is a fact that most parents in America spend far less time with their children today than they used to spend. That is not free. That's why I say, we will never be the society we want in the new century until we better balance work and family.

I think we have to help the schools do more. I was in a fabulous school in Alexandria, Virginia, the other day -- that's the most culturally diverse school district in America now, just across the river from the White House -- where they have peer mediation programs and counseling services and mental health services, and a 1-800 anonymous hotline that if one kid calls and says, I'm worried about another one, they know it will be followed up on, and they know they will be kept anonymous.

We have to do those kinds of things. We have to give every school the ability to protect our children better.

I think the people in the gun business ought to come to the table and help us. And I want to say one thing the wasn't mentioned, that I'm very proud of, is that the gun manufacturers who for years sided always with the NRA and always opposed all these measures have changed. And every one of you who believes that it's a good thing that we raise the handgun ownership age to 21 and that we close the loophole -- and Senator Feinstein's assault weapons bill, so now we can stop these big ammunition clips from coming in -- it's never had any purpose, anyway.

We can also thank the gun manufacturers who supported the legislation this time in Congress and had the kind of civic responsibility that we need more from every American. I appreciate that. (Applause.)

Now, we've still got a lot of work to do. We've got to do background checks on explosives. We've got to get this gun show loophole closed in the right way. And I'm going to watch it pretty close, because unlike most Americans, I've actually been to a lot of these gun shows. It was part of my job description at one time when I was governor of Arkansas. And I enjoyed them greatly, but they ought to have background checks and they ought not to have loopholes.

So that's a big part of it. I also believe -- let's talk about the entertainment issue. You know, I think the -- here's the way I look at this. It's like the NRA can say, guns don't kill people, people do. That's true, but people with guns kill

more people than people without them. And we're the only country in the world that has no reasonable restrictions. There are now over 300 studies that show that sustained lifetime, week in and week out, night in and night out exposure to indiscriminate violence through various media outlets over a period of time makes people less sensitive, both to violence and to the consequences of violence.

Now, for most kids, it won't make any difference. But if you have a society where we have already positive -- there are more kids who are spending less time with their folks and less time being connected to somebody that they know they're the most important person in the world to; and if that same society has those same kids having easier access to weapons, then desensitizing them will be more likely to push those that are vulnerable into destructive behavior.

Now, that doesn't make anybody who makes any movie or any video game or any television program a bad person or personally responsible with one show for a disastrous outcome. There's no call for finger-pointing here, but we just look around and we know that all these things go together, starting with the raw material that you've got more kids who are more isolated -- some of them in their own homes, strangers.

So I would like to say, first, like I said about the gun manufacturers, it ought to be put in the record that the entertainment industry for six years has worked with Al Gore and me and with our administration the V-chip, the television rating system, the video game rating system, the screening technologies that the Internet people have worked with us to try to help parents screen inappropriate material away from their kids on the Internet.

Today in my radio address, I said there were two or three other things -- I had been studying this and listening that I think ought to be done. I think that if young people can't see certain kinds of movies, then they shouldn't see the advertisement for the movies if the advertisement has the same stuff that cause the movie to be rated as inappropriate. And that's something I think the entertainment industry can look at and ought to look at very seriously, that the advertising ought to be consistent with the rating in terms of the audience that receives it.

I also think there's a lot of evidence that these ratings

are regularly ignored -- not by you, but by the people who actually sell or rent the video tapes or the video games or run the movie theaters. And the rating system ought to be used by checking IDs. And, finally, I believe in light of the most recent research, it would be a very good thing if the industry would reexamine the nature of the rating system, especially the PG-13 as it relates to violence. Not because anybody is willfully doing something that they know is going to hurt somebody. Not because any one television program or video game or movie will do it. But because we know that by the time a person becomes 18 in America, he or she has seen about 40,000 killings. And because we have a higher percentage of vulnerable people.

But we are determined to do this as a family. When we were at the White House we sat around a big old table and everybody was there, and everybody was asking, what can I do. And I say again to the Congress, this is not the time to let any interest group control doing things that are common sense. How in the world we can let somebody buy a gun at a gun show that they can't get in a gun shop because they've got a criminal background is beyond me. And this is a classic example -- to go back to what my leaders said earlier. The people of Florida, not the most liberal state in America, voted last November, 72 percent to close the gun show loophole -- with no ifs, ands or buts, no wrinkles or curlicues or subterfuge.

So I say this is a time for all of us to do this. And how we deal with this, and whether we really come up with a kind of grass-roots national campaign, like the campaign that Mothers and Students Against Drunk Driving launched that precipitously lowered deaths from drunk driving in America; like the effort that has been made that has precipitously lowered the teen pregnancy rate; like the grass-roots effort business made that led to 10,000 business people hiring over 400,000 people off welfare -- how we do this will have a lot to say about whether we're really going to build one community.

But there are other things we ought to do, too. And let me come back to Kosovo and talk about -- you say, well, what's that got to do with this. Well, first of all, all the studies, the reports indicate that these young men who were involved in this terrible tragedy at Littleton felt like they were a disrespected group and felt like they had to find some other groups to look down on or hate -- the athletes, the minorities in the school.

And in Kosovo what you see, and what you saw in Bosnia is

people who have been ethnically cleansed -- that's a sort of sterilized word for being systematically killed, uprooted, raped, having your property records destroyed, having your mosques and your museums and your libraries destroyed; having an effort to basically eradicate your existence.

But it's very interesting. Don't you find it ironic -- especially those of you -- I was talking to Steven the other day about my library and we were talking about whether we could have some virtual reality effects in my library in the museum, you know. Sometimes I feel like I'm living in virtual reality, so I'm highly interested in this. (Laughter.) This is the kind of thing you guys think about when you think about the 21st century, you know? Our kids are all on the Internet and the human genome secrets have all been unlocked and we all live to be 135 and we whiz around the world in safe airplanes that never have wrecks. And we'll be driving on the Los Angeles freeways and there won't be any more traffic jams because all our cars will be computer programmed and directed and everything will be managed just fine. This is the exciting -- and our kids will all have pen-pals in Mongolia and Zimbabwe and Bolivia and every place around the world, technology will bring us together and there will be a new golden age. That's our sort of image for our children in the 21st century.

Don't you think it is ironic that here we are in the last year of this millennium and that image is threatened by the oldest demon of human society -- the hatred of the other? It starts as fear of the other, goes to hatred of the other, goes to dehumanization of the other, goes to killing of the other. Don't you think that's interesting? I mean, these people in Kosovo, they're not fighting over who gets the right to show the latest Hollywood movie in the theaters in Pristina. In Rwanda, they weren't killing each other over who got the latest software package. They're talking about how they worship God and what their ethnic group is, what real or imagined slights they have against one another as groups. And we are not free of it here.

I was in Texas the other day meeting with the daughter of James Bird, the African American who was dragged to death in Texas. The other night, I went to the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights dinner in Washington and recognized the mother of Matthew Shepard, the young man who was killed in Wyoming because he was gay. So America's got some work to do here, too -- we ought to pass the hate crimes act and the employment nondiscrimination act -- and we ought to -- to show that we

understand this.

But let me say, how we respond to Kosovo will determine what kind of world we're going to live in. I think all of you who know me know that I have worked for peace, that I deplore violence, that I have been heartbroken by the people who have been innocents in this battle who have perished.

You know, I'd a lot rather be in Northern Ireland, giving speeches to my people about how they ought to put all their guns down. I want to go back and work on peace in the Middle East. I don't even think that we can intervene in all the ethnic conflicts in the world. We're not asking everybody to get along. We can't even ask them not to fight. But if we cannot stand after the lessons of the 20th century against the systematic killing of people and their uprooting because of their religion or their race or their ethnicity, then what kind of world are we leaving to our children? (Applause.)

You know I had a wonderful day today. I spent the day with my daughter today, and Hillary just got back from Macedonia. That's where she was in the refugee camps. And so we called her and then we got lonesome and we'd call her again. The three of us were talking about all this. And she was talking to me about these people and how they have lost everything, and how they have loved ones they don't even know what happened to. There are tens of thousands of people who are unaccounted for. Nobody knows what happened to them. And she talked about this little girl that was holding her hand while she was speaking. The little girl had no idea what she was saying -- just holding her hand.

I saw them in Germany when I was there. The young women and the Muslim families where rape is an even worse thing than it is in our culture -- saying, I want to talk to you, but these are things I cannot discuss in my family. A 15-year old boy stood up and said, I cannot talk about Kosovo and sat down and started crying.

I ask you to think about this. What Europe and the United States is doing, what we are now engaging the Russians in trying to do -- we're not trying to redraw the map of Europe, we're not playing some power game. I don't want to control anybody's life. All I want to do is to create a world in which we do not idly turn away from systematic bigotry based on hatred of the other that leads to mass killing. And I believe, as difficult as all the questions are I have to answer here -- God, I grieve for

those Chinese people that were killed in that horrible mistake that was made. As difficult as all the questions I have to answer, I would rather answer these questions than answer the question of why am I having a good time in Los Angeles tonight and we have not lifted a finger to help those people. That is the question I would have no answer to. (Applause.) I would have no answer to that.

They are a part of our community. If you want a world that will really be fit for your children to live in, if you want the benefits of the modern world, we need at home the philosophy the Democratic Party has brought that -- we're going to have all these benefits, we're not going to leave anybody behind if we can help it. We're certainly not going to leave anybody behind that's willing to work to be a part of it.

But even more, we have to build a sense of community -- where we not only tolerate each other, we actually relish our differences. And we can have the security to relish them, and make our lives more interesting, because underneath we know that what binds us together is a whole lot more important than what's different about us.

And I want to close with this story. Tom Daschle told you that we had these tribal leaders come to the White House. And he didn't tell you the whole story.

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We had the heads of 19 Indian tribes from the high northern plains -- from the two Dakotas and Montana. They asked for a meeting at the White House through Senator Daschle and his colleagues. And then they came into the Roosevelt Room at the White House, which is in honor of Teddy, Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt, and Teddy Roosevelt's Nobel Peace Prize is hanging on the mantelpiece.

And so the tribal leaders said, well, could we sit in a circle? That is our custom. So we sat in a circle. And each in their turn, they stood up and said, well, here's what we'd like to have help on. Here's our education concerns, our health care concerns, our economic concerns. And I came into the middle of the meeting, listened to it all. It was just fascinating.

Then at the end, the guy who was sort of their main spokesman, the tribal leader -- whose name was Tex Hall,

interestingly enough -- stood up and said, well, there's one other thing we want to do. He said, Mr. President, we want to talk to you about Kosovo. He said, you see, we know something about ethnic cleansing. And our country has come a long way. And we believe what you are doing is right. And so the chiefs have signed this proclamation supporting it.

And then at the end of the room, another young man who was a tribal leader stood up, and he said, I would like to speak. He had this beautiful silver necklace on. And he was very dignified, and he said -- Mr. President, he said, I had two uncles. One landed on the beach at Normandy. One was the first Native American fighter pilot in the United States military. He said, my great-great-grandfather was slaughtered by the 7th Cavalry at Wounded Knee. He said, we have come a long way from my great-great-grandfather's time, to my uncles' time, to this time.

He said, I have only one son, and I love him more than life. But I would be honored if he went to Kosovo to stand up for the human rights of people who are different from the majority.

That is the journey America has made. that is the journey I hope we can help the world to make. And if we do, you will take care of the rest of our challenges.

Thank you and God bless you. (Applause.)

A Mother's Day Pledge for America's Parents

May, 1999

- I will not give my child unsupervised access to a firearm.
- I will not allow my child to play in a home where guns are improperly stored.
- If I own a gun, I will unload it and lock it up and store the ammunition separately and securely.
- I will urge others, including my community leaders and political leaders, to do everything in their power to protect our children from guns.

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HEADLINE: Hillary Clinton Appeals For Gun Control Lobbying

BYLINE: By KATHARINE Q. SEELYE

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, May 8

BODY:

Stepping up the Clinton Administration's campaign against gun violence, Hillary Rodham Clinton used an emotional White House ceremony today to call on Americans to press Congress to "buck the gun lobby" and pass several gun control measures.

Today's event, pegged to Mother's Day, which is Sunday, was held in the formal East Room of the White House and featured three parents of children killed or wounded by gunfire. They included Tom Mauser, whose son Daniel was killed last month in the shooting rampage in Littleton, Colo. His story of waiting for word about his son's fate brought Mrs. Clinton nearly to tears as she took the podium and gravely addressed an audience of other parents who had lost their children in shootings.

The Senate is to begin debate next week on a number of gun control measures, some of which mirror proposals offered recently by President Clinton. "The senators need to hear from all of us," Mrs. Clinton said. She urged voters "to give them the encouragement to do what they know is right and to remind them that there are many, many millions of American voters and citizens who will stand behind political leaders who are brave enough to buck the gun lobby, wherever that may take us, so that they will vote for the measures that we know will save lives."

Mrs. Clinton was as careful as her husband has been to say that there are many causes of violence and that parents need to take responsibility for their children's behavior. But Mrs. Clinton, who is considering running for the Senate from New York, where gun control is popular, has also been more forceful than the President in directly taking on the powerful gun lobby in the aftermath of the Littleton killings.

In contrast with her remarks today, for example, the President, speaking at a fund-raiser in Houston Friday night, said that while he was pressing for more gun control laws, "I hope we can avoid yet another big fight in Washington between the N.R.A. and others." He has said in the past

that the association's campaign against certain lawmakers who supported his gun control measures had cost Democrats control of the House in 1994.

Still, a split between the National Rifle Association and "others" -- including its traditional allies -- is looming. Spokesmen for the American Shooting Sports Council and the National Shooting Sports Council, which represent gun manufacturers, say they have agreed in principle to back five of President Clinton's proposals to clamp down on access to guns, although they are waiting to see the exact language.

The five proposals would: raise the age limit for possessing a handgun to 21 from 18, while still allowing exemptions for hunting, employment and ranching; extend background checks to those who buy guns at gun shows, provided that the records are eventually expunged; ban juveniles who are convicted of violent felonies from ever owning a gun; prosecute parents if they recklessly or negligently allow a gun to fall into the hands of children who use it to commit a crime, and expand the Government's gun tracing program, underway in 35 cities, to 75 cities.

The move signals a breach within the powerful firearms community over tactics as the manufacturers take steps to try to appease public officials and tamp down the trend among cities to sue gun makers to recover the medical and social costs of gun violence.

Such a split within the pro-gun community could isolate the rifle association and help gun opponents portray it as an extremist organization, although whether it undermines the association's political hold on lawmakers remains to be seen. The White House seems to be trying to take advantage of that possible opening, scheduling a conference on violence for Monday and inviting the gun makers but not the high-profile officials of the rifle association.

The five proposals emerged from discussions last year between the gun industry and the U.S. Conference of Mayors. The industry has been working with several of the mayors, notably Ed Rendell of Philadelphia, to try to show a good-faith effort to reduce youth access to firearms. So far, Philadelphia has held off from joining seven other cities in filing potentially expensive law suits against the gun manufacturers.

After the rampage in Littleton, the largest mass murder in an American school, Senator Joseph I. Lieberman, Democrat of Connecticut, called for a White House summit on youth violence. Robert A. Ricker, executive director of the American Shooting Sports Council, wrote to Mr. Lieberman saying his group wanted to participate in such a summit and would support certain restrictions.

President Clinton then announced a package of anti-gun measures, many of which had been advanced by the mayors. In bits and pieces, Mr. Ricker and Robert Delfay, president of the National Shooting Sports Council, backed some of those proposals, although they, with the rifle association, still oppose two that the Administration considers vital -- restricting handgun sales to one a month per person and reinstituting a waiting period before a gun can be bought.

The White House then set a summit for Monday on youth and violence. In preparation, Bruce Reed, Mr. Clinton's domestic policy adviser, invited Mr. Ricker and Mr. Delfay to the White House,

and they met for 90 minutes last Tuesday to discuss the legislative proposals. Also at the meeting was Paul Jannuzzo, general counsel for Glock Inc., the pistol maker.

"For purposes of the Monday meeting, we are concentrating on just those issues where we have been able to potentially agree," Mr. Ricker said today.

Pointedly not invited to Monday's seminar were the figures most identified with the National Rifle Association -- Charlton Heston, the association's president, and Wayne LaPierre, executive vice president. Instead, the White Hosue invited a member of the association's board, Bill Brewster, a former Republican Congressman from Oklahoma and now a lobbyist in Washington. Mr. Reed described Mr. Brewster, who has gone duck hunting with Mr. Clinton, as "an old friend of the President's."

The rifle association is planning its own event on Monday to discuss its legislative agenda. This consists primarily of calling for better enforcement of existing laws.

Virgil I. Grissom Junior High School
Reporter Q&A Regarding Youth Violence
Remarks by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton

Queens, New York
April 29, 1999

The following is Mrs. Clinton's response to a reporter's question about what she thinks needs to be done to address the problem of youth violence that has come to national attention since the killings at Columbine and other schools over the last several years.

Mrs. Clinton: Well, I understand why with any killing we would be worried. I still, more than a week later, find it very hard to read the coverage and watch it on the television. The pain, the suffering and the anguish that the people of Littleton—particularly the students and teachers and family members of Columbine—have gone through is just beyond description.

But I also think that there are ways we can respond to and address the obvious problems that we have seen in a number of these school shootings. I've spoken about that before, and I will be speaking about it again tonight and in the future. But briefly, I don't think there is any one single strategy that will answer this terrible problem. I think we've got to move on several fronts. I think we have to be aware that we've got a problem. We cannot be in denial. We have a lot of young people who, for all kinds of reasons, are really disoriented and alienated from our society, from their families, from their schools. So we have to be willing, first of all, to say, "Let's work on this together. Let's not feel helpless and hopeless, but let's try to come together in a united way to address this issue."

And when we do that, I think that we're going to need a national campaign against youth violence. And it will have many strategies. We do need to look at our mental health services. We have to do a better job of identifying and intervening and working with children on a continuing basis. And that's a very complex problem. It's complex because a lot of schools don't have the resources they need to identify and follow up with kids. A lot of parents don't have the financial resources, even if they are referred for help. And a lot of people in the mental health profession don't feel that they have the understanding of the larger public about what these issues are. And that's one piece of it.

The second, very important piece, is this culture of violence which I spoke about last week in Niagara Falls and which I wrote about in 1995, and which I feel very strongly about. And there is something for a lot of sectors of society to do when it comes to that. Certainly the people in the entertainment and media industry have to exercise more responsibility, but it is not just their responsibility. Those of us who are viewers and consumers have to exercise responsibility, particularly when it comes to children. Because there will be—if there's a market for the kind of video games that these young men played, or a market for the kind of horrible movies that they watched—people are going to make them. Whether they're made by big-name studios or the small independents, they're going to be made. I wish they'd be more responsible. I want more

conversation. I want more efforts to try to figure out what we can do to try to persuade them to follow the lead that the President and the Vice President and Tipper and I have been urging. But there's gonna be work that needs to be done on that front, and also on the sides of consumers and parents exercising more responsibility—turning off the television sets, not buying or letting your kids use those video games. All of that has to happen.

The third piece is guns. We cannot talk about this problem without talking about access to weapons. You've got firearms, and now we have to start worrying about materials for making bombs and the instructions that can get in the hands of not only high school students, but also elementary and junior high school students. The President outlined some steps that need to be taken about further gun legislation. I would urge the Congress to do just that.

And I was very heartened to hear some voices of people who in the past have been very strong allies of gun owners and the gun lobby, saying in the last 10 days that they just do not believe that these automatic weapons and these high-caliber, multi-magazine weapons are what we mean when we're talking about the rights of sportsmen and hunters. So I'm hoping that we will see some increases in sensible gun legislation like the President outlined at the White House.

And then finally, I think everybody has to search his or her heart about how we take care of our children. I mean, ultimately, that is what this is all about. What kind of time do you spend with your kids? How much do we really listen to them? How willing are we to take time out from our adult activities to figure out ways to rearrange schedules, maybe forgo some material possessions, to be able to really get back into our children's lives and to be supportive of those members of the community—like our teachers—who are on the front lines day in and day out.

So there is no easy, one-time fix for any of this. It's a problem that really has to be addressed, and everybody has a role to play. I don't think finger-pointing does any good. I think instead we ought to be working to bring people together in a unified way to ask ourselves the hard questions. And to think of ways we can address them.

And I will just end by saying that we've seen progress when we've worked together in the last six years. I am delighted, as I know everybody in America is, that the crime rate has gone down for six years in a row. Well, it went down because we had legislation, we had community response, we had leadership, we had a unified approach.

And today we were just delighted to see the results of our efforts with teen pregnancy. For the last six years, teen pregnancy rates have gone down. Birth rates to teens have gone down. Now part of that has to do with our addressing it, creating what we call the National Campaign to Prevent Teen Pregnancy. But a lot of it has to do with a unified response by a lot of people dealing with a very challenging problem.

So I think there are things we can do. And as we mourn and sympathize and feel the anguish of the people in Littleton, let's not let those children die in vain. Let's get ourselves organized, and unify, in a positive way, to address these complex issues. But there are things we can do to address each one of them.

So that's probably a much longer answer than anybody could have expected this morning, but it's really been on my mind, as it's been on the mind of every American. I just can't talk to anybody without it coming up. I can't think about any other issue without worrying and considering what we can do.

So there's a lot of work ahead of us. But I'm confident that if we don't just wring our hands, or if we don't just walk away in denial, we can make some real progress on this.

Thank you all very much.

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Moving Beyond Blame

BYLINE: By Gary Ross; Gary Ross is a writer and director whose films include "Big," "Dave" and "Pleasantville."

DATELINE: LOS ANGELES

BODY:

Ever since the tragedy in Littleton, Colo., the American preoccupation with finding a simple answer has been churning nonstop. In a nation that reduces everything to box scores ("Conventional Wisdom" in Newsweek, etc.), the media and its pundit class have been obsessed with finding the immediate cause, like a zealous cop hellbent on making an early collar.

My industry (the movie business), in a pre-emptive first strike, said the cause was guns. Gun lovers of course said the cause was movies. Politicians, depending on their place in the political spectrum, said the cause was one, the other, or both.

And no sooner were these first accusations traded than the natural defenses began. "Guns don't kill people, people kill people." "Movies don't kill people, people kill people." "Video games don't kill people, people kill people." (This N.R.A. construct is almost as specious as "guns don't kill people, bullets kill people," but even the N.R.A. wouldn't go that far.)

Let's just assume for a minute that all these things are involved. In other words, instead of shifting blame, what if we search our souls for culpability? Guns kill people and movies kill people and video games kill people and it soon becomes obvious that the list doesn't stop there.

It may not reduce to a tidy sound bite or a convenient political enemy, but the simple truth is that whatever debases the culture (Springer), degrades the value of human life (Doom), panders to violent impulses (local news), trivializes human relationships (Springer again) or isolates us from one another (paradoxically, the Internet) can contribute to a situation like Littleton. It is absurd to say that this problem occurred in the absence of social forces, but it is equally absurd to blame a single one.

In the book "Finding the Heart of the Child," the psychiatrist Edward Hallowell cogently lists many of the factors that contribute to the kind of alienation that allows something like Littleton to occur. These include changing family structure (single-parent homes, two-career homes); the breakdown of communities, villages and neighborhoods; cynicism about government and social institutions; the decrease in a sense of security, job permanence or close personal relationships; the decline of genuine spirituality as an ethical force in the culture; an explosion of information that creates anxiety over one's worth or abilities; a lack of respect for older people and an overreliance on "self" to find the meaning of life.

In comparison to that list, the movies/guns paradigm withers. How many of us who have an impact on the culture have contributed (however unwittingly) to the social forces that Dr. Hallowell identifies?

When conservative Republicans fought to have night basketball removed from the crime bill of several years ago, they were eroding a sense of community that can prevent this kind of isolation. When prime-time magazine shows peddle yet another "hard hitting" investigation of yet another corrupt local official, they are feeding our cynicism about social institutions by elevating the exception to the rule. When advertisers exploit perfect bodies on perfect men and women to sell their less-than-perfect products, they are exacerbating the anxiety that adolescents feel in regard to their self-worth. (Littleton has shown us this is no benign thing.) When the local news leads its broadcast with a homicide three nights a week, it is committing the very desensitization that it decries when it covers a story like Littleton.

So how do you program a V-chip for all of that?

It seems to be a vicious circle. When problems seem overwhelming, we grasp for sound-bite solutions as a way of convincing ourselves that the problems are not insoluble and the alienation is not that deep. Of course, the hollowness of this just increases the feelings of futility and alienation, but for a moment we feel better. For a moment we feel assuaged by the passion play that modern news has become: a hero gets elevated, a villain gets vanquished, a sinner gets stoned, a victim is avenged.

Since only an acceptance of personal responsibility can possibly break this deadlock, let me start now. I will not defend the role of movies in the culture. Despite my deep and abiding passion for the First Amendment, I will not even defend our right to make them. Let me say that movies can contribute to this desensitization. And let me promise that, on each screenplay, I will ask myself what the ramifications are to the culture in which I live and the children who may see these films.

But what should we ask after that?

GRAPHIC: Drawing (Milan Trenc)

Good Morning America
Youth Violence Questions and Answers
June 4, 1998

School Safety/Youth Violence

Q: In the wake of the school shootings, like those in Jonesboro, and Littleton, what can really be done to make our schools and communities safer for our children?

A: All of us must work together and accept responsibility for the safety of our children -- in our schools and our communities. And that means there is more for each of us to do at home and at school, in Hollywood and in the heartland and here in Washington.

First and most fundamentally, we must do more to help parents fulfill their most important responsibilities -- those to their children. Challenging parents to turn off the television or use the V-Chip to block inappropriate programming; to use the new tools to keep an eye on the computer screen; to refuse to buy products that glorify violence.

I have called on the media and entertainment industries for their participation as well. We cannot pretend that there is no adverse impact on our culture and our children if there is too much violence coming out of what they see and experience. So we have to ask people who produce things to consider the consequences of them -- whether it's a violent movie, a CD, a video game. If they are made, they at least they should not be marketed to children and I have called on the FTC and the Justice Department to immediately commence a study into this issue.

And finally, the Congress must join in our national effort by quickly passing legislation necessary to keep guns out of the hands of children and criminals. I've proposed comprehensive legislation on this front, and worked with gun manufacturers and sportsmen to garner their support for my common sense measures that will help save lives.

Q: Are America's schools unsafe?

A: America's schools are quite safe. While we need to work to make them safer, we know that for the most part our schools are safer than the communities in which they are located. Data from the Annual Report on School Safety indicates that 43 percent of schools reported NO incidents of crime, and 90 percent of schools reported NO incidents of serious violent crime.

But even though schools are generally safe, no school or community is immune from senseless violence, as recent school tragedies remind us. And although students are safer sitting in a classroom than walking down the street, serious crime problems persist, gang presence in schools doubled between 1989 and 1995, thousands of kids bring guns to

school, and discipline remains the #1 problem in the classroom. My revamped Safe and Drug-Free Schools program will put a new emphasis on school discipline, in addition to combating crime and drugs in schools.

Q: How many students are expelled for bringing guns to school? Is this number increasing?

A: As part of our national policy for gun-free schools, in the 1996-97 school year, over 6,000 students were expelled for bringing a gun to school. We have some indications that these numbers are decreasing and fewer students are bringing guns to school. Moreover, serious violent crime committed against students at school -- which is lower than crime committed against students while they are away from school -- has also been on the decline.

Q: What specific school safety initiatives have you recently proposed?

A: My revamped Safe and Drug-Free Schools proposal contains a number of new initiatives to help keep our schools safer, more disciplined, and drug-free. My safe schools proposal will require counseling for students who bring guns and bombs to school, promote programs that educate students on the risks associated with firearms, provide more school counselors to help deal with troubled youth, and inform parents when guns are brought to school. My proposal also promotes more orderly and disciplined classrooms by allowing more education funds to be spent on alternative schools for disruptive youth, and character education to help instill common sense values in our young people.

My proposal also provides more effective prevention programs for the reduction of drugs and violence in schools, more accountability for results, and better targeting to those schools that need the most assistance. Under the revamped program, school districts will be expected to develop comprehensive plans that: require schools to adopt comprehensive school safety plans, use proven anti-drug and violence prevention programs, establish security procedures for schools, and give parents an annual school report of incidents of drug use and violence. In addition, my safe schools initiative would create Project SERV-- the School Emergency Response to Violence -- to dispatch a coordinated FEMA-like response if a school tragedy should occur.

But whole communities need to get involved with keeping our schools safe. That is why we created a new $380 million program, the Safe Schools-Healthy Students initiative, to establish community-wide responses to school safety. Our initiative will give communities funds to provide comprehensive services for our young people, such as mental health services, school resource officers, mentoring, and after school programs.

Q: What are some examples of local solutions that have been successful in combating youth violence?

A: Communities across the country have been successful in devising solutions to their local youth violence problems. Some particularly noteworthy communities include:

- **Boston, MA**: Boston brought together a broad coalition of Federal, state, and local government agencies, non-profits, businesses, religious leaders, and residents to devise a comprehensive strategy to address the escalating number of youth homicides. Some of the innovative programs they developed include Operation Ceasefire and the Boston Gun Project which helped them to identify gang-involved youth, send clear messages about the city's zero tolerance policies, and trace crime guns to disrupt illegal gun markets. Boston also created Operation Night Light to strengthen supervision of youth probationers, and expanded their intervention and prevention programs for at-risk youth. As a result, Boston's youth homicide rate dropped dramatically, and experienced a remarkable two year period where no juvenile was killed with a gun.

- **Minnesota, MN**: Minnesota created a unique public-private partnership ("Minnesota HEALS") to develop their violence reduction strategy. The initiative includes numerous corporate commitments and public agency collaborations to reduce violent crime. The city created a Law Enforcement Task Force to help identify the gang problem responsible for much of their violent crime, a rapid response team to crack down on gang shootings and retaliations, and saturation patrols to patrol crime and gun "hot spots." In addition, Honeywell, General Mills, and other private companies partner with existing community organizations to provide financial resources and expertise for revitalization programs, as well as school partnerships, and to employment training. As a result of Minnesota HEALS, homicides are down by 30 percent, and gang-related homicides have been cut in half.

- **San Diego, CA**: In San Diego, the school district responded to the county's increase in juvenile violence and crime with a comprehensive approach to reduce youth violence and increase students' educational success. The district provides a race/human relations team to proactively deal with discrimination and gang issues, a Life Skills Program to prevent substance abuse and teen pregnancy, counselors and nurses in every elementary schools, and zero tolerance policies for guns and drugs in schools. The district also maintains close ties to police officers, juvenile judges and probation officers, and employs a number of security measures as well such as school police, a crisis team, and undercover police to detect drug use. As a result, the district has less crime and truancy during the school day, significant declines of 50 to 75 percent in drug, alcohol and tobacco use by students and a decrease in drop out rates.

Guns

Q: The gun lobby has successfully beaten back efforts to pass new gun laws in recent years. Do you believe that the Congress will actually pass gun control legislation this year?

A: I believe the Congress will -- indeed, it must-- pass common sense gun legislation this summer. Although violent and gun-related crime have fallen dramatically over the last 7 years, these tragic school shootings remind us that we must do even more to reduce youth violence and keep guns out of the hands of children. An estimated 13 young people die everyday in America from a gun shot wound. This is unacceptable. While the Senate should be commended for moving quickly to pass reasonable gun legislation, the House leadership must recognize that there is a growing national consensus that government should do more to keep guns out of the hands of criminals and children, and that it should put the will of the American people over the clout of the gun lobby.

Q: Are you satisfied with the Senate-passed gun legislation?

A: I am pleased that the Senate bill contained many of the provisions that I recently proposed as part of my Youth Gun Crime Enforcement Act -- the most comprehensive gun legislation put forward in 30 years. Some of my proposals included in the Senate bill would: (1) close the gun show loophole to require Brady background checks at gun shows; (2) ban the juvenile possession of semi-automatic assault rifles; (3) halt the importation of large capacity ammunition magazines; (4) bar violent juveniles from owning guns as adults; (5) require child safety locks with guns; and (6) help law enforcement trace more crime guns to their source.

However, as the House of Representatives prepares to take up gun legislation in the coming weeks, they should view the Senate's gun provisions as a floor -- not a ceiling. The House bill should also raise the age of handgun possession from 18 to 21, extend the Brady Law to purchases of explosives. I believe that these additional measures would go a long way toward helping to save lives, and the House should act on them promptly.

Q: The NRA and certain Republicans charge that under the your Administration, federal gun prosecutions are significantly down, and almost no cases have been brought against students for bringing a gun to school. They believe that more enforcement of existing laws is needed instead of new gun control laws. What is your response?

A: Although Republicans and the NRA like to say that so-called "Triggerlock" prosecutions are down, and my administration has failed to prosecute kids for bringing guns to school, that's simply not the real story on federal firearms prosecutions. The truth is that:

(1) **The laws have succeeded in deterring gun crime.** The federal laws cited

by the NRA have relatively small penalties and were enacted primarily for their deterrent effect on crime and weapons-carrying by criminals and young people. Put simply, they are intended to stop guns from getting into the hands of criminals and juveniles, and the evidence shows they are doing so. Crime rates are down nationwide, and gun-related crime -- particularly by youth -- is down dramatically: homicides, robberies, and aggravated assaults committed with gun are down by an average of 27 percent. This is in part because these laws have stopped over a quarter million felons, fugitives, and prohibited users from buying guns in the first place.

(2) Federal prosecutions of serious gun crimes have gone up. At the federal level, we have focused on the most serious gun crimes, and prosecution of these crimes is up during this Administration. Prosecutions of gun criminals serving sentences of five years or more have increased by fully 30 percent.

(3) Overall firearms prosecutions of serious gun criminals are up. Combined state and federal prosecution of gun offenses is up during this Administration, in large part because of improved coordination and sensible allocation of resources. About 25 percent more criminals currently are sent to prison for state and federal weapons offenses than in 1992. In many cases, state prosecutions make more sense because criminals may be subject to longer sentences in the state court system.

(4) Tough talk is cheap. Despite its rhetoric, time and again, the gun lobby has opposed efforts to provide real money to state, local, and federal law enforcement agencies to investigate, arrest, and prosecute gun criminals and illegal gun traffickers. Over the past two years, we have called for more resources to enforce our gun laws on every front -- requesting tens of millions of dollars to hire over 280 new ATF agents and over 40 new federal prosecutors, as well as more than a billion dollars to hire more local police and prosecutors.

(5) Enforcement alone is not enough. While we support increased resources for federal enforcement and prosecutions, enforcement alone is simply not enough. It is essential to prevent criminals and kids from getting guns in the first place. The Brady Law has stopped over a quarter of a million felons, fugitives, and stalkers from getting handguns, preventing countless crimes. That is why I am urging the Congress to enact my proposals to prevent guns from falling into the hands of children and felons.

Q: It has been widely reported that there is a growing divide between the gun industry and the NRA. Are you encouraging this divide? And how does this affect gun legislation in Congress?

A: I have called on all sectors of society to come together and do what they can to prevent and combat youth violence. I am pleased that key members of the gun industry are

stepping up to the plate and have signaled their support for reasonable, common sense measures to help reduce gun violence.

The American Shooting Sports Council, which represents over 300 gun manufacturers and dealers, specifically endorsed five of my proposals: (1) requiring background checks at gun shows; (2) raising the age of handgun possession from 18 to 21; (3) expanding our crime gun tracing initiative; (4) establishing liability for adults who allow children access to guns; and (5) permanently banning violent juveniles from owning guns.

We believe that the industry's endorsement of our proposals to keep guns out of the hands of kids and criminals exemplifies the kind of broad support we have for our common sense proposals -- and gives Congress yet another reason to enact these initiatives immediately.

Media Violence

Q: Earlier this week, you announced a joint FTC and Justice Department study on marketing violence to youth. What will this study specifically look into?

A: Studies show that violent programming increases children's aggression toward others and desensitizes them to violence. If and to the extent that the video game, movie, and recording industries market to children violent and other materials that are rated for adults, they undermine current content-based ratings systems, make it harder for parents to control the movies, music and games their children see, and increase the likelihood of children being exposed to inappropriate materials.

That is why I asked the Federal Trade Commission and Department of Justice to conduct a study to determine whether and how the video game, motion picture, and recording industries market to children violent and other material rated for adults. The study will examine whether sectors of these industries advertise violent material rated for adults in media outlets in which children comprise a substantial percentage of the audience or whether they otherwise use marketing practices designed to attract children to violent material. The study also will examine whether these industries have adopted procedures restricting the sale of products rated for adults to children and the extent to which these procedures are effective in ensuring that children do not have access to adult-oriented material.

Q: What do you plan to do if this study concludes that media industries do market violent materials rated for adults to children?

A: First, the study can help the industries themselves to enforce their self-regulatory systems by providing them with information about various kinds of marketing practices. If the report concludes that some members of these industries are pushing adult-rated material

on children, the industries as a whole may want to adopt stronger protections against these marketing practices. Second, this information will serve as a useful tool for parents by helping them better understand, and thereby better monitor, whether and how the media target violent material to children. Third, government officials can review the finding of the study to determine whether any action is appropriate, consistent with the First Amendment.

Q: Why doesn't your study look into whether the gun industry targets children?

A: The study focuses on the entertainment industries for the simple reason that these industries do massive amounts of marketing; indeed, images of guns and other weapons reach far more people through entertainment advertising than through advertising for those products. If those conducting the study, however, believe that they can uncover important information by looking further into the gun industry's marketing practices, then they have the authority and resources to do so.

Q: There has been a lot of talk about the V-Chip, and its ability to help parents screen out programming that they don't want their children to see. When will it be ready?

A: With the Vice President Gore helping to lead the fight, we passed legislation that requires that the V-Chip be installed in all new television sets sold beginning January 1, 2000. And last month, we took two more steps to make sure the V-Chip becomes a useful tool for parents. First, the FCC will establish a V-Chip Task Force to ensure that V-Chip requirement is enforced promptly and comprehensively and promote parental awareness. And second, we are working with the Kaiser foundation and the Center for Media Education in their national effort to educate parents about the V-Chip TV ratings system -- with free booklets for parents on how the V-chip TV ratings system works that will be available though a toll-free telephone number.

National Campaign to Prevent Youth Violence

Q: You've previously announced that you were planning to launch a national campaign to prevent youth violence. Why a national campaign? Can it really do anything?

A: Youth violence is a problem that government cannot solve alone. That is why we called for the creation of a national campaign to reduce youth violence. This campaign will work at the grass-roots level with all sectors of our society – the media, education groups, parents, religious leaders, and young people – to focus on this problem, find what is working, and spread it to new communities.

We wanted to model the new campaign after two extremely successful efforts that we

previously launched: the national campaign to reduce teen pregnancy, and the Welfare to Work Partnership. These campaigns have played important roles in helping to reduce the teen pregnancy rates, and moving over 40,000 people from the welfare rolls to the job rolls.

To: Mrs. Clinton
From: Marsha Berry
Re: Interview with Dan Rather

You are scheduled to be interviewed by Dan Rather, of CBS News and 60 Minutes II, on Thursday, May 20, 1999. The interview will be held in the Executive Terminal at Denver International Airport, at 12:40 p.m. It is scheduled to last for twenty minutes.

In addition to the material Neera Tanden and Ruby Shamir sent you yesterday, attached are:

- A transcript of your interview with Christiane Amanpour;
- Fact sheets on the Clinton Administration's initiatives for families, children, and school safety; and
- Fact sheets on U.S. efforts to aid the Kosovar refugees

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

cc:

Subject: First Lady's Interview on CNN, May 14, 1999

World Today
Aired May 14, 1999 - 10:04 p.m. ET

Hillary Rodham Clinton Discusses Her Trip to Macedonia

CHRISTIANE AMANPOUR, CNN SENIOR INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENT: As first lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton has made scores of trips overseas with her husband, President Clinton. But she has also made at least 60 solo trips, but not as much as known about that.

Now, in her first interview in nearly a year and a half, Mrs. Clinton joins us to talk about her activism in the role of foreign policy, and about her recent trip to Macedonia.

Thank you very much for joining us.

HILLARY CLINTON, FIRST LADY OF THE UNITED STATES: Thank you, and I'm delighted to be here.

AMANPOUR: You were at the camp today, one of the biggest camps in the region. What struck you about what you heard there?

CLINTON: Well, I think my overwhelming impression was that what had happened to these people, the Kosovars, is just unforgivable and unforgettable. We have to do everything we can to enable them to return home in peace and in safety.

And I heard a lot of stories. You know, it's very hard when you're talking with people who you never met before, and you feel almost like you're intruding, but they want to tell you about what it felt like when they lost their children -- their hands were pulled away in a crowd of people being pushed by Serb police to get on trains, or when they, all of a sudden, were pushed from their home, and a husband loses a wife because she was visiting her father.

I heard so many stories in such a short period of time, and they confirmed what I've already heard from refugees in the United States and in London, and what I knew to be the case from other reports.

So I was very much saddened by what I heard and what I see happening, but also very sure that we are doing the right thing to try to enable these people to have a life and to end this century on a note of commitment to human rights in

Europe.

AMANPOUR: Many people are saying that success in this mission is basically what happened to those refugees; success will be defined by getting them back.

What can you say to those people who say that it's gone on for a long time, and we are really worrying now?

CLINTON: Well, first of all, that's not what they said to me. They thanked me and asked me to thank my husband, and they said they were very grateful to the United States and to NATO.

And I think many of them of course are frustrated. It would be awful living in a camp, having lost your home, your possessions and maybe even family members. And I understand that, and I feel terrible about it.

But they have been subject to Mr. Milosevic's ethnic cleansing campaign for a long time. It started in small ways about 10 years ago where the Kosovars were forbidden to go to the theater or to the sports stadium, and then the schools were closed, and then they were afraid to drive their cars on the road. And then a couple of years ago they started being pushed out of their homes. And then last year we saw thousands of them in the mountains.

So this has been a long-term, deliberate policy by Milosevic. And we are attempting to reverse a decade of deliberate, persistent ethnic cleansing that has of course come to a crescendo in the last weeks.

And I know that in today's world of instant news and 24-hour coverage, 50 days may seem like an eternity. But in the kind of concerted effort that NATO has undertaken to bring about these changes and return the refugees, I don't think that it is a very long time at all. And when we are successful, as I know we will be, it will be exactly what needs to be done to send a very clear message not only to Milosevic but to anyone in this region, and I hope throughout the world, that this kind of action will no longer be permitted.

AMANPOUR: You called Milosevic's policies evil today, and many others have as well. Do you think Slobodan Milosevic should be indicted on charges of war crime?

CLINTON: I think that's a discussion that will have to take place at some point. But right now I think the immediate goal is to persuade him or defeat him, whichever is necessary, that he must reverse this policy. And if our primary objective, as it is, is to return the Kosovar refugees and give them the security they need to live at peace in Kosovo, then I think we need to put our attention and all of our resources on achieving that goal first and foremost.

AMANPOUR: Many people say he's still there, he's hunkering down, he's basically taking this beating right now and that it won't happen -- the defeat or the roll back -- unless there are ground troops. I can't ask you about policy, because that's not your role, but I'd like to ask you about principles.

During the Bosnia war, the Bosnians said, if you're not going to fight for us, let us fight for ourselves. For a long time they never got weapons. In the end, the

West realized that they needed weapons and it made a difference when they got them. The KLA now is saying the same thing. As a principle, do you think it's fair to deny them the ability to fight if NATO says that it won't fight on the ground for them?

CLINTON: Based on the intelligence and information that I'm aware of, it seems very clear that the bombing is having an effect and that Mr. Milosevic and those with whom he governs, who are a very tight circle, are beginning to feel that. You don't see the bravado and the rock concerts and the like because they are suffering. And I believe that, if we continue the pressure that we have been inflicting on him, that there will be a roll back, and there will be a return of the refugees.

And I think that we ought to keep, again, our focus on what is working -- and it is working -- and be prepared to see it through.

AMANPOUR: There are many who say, and who bemoan -- many outside of the United States -- what they believe is a political climate that makes it impossible for the United States to commit in any way other than a casualty-free way, in other words to commit from 15,000 feet up. Do you agree that the political climate is such that -- prevents going the whole way, so to speak?

CLINTON: Well, I think if you define the whole way the objective, which is to return the refugees with appropriate security, I believe that the strategy that we are pursuing is likely to work. So I don't know that it's useful to speculate on what might come next, or what might be necessary.

Now it is always difficult to obtain the kind of political support for any action off of one's shores. I know that, in Europe, there's a constant effort to keep public opinion and political support, and it is the same in the United States. But I've been personally very pleased to see that public opinion in the United States is supporting the president's policy, supporting the Kosovar refugees, and I think we can maintain that till we are able to see our way clear through this.

AMANPOUR: We're always told Americans don't care about foreign news, don't want to know about foreign news; do you think that's right, or do you think Americans do care about what's going on in the world?

CLINTON: Yes, there is always a tendency in American history as one goes back, not even very far, to before the Second World War for us to feel quite isolated from the world's problems with our two big oceans on either side of us. But it is becoming increasingly clear, and it surely should be with what is going on here in the Balkans, that we stay isolated or disengaged at great risk. Because when it comes down to making difficult decisions, the United States must be part of the solution, not only in Europe but in other parts of the world.

So I've spent quite a bit of time in the last several years talking with Americans and encouraging more American interests and support for international engagement.

AMANPOUR: We're going to take a short break. And when we come back, we'll ask Mrs. Clinton about her own political views and aspirations.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

AMANPOUR: You have had a great impact on a certain area of foreign policy. Along with the secretary of state, I believe you have made the issue of women's rights a U.S. policy objective. What have you achieved, and what does that mean exactly? For instance, take the Tailban, the repressive people who are ruling Afghanistan right now. What does that mean for them, for instance?

CLINTON: Well, let me answer that first generally and then specifically. Starting with the Beijing conference in 1995, we made it very clear that women's role and participation and rights were something that were important to democracy and economic advancement, and both of those were in America's interest. And certainly with Secretary Albright becoming secretary of state, she and I both spoke at the State Department and made clear that as a matter of American foreign policy, we wanted to support women's objectives and rights around the world.

Now what that has meant is that we have seen issues a little differently than we used to. We understand that if women are denied education and participation, it's less likely that the society in which they reside will be a stable one or a friendly one. If women do not have access to the full range of economic opportunities, then it's less likely their societies will be economically successful. That's something that's been proven time and again.

And on specific issues where we have encountered gross abuses of women's rights, such as the trafficking of women as though they were pieces of goods, or more sinisterly as drugs, we've spoken out against that as a nation -- that has been raised in bilateral conversations. And specifically with the Taliban and their very gross mistreatment and denial of rights to women, we've made it clear that that regime would not be recognized until it took steps to include women as citizens -- as human beings.

The secretary has memorably said, and I have repeated it on many occasions, that the kind of violence and discrimination against women that we see still too often around the world can no longer be excused as cultural, it needs to be called what it is: it is criminal. And it is something that the United States has a vested interest in recognizing and including as part of the way we evaluate our positions around the world.

AMANPOUR: There have been critics, most recently Michael Mandelbaum, I believe, in "Foreign Affairs," who said that American foreign policy has become, sort of, a social work versus pragmatism. Since you do so much of these democracy and civil society, activism, women's rights, do you -- is that a fair criticism do you think in today's world?

CLINTON: Well, I think that it is very practical to look at the human needs of people around the world and factor those into foreign policy. Certainly during our Cold War years we were forced to sweep a lot of human rights abuses and denial of development and other matters under the rug, if you will, because we had a very specific objective, and that was to protect ourselves against Soviet expansionism, and to do everything we could to prevent countries and societies from falling prey to that.

Now that we no longer face that kind of threat, I think it is practical to see the world in a different way. Certainly our values remain the same, but if we want to have the United States be respected and recognized, as it now is, as the leader of the world, if we want to have friends and partners in every area from commerce to strategic involvement, then I believe we have to recognize the legitimate aspirations of the people in the societies with which we wish to do business.

So I don't view that as impractical. In fact, I view it as a long overdue practical assessment. Realpolitik, of course, means that we look at how countries are strategically located, and what our interests with them are, and how we balance them, but we now know that with the explosion of information, and with a continuing clamor for individual rights from all different kinds of groups -- not just women, but many ethnic, religious, racial groups -- it would be shortsighted of the United States not to factor that into our calculations.

So when I go around the world and I advocate for girls education, for example, it is because we have evidence and reason to believe that well-educated populations are more likely to understand and deal with the challenges of today and tomorrow, and therefore more likely to be involved in relationships that are positive with the United States.

AMANPOUR: You seem so committed, and you seem to get so much professional and personal satisfaction from what you do abroad, and you have the freedom to do it as first lady. Why would you give that up to become a senator in New York?

(LAUGHTER)

CLINTON: Well, I'm not sure that I can answer that question completely, and I -- if I make the decision to run for the Senate, I will have a lot to say about that.

But no matter what I do in the future, whatever course my life happens to take, I'm going to stay interested and involved in these issues, because I care deeply about them, but I also think they matter greatly. So no matter where I go or where I end up, in the next century I'll be, I hope, speaking out on behalf of these matters.

AMANPOUR: Have you -- are you any closer to making your decision?

CLINTON: Well, I will have something to say about that when I am ready, and it isn't here, in Macedonia, that I would talk about that.

AMANPOUR: Will it be in the spring, the summer the fall? Can you give us a little timeframe.

(LAUGHTER) CLINTON: It will be sooner instead of later, I think it's fair to say. This summer is not too far away.

AMANPOUR: A lot of the people I talk to, a lot of the women that I meet from traveling overseas, are very impressed by you and admire your dignity. A

lot of the people you meet are people who suffered, people you saw today, and who believe that they identify with you, because they have seen you suffer.

And in a speech in Africa last year, you spoke about living for hope and reconciliation, living for forgiveness and reconstruction, and living for a new life -- have you been able to apply that to your own circumstances? Have you been able to forgive your husband?

CLINTON: I believe deeply in forgiveness and reconciliation, on an individual basis and on a societal one, as well. And, I think forgiveness is an ongoing effort and challenge, and it is something that I think about and engage in nearly every day -- on little matters, as well as the obvious large ones. And I feel very committed to that kind of life. And so, for me, it is a choice that I make about how I wish to live my life, and I'm very gratified that my husband and I have a very strong relationship and a lot of understanding of one another and a great commitment to each other and that we both appreciate the role that forgiveness has to play in anyone's life. Part of it is our religious faith and part of it is just our experience of human nature and how one always has to be ready to forgive if one wants to go on and live without bitterness and hope.

I was thinking about that today in this refugee camp. I thought about it when I went to Bosnia. These people will confront much more difficult challenges to their capacity to forgive: seeing loved ones killed, losing track of children maybe never to see them again. And yet, I think they understands, as I do, that life is always unpredictable and often unfair, and yet we have to make the decision every day, will we live it with hope or not?

You know, a few weeks ago, Elie Wiesel spoke at the White House, and I'd asked him to speak more than a year ago -- long before we knew what would be happening here in the Balkans -- and he spoke on the perils of indifference. And in that speech, he, of course, reminded us of the worst atrocities of the century in the Holocaust, but he also spoke movingly about what was happening here in the Balkans. And certainly the message that I and many there took away came at the very end, when he was asked how on earth could he advocate hopefulness in the face of what he had experienced as a boy in a concentration camp and what he had seen happen in this century and what was again happening because of Milosevic.

His answer is what choice do we have? How does one live without hope unless one wants one's soul to wither and die. And I believe that. And, of course, you know, in one's personal life it's not nearly as cosmic or as horrific as what has happened to people on a yearly basis in this century and is still happening today, as we speak. But the same principal applies. I mean, every one of us has a choice. You know, at the seminar that we had at the White House last week in the wake of Littleton, Colorado, it was a very moving and somber occasion because people were not pointing fingers and placing blame, they were honestly looking for and accepting responsibility by and large. And at one point one of the participants said, you know, perhaps we should have a national day of reconciliation the day before Thanksgiving. We have so much to be thankful for in the United States. And he said, you know, there are people in my own family who need to forgive each other.

And now there may be some who think that's very simple and very far away

from the Balkans, but I think it's all related. I think how we live our lives and how we deal with whatever life throws our way, is played out on our own individual stage. And then if you look at the life of someone like Milosevic and his wife, it can be played out on the national stage. I mean, one doesn't have to be a psychiatrist to think what has happened to this man who was the subject of being an orphan because both his parents killed themselves? And a wife whose mother was arrested by the Nazis and then released and killed by her communist colleagues because they thought she was an informer. We are seeing their psychological anguish and bitterness acted out in their incredible hatred of those who are different from them.

So I think that in everyday ways how you treat your own disappointments and whether you're able to forgive the pain that others cause you and, frankly, to acknowledge the pain you cause to others, it's one of the big challenges we face as we move into this next century. And it's something that I certainly have faced. But I look into the eyes of people all over my country and the world, and I know it's something all of us face.

AMANPOUR: On that note, thank you very much indeed for joining us.

CLINTON: Thank you.

AMANPOUR: That ends our special report from Skopje, Macedonia.

END

Message Sent To:_____

THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION:
PROMOTING A FAMILIES AGENDA THAT HELPS PARENTS MEET THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES AT HOME AND AT WORK

The President's FY 2000 budget includes a package of initiatives that will help parents struggling to meet their responsibilities to their jobs and, even more important, to their families. This Families Agenda includes important new investments to strengthen child care, increase before- and after-school opportunities, address growing long-term care needs, and expand access to family and medical leave.

Expanding the Child Care Block Grant to Create Better, Safer and More Affordable Child Care:

- **Providing Child Care Subsidies to More than One Million Additional Children:** The President will propose to expand the Child Care and Development Block Grant to help working families struggling to afford child care. This block grant is the primary federal subsidy program to pay for child care, enabling low-income parents to work. Funds are distributed by formula to the states to operate direct child care subsidy programs, as well as to improve the quality and availability of care. Today, however, millions of families who are eligible for assistance with their child care costs do not receive any help. In FY 1997, states provided child care assistance to only 1.25 million of the 10 million low-income children eligible for assistance. The President's budget will increase funding for child care subsidies by $7.5 billion over five years, enabling the program to serve an additional 1.15 million children by FY 2004.

- **Promoting Early Learning:** The President will propose to increase the block grant to provide challenge grants to communities (distributed by states) to improve early learning and the quality and safety of child care for children ages zero to five. Research shows that children's experiences in the earliest years are critical to their development and ability to reach school ready to learn. The President's budget will provide $3 billion over five years to help get children ready to learn.

- **Improving Child Care Quality:** Last year, Congress fully funded the President's request to increase investment in improving child care by providing States with additional resources for quality enhancement efforts such as performing inspections of child care facilities, providing resource and referral services for parents, assisting providers with training and scholarships, and creating networks for family day care providers. The President's FY 2000 budget will provide $173 million for this initiative.

Giving Greater Tax Relief for Child Care to Three Million Working Families. The Child and Dependent Care Tax Credit provides tax relief to taxpayers who pay for the care of a child under 13 or a disabled dependent or spouse in order to work. The credit is equal to a percentage of the taxpayer's employment-related expenditures for child or dependent care, with the amount of the credit depending on the taxpayer's income. The President proposed to increase the credit for families earning under $60,000, providing an additional average tax cut of $354 for these families and eliminating income tax liability for almost all families with incomes below 200% of poverty ($35,000 for a family of four) that claim the maximum allowable child care expenses.

The President's budget will include $5 billion over five years to expand the Child and Dependent Care Tax Credit for nearly three million working families paying for child care.

Providing Tax Relief to Parents Who Stay at Home. The President believes that we should support parents in whatever choice they make for the care of their children. He, therefore, proposed to enable parents who stay at home with children under one to take advantage of the Child and Dependent Care Tax Credit by claiming assumed child care expenses of $500. The President's budget will provide an average tax credit of $ 178, at a cost of $1.3 billion over five years, which will benefit 1.7 million parents.

Creating New Child Care Tax Incentives for Businesses. The President proposed to create a new tax credit to businesses that provide child care services for their employees, by building or expanding child care facilities, operating existing facilities, training child care workers, or providing child care resources and referral services. The credit covers 25% of qualified costs, but may not exceed $150,000 per year. The President's budget will include approximately $500 million over five years for these tax credits.

Expanding After-School Opportunities . The President proposed to triple funding for the 21st Century Learning Center Program, which supports the creation and expansion of after-school and summer school programs throughout the country. Experts agree that school-age children who are unsupervised during the hours after school are far more likely to use alcohol, drugs, and tobacco, commit crimes, receive poor grades, and drop out of school than those who are involved in supervised, constructive activities. The program increases the supply of after-school care in a cost-effective manner, primarily by funding programs that use public school facilities and existing resources. In awarding these new funds, the Education Department will give priority to school districts that are ending social promotion by requiring that students meet academic standards in order to move to the next grade. The President's budget will include $600 million in FY 2000 to help roughly 1.1 million children each year participate in after-school and summer school programs.

Addressing Growing Long-Term Care Needs. The President Clinton has proposed an historic new initiative to support elderly and disabled Americans with long-term care needs and the millions of families caring for them. Today, millions of Americans voluntarily provide unpaid, informal long-term care to disabled family members and friends. Nearly 40 percent of all informal caregiving to aging Americans is provided by their children. The aging of Americans will only increase the need for quality long-term care options -- by 2030, the number of elderly Americans will have doubled, so that one in five Americans will be elderly. To address this growing need for support, the President's budget invests $6.2 billion over five years, including $5.5 billion to provide a $1,000 tax credit to compensate for the cost of long-term care services, and $625 million to provide respite, home care services, and information and referral assistance to the roughly 250,000 families caring for elderly relatives who are chronically ill or disabled.

Expanding Head Start and Early Head Start. The President proposed to continue expansion of Head Start, our nation's premier early childhood development program, which provides early, continuous and comprehensive child development and family support services, preparing low-income children for a lifetime of learning and development. The President's budget will

invest an additional $607 million in FY 2000 to reach an additional 42,000 children with Head Start and Early Head Start services, enabling the program to serve 877,000 low-income children. The President is committed to reaching his goal of enrolling one million children in Head Start by 2002, and doubling the number of infants and toddlers in Early Head Start.

FMLA Expansion. The President proposed to extend the benefits of the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) -- the first piece of legislation that the President signed into law -- to ten million more American workers. Today, workers are eligible for up to 12 weeks of FMLA-protected leave to care for a newborn or adopted child, to attend to their own serious health needs, or to care for a seriously ill parent, child or spouse -- if they work at a business with 50 or more employees. By covering workers in businesses with 25 or more workers, 10 million more American workers will be covered by the FMLA. The President also called for expanding the law to allow FMLA-eligible workers to take up to 24 hours of additional leave each year to meet specified family obligations, including routine doctors appointments and parent-teacher conferences. Leave could be taken to: (1) participate in school activities, such as parent-teacher conferences; (2) accompany one's child to routine dental or medical appointments; and (3) accompany an elderly relative to routine medical appointments or other professional services.

Prohibiting Discrimination Against Parents. The President proposed new federal legislation to protect parents from discrimination in the workplace. Building on state law in Alaska, Michigan, New Jersey and others, this legislation would protect workers from unfair assumptions about their commitment to their job that can affect hiring, advancement and other employment decisions. While this law would clearly not prohibit employers from making hiring and promotion decisions on the basis of job performance, it would ensure that workers are not unfairly discriminated against simply because they are parents.

Promoting School Safety & Preventing Youth Violence
President Clinton's Record

School Violence Prevention

Hosting the White House Conference on School Safety. Convening experts, parents, principals, students, law enforcement and local community leaders, the President and First Lady held the first-ever White House Conference on School Safety on October 15, 1998, to provide an opportunity for Americans to learn more about how they can make their own schools and communities safer. The Conference focused both on the recent incidents of extreme violence as well as the causes of youth violence more generally. It included members of communities affected by school shootings and was linked by satellite to schools and communities across the nation.

Launching a Community-Wide Response to School Safety and Youth Violence. Last month, the President launched the Safe Schools/Healthy Students Initiative, which will provide up to $180 million this year -- and a total of $380 million over the next three years -- to help 50 communities develop and implement community-wide responses to school safety and youth violence. This initiative, which was also a product of the White House School Safety Conference, represents an unprecedented collaboration between the Departments of Justice, Education and Health and Human Services to provide comprehensive educational, law enforcement, mental health, juvenile justice, and other services to help communities prevent youth violence and drug abuse, in and out of school. Communities have until June 1, 1999 to apply for as much as $3 million each through this initiative.

Helping to Make All Schools Safe, Disciplined and Drug-Free. In 1994, President Clinton expanded the Drug-Free Schools Act into the Safe and Drug-Free Schools Act, making violence prevention a key part of this program. Safe and Drug-Free Schools provides support for violence and drug prevention programs to 97 percent of the nation's school districts. At the White House Conference on School Safety, President Clinton announced his plan for a significant overhaul of the nearly $600 million Safe and Drug-Free Schools and Communities Program to focus more on effective violence prevention initiatives. Under the President's proposal, schools will be required to adopt rigorous, comprehensive school safety plans that include: tough, but fair, discipline policies; safe passage to and from schools; effective drug and violence policies and programs; annual school safety and drug use report cards; funding for mental health services; links to after school programs; efforts to involve parents; and crisis management plans.

Responding to the Early Warning Signs of Troubled Youth. President Clinton directed the Secretary of Education and the Attorney General to develop a guide to help teachers and principals identify and respond to the early warning signs of troubled youth that can lead to school violence. In August 1998, the Departments of Justice and Education released *Early Warning, Timely Response: A Guide to Safe Schools*. The guide, aimed at teachers, principals, parents, and others who work with young people, provides information on

how to identify and respond to the early warning signs of troubled youth that can lead to violence in schools. In addition, the guide also instructs schools on how to develop a violence prevention plan and provides a crisis procedure checklist for schools to use if violence occurs. Finally, the guide lists actions students can take -- such as listening to troubled friends, involving trusted adults, and asking law enforcement to conduct school safety audits -- to help create safer schools. More than 200,000 guides already have been distributed to schools across the nation, and 150,000 additional copies will be distributed next week.

Creating a New Federal Response for Violent Deaths in Schools. President Clinton has proposed a $12 million School Emergency Response to Violence -- or Project SERV -- in his FY 2000 budget to help schools and local communities respond to school-related violent deaths, such as those that occurred last school year in Jonesboro, Arkansas; Paducah, Kentucky; Pearl, Mississippi; and Springfield, Oregon. Developed with input from local officials and educators in these and other communities, Project SERV will enable the federal government to assist local communities in much the same way that the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) assists in response to natural disasters. The program will also help communities build the infrastructure necessary to bring more mental health services into their schools.

Hiring School Resource Officers, Targeting Assistance to Schools with Serious Crime Problems. To help give schools with crime problems the tools they need to put the security of our children first, at the White House Conference on School Safety, the President announced a new $65 million initiative to hire up to 2,000 community police and School Resource Officers to work in schools -- and to train police, educators and other members of the community to help recognize the early warning signs of violence.

Forging School-Based Partnerships Between Schools and Law Enforcement. Under the School-Based Partnerships grant program, the Clinton Administration released $16.4 million in grants to 155 law enforcement agencies in September 1998. The School-Based Partnerships grants will be used by policing agencies to work with schools and community-based organizations to address crime at and around schools. This initiative emphasizes using principles of community policing and problem-solving methods to address the causes of school-related crime. The grants will help forge or strengthen partnerships between local law enforcement and schools to focus on school crime, drug use and discipline problems.

Issuing the First Annual Report on School Safety. In December 1997, President Clinton called for an Annual Report on School Safety, which was released on October 15, 1998 and sent to every school in the nation. The report includes: an analysis of all existing national school crime data and an overview of state and local crime reporting; examples of schools and strategies that are successfully reducing school violence, drug use and class disruption; actions that parents can take locally to combat school crime; and resources available to schools and communities to help create safe, disciplined and drug-free schools.

Gun Control

Keeping Guns Out of the Hands of Children. A number of laws and initiatives are keeping

guns out of the hands of children and away from criminals. For instance, since the Brady Law's enactment, over 250,000 felons, fugitives and stalkers have been denied handguns, and the 1994 Crime Bill banned 19 of the deadliest assault weapons and their copies -- keeping assault weapons off America's streets. The Youth Crime Gun Interdiction Initiative (YCGII) is cracking down on the illegal gun markets that supply firearms to juveniles and criminals in 37 target cities. The ATF has already traced more than 77,000 crime guns in the YCGII cities, which has led to the investigation and arrest of hundreds of illegal gun traffickers supplying guns to juveniles and criminals. The Administration's FY 2000 budget proposal proposes adding ATF agents to new YCGII cities to assist in gun trafficking investigations. In addition to these programs, President Clinton signed a directive to every federal agency, requiring child safety locking devices with every handgun issued to federal law enforcement officers. And, in an historic agreement, eight major gun manufacturers have voluntarily agreed to provide child safety locking devices with all their handguns, helping to protect our children.

Enforcing Zero Tolerance for Guns and Other Weapons in Schools. In October 1994, President Clinton signed into law the Gun-Free Schools Act, requiring states to have in effect a law requiring local education agencies (LEAs) to expel students who bring guns to school. The President issued a Presidential Directive later that month to enforce "zero tolerance" for guns in schools, a policy requiring the expulsion of students who bring guns to schools. In school year 1996-97, the U.S. Department of Education estimates that, under zero tolerance policies, 6,093 students were expelled from public schools for bringing a firearm to school.

Culture

Giving Families A New Tool -- A Content-Based Television Ratings System. Striving to protect children from violence and adult content on television, the President and Vice President garnered a breakthrough agreement from the television industry to create a content-based voluntary ratings system. The new system went into effect October 1, 1997, giving parents the information they need to determine if TV shows are appropriate for viewing by their children and identifying which programs they want to block from their homes through screening technology (the V-chip). The voluntary rating system includes age- and content-based ratings.

Helping Parents Control What Comes Into Their Living Room with the V-Chip. Four years ago, President Clinton and Vice President Gore used the Family Policy Conference in Nashville to call for V-chip legislation -- to give parents new tools to help them screen out television programs that are not fit for their kids. Under strong leadership from the White House, the following year saw Congress enact the Telecommunications Act of 1996 which included V-chip legislation. Now, by January 2000, all new televisions are scheduled to include this screening technology.

Hosting the White House Conference on Children's Television. In July 1996, the President, Vice President, and First Lady convened the White House Conference on Children's Television to improve and expand education television for children. Conference participants included parents, industry representatives, advocates, experts and advertisers. At the Conference, the television industry joined with the President and agreed to air more educational and instructional

children's shows.

Encouraging More Educational Television. At the President's urging, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) adopted clear and concrete rules to encourage the development and promotion of TV programming that would be both welcomed by parents and watched by children. The rules require three hours of regularly scheduled, half-hour weekly educational and instructional programming as a requirement for license renewal.

Promoting a "Family Friendly" Internet. The President and Vice President have worked to make cyberspace a safe place for children. The Administration has enlisted the assistance of numerous stakeholders, including industry leaders, teachers, parents, Internet users and librarians to work towards the creation of a "family friendly" Internet. The Administration's three part strategy includes: 1) industry commitments to provide blocking, filtering and labeling technology for use by parents and teachers using the *Net; 2) effective enforcement of existing laws; and 3) increased parental awareness and involvement. This strategy is designed to give parents and teachers the tools they need to prevent children from getting access to inappropriate material on the Internet, and to guide them towards high-quality educational resources.

Mental Health Issues

Increased Funding for Children's Mental Health Services: From 1993 to 1999, the President has increased funding for children's mental health services from just $5 million to $78 million. Significant parts of this funding will be used to provide link schools with mental health services.

Substantial New Increases to Improve Substance Abuse Prevention and Treatment. In 1999, the Congress responded to the Administration's proposal to substantially increase substance abuse prevention and treatment activities. Congress has approved a critical $275 million increase in the Substance Abuse Block Grant at the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMSHA). With this increase, over $1.5 billion will be allocated to the block grant in FY1999 enabling tens of thousands of high-risk youth, pregnant women, and other underserved Americans to get much-needed drug treatment and prevention services.

New Investments in Mental Health Services at SAMHSA. The President's FY 99 budget included a new $13 million increase in mental health block grant. With this increase, the block grant will contain $288 million in mental health spending this year. These services provide much needed treatment, counseling and services for thousands of people with mental illnesses.

Violence Prevention

Providing Safe After-School Opportunities for More than a Million Children a Year. Last year (FY98), the 21st Century Community Learning Centers program was expanded to $200 million. This funding is already supporting hundreds of school-based after-school programs in rural and urban schools in 44 states and the District of Columbia, including weekend and summer programs. This year, the President proposed to triple this initiative -- to $600 million --

to provide safe and educational after-school opportunities for up to 1.1 million school-age children in communities across the country. In addition, the Education Department released a report in June 1998, titled *Safe and Smart: Making the After-School Hours Work for Kid*. This report shows that after-school programs can lower juvenile crime and improve academic performance. *Safe and Smart* was sent to every school district in the country.

Cracking Down on Truancy. Truancy prevention initiatives have been shown to keep more children in school and dramatically reduce daytime crime. The Education Department issued a guidebook to the 15,000 school districts nationwide which outlines the central characteristics of a comprehensive truancy prevention policy and highlights model initiatives in cities and towns across the country. Since then, the Education Department has provided grants to local school districts to develop innovative truancy prevention programs of the kind described in the guidebook.

Encouraging Schools to Adopt School Uniform Policies. School uniforms have been found to be a promising strategy to reduce violence while promoting discipline and respect in school. Because of this, the Clinton Administration has encouraged schools to consider adopting school uniform policies by sharing with every school district a school uniforms manual prepared by the Department of Education in consultation with local communities and the Department of Justice. Since the President highlighted school uniforms, a growing number of schools have adopted these policies including: New York City, Dade County, San Antonio, Houston, Chicago and Boston.

Supporting Curfews at the Local Level. Community curfews are designed to help keep children out of harm's way and enhance community safety. Because of their success, President Clinton has encouraged communities to adopt curfew policies. A 1997 survey by the U.S. Conference of Mayors has shown that 276 of 347 cities surveyed -- or 80 percent -- had youth curfew laws, up from 70 percent in 1995.

Developing a Comprehensive Anti-Gang and Youth Violence Strategy. President Clinton has proposed a comprehensive strategy to (1) target gangs and violent youths with tougher punishments and by expanding anti-gang task forces and the use of racketeering statutes (i.e., RICO) for gang-related offenses; (2) crack down on kids and guns by prohibiting violent juveniles from buying guns and increasing penalties for selling handguns to youths; and (3) keep kids off the streets and out of trouble by expanding after-school programs and promoting anti-truancy initiatives and youth curfews.

Supporting Civic, Community and Faith-Based Organizations. Recognizing the important role that civic, community and faith-based organizations can play in reducing crime, the Administration launched a new Values-Based Violence Prevention Initiative to make $2.2 million in grants available to 16 community-based collaboratives, including religiously-affiliated organizations, that target youth violence, gangs, truancy, and other juvenile problems by promoting common-sense values and responsibility.

Encouraging Conflict Resolution. The Departments of Education and Justice have developed and distributed 40,000 conflict resolution guides to schools and community organizations,

providing guidance on how to develop effective conflict resolution programs; Education and Justice are training community officials and educators on these conflict resolution measures.

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton Advances The President's FAMILIES AGENDA: Helping Parents Meet Their Responsibilities at Home and at Work

April 14, 1999

Today, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton travels to Chicago, Illinois, to take part in a roundtable discussion with working parents and listen to their concerns about balancing responsibilities at home and at work. The President has proposed a series of initiatives that put families first and help them to meet their responsibilities to their jobs and, even more important, to their families. This Families Agenda includes important new investments to strengthen child care, increase before- and after-school opportunities, address growing long-term care needs, and expand access to family and medical leave. In addition, the President's agenda supports working families by protecting Social Security as America's family protection system and by ensuring that every working American receives equal pay and equal opportunities.

Protecting Social Security as America's Family Protection System. The President has proposed a bold framework for saving Social Security for the 21st Century -- devoting 62 percent of the projected budget surpluses over the next 15 years to the Social Security system and investing a small portion of this surplus in the private sector to earn a higher return. Strengthening Social Security is particularly important to working families and to women. Social Security provides benefits to spouses of any age who care for children under 16 if the worker is retired, becomes disabled or dies. And, without Social Security, over 50 percent of elderly women would live in poverty. The President has also proposed using 12 percent of the projected budget surplus to create new Universal Savings Accounts -- USA Accounts -- to help all Americans build nest eggs for their retirement.

Improving Access to Affordable, Quality Child Care. The President has proposed to significantly enhance assistance to low- and middle-income parents paying for child care. Today, working families are saddled with high child care costs, yet only 1.25 million of the 10 million low-income children eligible receive child care subsidies. The President's budget invests $7.5 billion over five years to serve an additional 1.15 million children with child care subsidies. The President has also proposed greater tax relief through the Child and Dependent Care Tax Credit, providing an additional average tax cut of $354 for qualifying families earning under $60,000. This proposal would eliminate income tax liability for nearly all families of four with incomes below $35,000 and high child care costs. Finally, the President's budget steps up investment in improving child care quality and ensuring that all children arrive to school ready to learn.

Increasing After-School Opportunities. Experts agree that school-age children who are unsupervised during the hours after school are far more likely to use alcohol, drugs, and tobacco, commit crimes, receive poor grades, and drop out of school than those who are involved in supervised, constructive activities. Yet, at least 5 million children -- and as many as 15 million -- are left alone at home each week. The President is committed to tripling funding for the 21st Century Community Learning Center Program, which supports the creation and expansion of after-school and summer school enrichment programs throughout the country. His historic budget increase -- from $200 million to $600 million for fiscal year 2000 -- would enable the program to serve over one million more school-aged children.

Addressing Growing Long-Term Care Needs. The President Clinton has proposed an historic new initiative to support elderly and disabled Americans with long-term care needs and the millions of families caring for them. Today, millions of Americans voluntarily provide unpaid, informal long-term care to disabled family members and friends. Nearly 40 percent of all informal caregiving to aging Americans is provided by their children. The aging of Americans will only increase the need for quality long-term care options -- by 2030, the number of elderly Americans will have doubled, so that one in five Americans will be elderly. To address this growing need for support, the President's budget invests $6.2 billion over five years,

including $5.5 billion to provide a $1,000 tax credit to compensate for the cost of long-term care services, and $625 million to provide respite, home care services, and information and referral assistance to the roughly 250,000 families caring for elderly relatives who are chronically ill or disabled.

Ensuring Equal Pay and Equal Opportunities. A recent Council of Economic Advisors report found that, although the gap between women's and men's wages has narrowed substantially since the signing of the Equal Pay Act in 1963, there still is a significant gap that can best be explained by discrimination in the workplace. President Clinton has called for new federal legislation to strengthen wage discrimination laws and provide for additional training and public education efforts on equal pay issues. The President has endorsed the Paycheck Fairness Act, which would increase penalties for equal pay violations, prohibit employers from punishing employees and applicants for sharing salary information, improve data collection, and provide for training, research and a new pay equity award. The President's budget also includes a new $14 million Equal Pay initiative that would enable the Department of Labor and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to increase compliance with federal wage discrimination laws and to provide technical assistance..

Expanding Access to Family and Medical Leave. The Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA), the first piece of legislation that the President signed into law, has enabled millions of American workers take up to 12 weeks of job-protected leave care for a newborn or adopted child, to attend to their own serious health needs, or care for a seriously ill parent, child or spouse. Today, Americans are covered by the law if they work in a company with 50 or more workers. The President is proposing to extend the benefits of FMLA to ten million more Americans by covering workers in companies with 25 or more employees. The President is also proposing to expand the law to allow FMLA-eligible workers take up to 24 hours of additional leave each year to meet specified family obligations, including routine doctors appointments and parent-teacher conferences.

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton Announces New U.S. Initiatives To Assist Kosovar Refugees
May 18, 1999

Today, the First Lady announced new U.S. initiatives to assist Kosovar refugees. These projects reaffirm the U.S. commitment to assist the victims of ethnic cleansing in Kosovo until they can return to their homes and rebuild their lives. The new initiatives bring total U.S. assistance to over $200 million.

ERMA Assistance

The President has authorized the expenditure of an additional $15 million from the Emergency Refugee and Migration Assistance Fund (ERMA) to assist Kosovar refugees. The State Department's Bureau for Population, Refugees and Migration will channel these funds through U.N. organizations, the International Committee of the Red Cross and other international and non-governmental organizations who are providing refugee relief. The funds will also support efforts to relocate up to 20,000 refugees to the United States. The President has previously approved $70 million from this account to assist Kosovar refugees.

Refugee Internet Information Center

This week, the United States will establish an Internet Information Center in Ft. Dix, New Jersey, to help refugees access information in their language on the situation in Kosovo, communicate with other Kosovar refugees and locate missing family members. The U.S. Information Agency (USIA) is spearheading this public-private partnership, which links government agencies, technology companies, foundations and international relief organizations in a coordinated effort to bring to refugee communities the hardware and software necessary to establish internet-based platforms and support humanitarian efforts. Additional information centers will be established in Macedonia, Albania, Poland, Germany and France.

The initiative is coordinated with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the International Organization for Migration. Leading companies include Apple Computer, Inc., Autometric, Inc., Canon, Cisco Systems Inc., The David Sarnoff Corporation, The Document Company, Xerox, Gateway and the Waitt Family Foundation, Hewlett-Packard, International Data Group, Interpacket Group, Inc., the Markle Foundation, the National Technology Alliance, Northwest Airlines, Riso, Inc., SGI, UPS and 3M.

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Office of the Spokesman

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May 17, 1999

USG SUPPORT FOR BALKAN REFUGEES

FOOD ASSISTANCE

The United States is committed to providing food to the Kosovo refugees until the end of this crisis.

The US Department of Agriculture and the US Agency for International Development are working with the UN High Commission on Refugees, the World Food Program, private relief agencies, and government officials in countries housing refugees to distribute US food aid. Other countries will be providing additional food aid assistance for the refugees.

The United States will be providing 14,000 tons of food per month to be distributed to people in refugee camps as well as to those with host families in Albania and Macedonia. This is enough to feed about 750,000 people every month. The United States also plans to provide about 160,000 tons of additional food and animal feed to countries in the region, who are experiencing economic problems because of the conflict.

The major commodities we plan to provide are: wheat flour for bread; rice; vegetable oil; corn, soybean meal, peas and beans; and corn/soy blend, a special high-protein food for children. We are continuing to provide high-energy biscuits to the refugees.

We are prepared to increase our donations if needed; USDA and USAID are taking steps to create a stockpile of one month's supply of extra food in the region in the event it is needed quickly.

All told, US food aid donations through the end of the year are likely to reach 250,000 tons, with a commodity and transportation value of about $100 million.

Our efforts in Kosovo are part of a major food aid initiative which President Clinton announced last July. This year, America will provide nearly 10 million tons of food aid to needy people around the world.

We are able to donate this food because of the productivity of America's farmers and ranchers. Our food aid initiative is feeding hungry people throughout the world and benefiting America's family farmers, who are suffering from the lowest commodity prices in years. Our farmers and ranchers can be proud to know that their labor helps so many.

ASSISTANCE TO HOST FAMILIES AND COMMUNITIES

At present, about 47,000 families or about 7 percent of Albania's families are hosting 282,000 Kosovar refugees. USAID is supporting a program that will work to increase the amount of host families to 15 percent, to accommodate an additional 354,000 refugees. This brings the total to 640,000 refugees that could be accommodated in host family arrangements.

USAID has requested money in the Emergency Supplemental for Kosovo to fund the US portion of this initiative. Furthermore, USAID has already begun to implement some of these programs through initial grants of over $4 million targeting host families and communities in and around Tirana, Durres and Elbasan.

In order to encourage more Albanian families to host refugees, USAID will provide a one-time assistance package consisting of essential household items such as mattresses, blankets, clothing, hygiene supplies and other items identifies by the families.

In addition, the host family and refugees will receive monthly stipends of essential non-food items as well as increased monthly food rations to both refugee families and their Albanian hosts.

To complement these efforts, USAID will also provide direct assistance to communities which host large numbers of refugees-either through host family arrangements or through collective centers and camps. This assistance will be in the form of community improvement projects that expand basic public services and rehabilitate key infrastructure. Possible examples include expanding healthcare and other social services and rehabilitating clinics, schools, water supply and sanitation systems.

COLLECTIVE CENTERS AND UNUSED BUILDINGS

The United States is also surveying unused buildings that can be adapted for use as collective centers. There are currently 45,000 refugees housed in 140 collective centers across Albania. A conservative estimate indicates that there are more than 4,000 structures throughout Albania that could be adapted to house refugees. If each of those shelters were able to hold up to 50-75 refugees, we could accommodate another 300,000 refugees in collective centers for a total of 345,000 that could be housed in collective centers. There is a concerted effort underway to rehabilitate these structures. For its part, USAID will provide community based funding to convert unused structures into collective centers for refugees.

REFUGEE CAMPS

There are currently 30 camps in Albania housing 76,600 refugees. Of those camps, seven are in Kukes and deemed insecure. The 34,500 refugees in those camps will need to be relocated to other locations in Albania. There are an additional 40 camps under construction, including Camp Hope which has already taken in 1,000 of the 20,000 refugees it will house. The United States is looking at building two more camps in Albania for up to 40,000 if necessary. New camps will accommodate an additional 120,000 refugees. The total number of refugees that could be housed in camps (current and under construction) is approximately 200,000.

REFUGEE EVACUATIONS

On April 21, Vice President Gore announced our commitment to relocate up to 20,000 Kosovar refugees to the U.S. The Vice President said our priority would be to help those with family ties in the U.S. and persons in vulnerable circumstances.

The focus of this relocation effort is Macedonia. Since May 5, 2,904 Kosovar refugees from Macedonia have entered US.

The majority of the refugees brought to the US, 2,627, are housed at Fort Dix, NJ, where they are completing their processing and await relocation to communities across the United States. Refugees will be there from two to three weeks.

270 refugees have entered on commercial flights. They arrived fully processed and able to join relatives who had applied to assist them.

While Fort Dix is being prepared to house up to 4,200 refugees, the US expects that the majority of the 20,000 refugees who enter the US will do so fully processed. Thus, it will not be necessary to place many more at Fort Dix.

The Kosovars enter the US as refugees, a legal status. As refugees, they will be able to work while in the United States. They also may decide to remain in the United States. After one year, they can apply to adjust their status to permanent residence. After five years, they may apply for US citizenship.

The USG expects the majority of the refugees will want to return to Kosovo. The US has committed itself to help them return when it is safe to do so.

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) has been contracted by the Department of State to transport the refugees from Macedonia to their final destinations in the United States.

Refugees are sponsored by 10 resettlement agencies which have agreements with the State Department. These agencies, through their networks of more than 400 local affiliates, ensure that the refugees are properly resettled and receive assistance to get their children in school, seek medical attention, apply for work, receive language training, etc.

ASSISTANCE AT FORT DIX

The Department of Health and Human Services is coordinating the efforts of the Interagency Task Force of federal agencies and non-governmental organizations to provide a temporary safe haven for the Kosovo refugees at Fort Dix, NJ. The Operation Provide Refuge Task Force comprises HHS, the Department of Defense, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Department of State, the American Red Cross, the New Jersey National Guard and a representative of the voluntary agencies handling the resettlement of refugees in American communities.

Three HHS agencies are participating in providing support to the Kosovo refugees at Fort Dix led by the Office of Refugee Resettlement (part of HHS' Administration for Children and Families) with the Public Health Service and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. ORR coordinates all the governmental and non-governmental organizations in ensuring the health and safety of the refugees and their timely resettlement into communities across the country. The Department of Defense, for example, provides the facilities and basic services at Fort Dix, offering a safe, secure and comfortable environment in which the refugees will live temporarily while they are being processed for resettlement. The Public Health Service conducts the medical screenings for all the refugees as part of their processing into the United States and operates a fully staffed medical clinic. The screening includes a physical examination, X-rays and blood tests. PHS is currently screening approximately 200 refugees per day. Open 24 hours a day, the clinic has emergency acute care services, general physicians, pediatricians, OB/GYN, nurses, physician assistants and emergency medical technicians. The CDC handles the medical records on each of the refugees, compiling medical histories and tracking past or potentially current communicable conditions. Any refugee who is diagnosed with a communicable condition such as tuberculosis will be fully treated at Fort Dix before resettling in the country.

As part of its administration of the national refugee resettlement program, ORR with its state partners and non-governmental organizations, will provide support to the refugees upon their resettlement in the country. ORR administers the refugee cash assistance and medical assistance programs through the states that will provide temporary financial and health support. The refugees also will receive ORR-funded employment placement, English as a second language classes, cultural orientation and social services, as well as links with health care providers and schools through a network of community based refugee service organizations.

ADDITIONAL SUPPORT PROVIDED BY THE US MILITARY

Thus far, the US military has brought to the region 1.1 million Humanitarian Daily Rations; 7,160 tents and 151,000 blankets; 50,000 health kits; 61,000 5-gallon water jugs, and five 10,000 liter water bladders.

Construction is complete on the first 2,500 units of the 20,000-person refugee camp in Albania – Camp Hope. Additional camp site selections are ongoing.

Military engineers are repairing the Tirana airfield apron to support humanitarian lifts.

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Subject: First Lady's Interview on CNN, May 14, 1999

World Today
Aired May 14, 1999 - 10:04 p.m. ET

Hillary Rodham Clinton Discusses Her Trip to Macedonia

CHRISTIANE AMANPOUR, CNN SENIOR INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENT: As first lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton has made scores of trips overseas with her husband, President Clinton. But she has also made at least 60 solo trips, but not as much as known about that.

Now, in her first interview in nearly a year and a half, Mrs. Clinton joins us to talk about her activism in the role of foreign policy, and about her recent trip to Macedonia.

Thank you very much for joining us.

HILLARY CLINTON, FIRST LADY OF THE UNITED STATES: Thank you, and I'm delighted to be here.

AMANPOUR: You were at the camp today, one of the biggest camps in the region. What struck you about what you heard there?

CLINTON: Well, I think my overwhelming impression was that what had happened to these people, the Kosovars, is just unforgivable and unforgettable. We have to do everything we can to enable them to return home in peace and in safety.

And I heard a lot of stories. You know, it's very hard when you're talking with people who you never met before, and you feel almost like you're intruding, but they want to tell you about what it felt like when they lost their children -- their hands were pulled away in a crowd of people being pushed by Serb police to get on trains, or when they, all of a sudden, were pushed from their home, and a husband loses a wife because she was visiting her father.

I heard so many stories in such a short period of time, and they confirmed what I've already heard from refugees in the United States and in London, and what I knew to be the case from other reports.

So I was very much saddened by what I heard and what I see happening, but also very sure that we are doing the right thing to try to enable these people to have a life and to end this century on a note of commitment to human rights in

Europe.

AMANPOUR: Many people are saying that success in this mission is basically what happened to those refugees; success will be defined by getting them back.

What can you say to those people who say that it's gone on for a long time, and we are really worrying now?

CLINTON: Well, first of all, that's not what they said to me. They thanked me and asked me to thank my husband, and they said they were very grateful to the United States and to NATO.

And I think many of them of course are frustrated. It would be awful living in a camp, having lost your home, your possessions and maybe even family members. And I understand that, and I feel terrible about it.

But they have been subject to Mr. Milosevic's ethnic cleansing campaign for a long time. It started in small ways about 10 years ago where the Kosovars were forbidden to go to the theater or to the sports stadium, and then the schools were closed, and then they were afraid to drive their cars on the road. And then a couple of years ago they started being pushed out of their homes. And then last year we saw thousands of them in the mountains.

So this has been a long-term, deliberate policy by Milosevic. And we are attempting to reverse a decade of deliberate, persistent ethnic cleansing that has of course come to a crescendo in the last weeks.

And I know that in today's world of instant news and 24-hour coverage, 50 days may seem like an eternity. But in the kind of concerted effort that NATO has undertaken to bring about these changes and return the refugees, I don't think that it is a very long time at all. And when we are successful, as I know we will be, it will be exactly what needs to be done to send a very clear message not only to Milosevic but to anyone in this region, and I hope throughout the world, that this kind of action will no longer be permitted.

AMANPOUR: You called Milosevic's policies evil today, and many others have as well. Do you think Slobodan Milosevic should be indicted on charges of war crime?

CLINTON: I think that's a discussion that will have to take place at some point. But right now I think the immediate goal is to persuade him or defeat him, whichever is necessary, that he must reverse this policy. And if our primary objective, as it is, is to return the Kosovar refugees and give them the security they need to live at peace in Kosovo, then I think we need to put our attention and all of our resources on achieving that goal first and foremost.

AMANPOUR: Many people say he's still there, he's hunkering down, he's basically taking this beating right now and that it won't happen -- the defeat or the roll back -- unless there are ground troops. I can't ask you about policy, because that's not your role, but I'd like to ask you about principles.

During the Bosnia war, the Bosnians said, if you're not going to fight for us, let us fight for ourselves. For a long time they never got weapons. In the end, the

West realized that they needed weapons and it made a difference when they got them. The KLA now is saying the same thing. As a principle, do you think it's fair to deny them the ability to fight if NATO says that it won't fight on the ground for them?

CLINTON: Based on the intelligence and information that I'm aware of, it seems very clear that the bombing is having an effect and that Mr. Milosevic and those with whom he governs, who are a very tight circle, are beginning to feel that. You don't see the bravado and the rock concerts and the like because they are suffering. And I believe that, if we continue the pressure that we have been inflicting on him, that there will be a roll back, and there will be a return of the refugees.

And I think that we ought to keep, again, our focus on what is working -- and it is working -- and be prepared to see it through.

AMANPOUR: There are many who say, and who bemoan -- many outside of the United States -- what they believe is a political climate that makes it impossible for the United States to commit in any way other than a casualty-free way, in other words to commit from 15,000 feet up. Do you agree that the political climate is such that -- prevents going the whole way, so to speak?

CLINTON: Well, I think if you define the whole way the objective, which is to return the refugees with appropriate security, I believe that the strategy that we are pursuing is likely to work. So I don't know that it's useful to speculate on what might come next, or what might be necessary.

Now it is always difficult to obtain the kind of political support for any action off of one's shores. I know that, in Europe, there's a constant effort to keep public opinion and political support, and it is the same in the United States. But I've been personally very pleased to see that public opinion in the United States is supporting the president's policy, supporting the Kosovar refugees, and I think we can maintain that till we are able to see our way clear through this.

AMANPOUR: We're always told Americans don't care about foreign news, don't want to know about foreign news; do you think that's right, or do you think Americans do care about what's going on in the world?

CLINTON: Yes, there is always a tendency in American history as one goes back, not even very far, to before the Second World War for us to feel quite isolated from the world's problems with our two big oceans on either side of us. But it is becoming increasingly clear, and it surely should be with what is going on here in the Balkans, that we stay isolated or disengaged at great risk. Because when it comes down to making difficult decisions, the United States must be part of the solution, not only in Europe but in other parts of the world.

So I've spent quite a bit of time in the last several years talking with Americans and encouraging more American interests and support for international engagement.

AMANPOUR: We're going to take a short break. And when we come back, we'll ask Mrs. Clinton about her own political views and aspirations.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

AMANPOUR: You have had a great impact on a certain area of foreign policy. Along with the secretary of state, I believe you have made the issue of women's rights a U.S. policy objective. What have you achieved, and what does that mean exactly? For instance, take the Tailban, the repressive people who are ruling Afghanistan right now. What does that mean for them, for instance?

CLINTON: Well, let me answer that first generally and then specifically. Starting with the Beijing conference in 1995, we made it very clear that women's role and participation and rights were something that were important to democracy and economic advancement, and both of those were in America's interest. And certainly with Secretary Albright becoming secretary of state, she and I both spoke at the State Department and made clear that as a matter of American foreign policy, we wanted to support women's objectives and rights around the world.

Now what that has meant is that we have seen issues a little differently than we used to. We understand that if women are denied education and participation, it's less likely that the society in which they reside will be a stable one or a friendly one. If women do not have access to the full range of economic opportunities, then it's less likely their societies will be economically successful. That's something that's been proven time and again.

And on specific issues where we have encountered gross abuses of women's rights, such as the trafficking of women as though they were pieces of goods, or more sinisterly as drugs, we've spoken out against that as a nation -- that has been raised in bilateral conversations. And specifically with the Taliban and their very gross mistreatment and denial of rights to women, we've made it clear that that regime would not be recognized until it took steps to include women as citizens -- as human beings.

The secretary has memorably said, and I have repeated it on many occasions, that the kind of violence and discrimination against women that we see still too often around the world can no longer be excused as cultural, it needs to be called what it is: it is criminal. And it is something that the United States has a vested interest in recognizing and including as part of the way we evaluate our positions around the world.

AMANPOUR: There have been critics, most recently Michael Mandelbaum, I believe, in "Foreign Affairs," who said that American foreign policy has become, sort of, a social work versus pragmatism. Since you do so much of these democracy and civil society, activism, women's rights, do you -- is that a fair criticism do you think in today's world?

CLINTON: Well, I think that it is very practical to look at the human needs of people around the world and factor those into foreign policy. Certainly during our Cold War years we were forced to sweep a lot of human rights abuses and denial of development and other matters under the rug, if you will, because we had a very specific objective, and that was to protect ourselves against Soviet expansionism, and to do everything we could to prevent countries and societies from falling prey to that.

Now that we no longer face that kind of threat, I think it is practical to see the world in a different way. Certainly our values remain the same, but if we want to have the United States be respected and recognized, as it now is, as the leader of the world, if we want to have friends and partners in every area from commerce to strategic involvement, then I believe we have to recognize the legitimate aspirations of the people in the societies with which we wish to do business.

So I don't view that as impractical. In fact, I view it as a long overdue practical assessment. Realpolitik, of course, means that we look at how countries are strategically located, and what our interests with them are, and how we balance them, but we now know that with the explosion of information, and with a continuing clamor for individual rights from all different kinds of groups -- not just women, but many ethnic, religious, racial groups -- it would be shortsighted of the United States not to factor that into our calculations.

So when I go around the world and I advocate for girls education, for example, it is because we have evidence and reason to believe that well-educated populations are more likely to understand and deal with the challenges of today and tomorrow, and therefore more likely to be involved in relationships that are positive with the United States.

AMANPOUR: You seem so committed, and you seem to get so much professional and personal satisfaction from what you do abroad, and you have the freedom to do it as first lady. Why would you give that up to become a senator in New York?

(LAUGHTER)

CLINTON: Well, I'm not sure that I can answer that question completely, and I -- if I make the decision to run for the Senate, I will have a lot to say about that.

But no matter what I do in the future, whatever course my life happens to take, I'm going to stay interested and involved in these issues, because I care deeply about them, but I also think they matter greatly. So no matter where I go or where I end up, in the next century I'll be, I hope, speaking out on behalf of these matters.

AMANPOUR: Have you -- are you any closer to making your decision?

CLINTON: Well, I will have something to say about that when I am ready, and it isn't here, in Macedonia, that I would talk about that.

AMANPOUR: Will it be in the spring, the summer the fall? Can you give us a little timeframe.

(LAUGHTER) CLINTON: It will be sooner instead of later, I think it's fair to say. This summer is not too far away.

AMANPOUR: A lot of the people I talk to, a lot of the women that I meet from traveling overseas, are very impressed by you and admire your dignity. A

lot of the people you meet are people who suffered, people you saw today, and who believe that they identify with you, because they have seen you suffer.

And in a speech in Africa last year, you spoke about living for hope and reconciliation, living for forgiveness and reconstruction, and living for a new life -- have you been able to apply that to your own circumstances? Have you been able to forgive your husband?

CLINTON: I believe deeply in forgiveness and reconciliation, on an individual basis and on a societal one, as well. And, I think forgiveness is an ongoing effort and challenge, and it is something that I think about and engage in nearly every day -- on little matters, as well as the obvious large ones. And I feel very committed to that kind of life. And so, for me, it is a choice that I make about how I wish to live my life, and I'm very gratified that my husband and I have a very strong relationship and a lot of understanding of one another and a great commitment to each other and that we both appreciate the role that forgiveness has to play in anyone's life. Part of it is our religious faith and part of it is just our experience of human nature and how one always has to be ready to forgive if one wants to go on and live without bitterness and hope.

I was thinking about that today in this refugee camp. I thought about it when I went to Bosnia. These people will confront much more difficult challenges to their capacity to forgive: seeing loved ones killed, losing track of children maybe never to see them again. And yet, I think they understands, as I do, that life is always unpredictable and often unfair, and yet we have to make the decision every day, will we live it with hope or not?

You know, a few weeks ago, Elie Wiesel spoke at the White House, and I'd asked him to speak more than a year ago -- long before we knew what would be happening here in the Balkans -- and he spoke on the perils of indifference. And in that speech, he, of course, reminded us of the worst atrocities of the century in the Holocaust, but he also spoke movingly about what was happening here in the Balkans. And certainly the message that I and many there took away came at the very end, when he was asked how on earth could he advocate hopefulness in the face of what he had experienced as a boy in a concentration camp and what he had seen happen in this century and what was again happening because of Milosevic.

His answer is what choice do we have? How does one live without hope unless one wants one's soul to wither and die. And I believe that. And, of course, you know, in one's personal life it's not nearly as cosmic or as horrific as what has happened to people on a yearly basis in this century and is still happening today, as we speak. But the same principal applies. I mean, every one of us has a choice. You know, at the seminar that we had at the White House last week in the wake of Littleton, Colorado, it was a very moving and somber occasion because people were not pointing fingers and placing blame, they were honestly looking for and accepting responsibility by and large. And at one point one of the participants said, you know, perhaps we should have a national day of reconciliation the day before Thanksgiving. We have so much to be thankful for in the United States. And he said, you know, there are people in my own family who need to forgive each other.

And now there may be some who think that's very simple and very far away

from the Balkans, but I think it's all related. I think how we live our lives and how we deal with whatever life throws our way, is played out on our own individual stage. And then if you look at the life of someone like Milosevic and his wife, it can be played out on the national stage. I mean, one doesn't have to be a psychiatrist to think what has happened to this man who was the subject of being an orphan because both his parents killed themselves? And a wife whose mother was arrested by the Nazis and then released and killed by her communist colleagues because they thought she was an informer. We are seeing their psychological anguish and bitterness acted out in their incredible hatred of those who are different from them.

So I think that in everyday ways how you treat your own disappointments and whether you're able to forgive the pain that others cause you and, frankly, to acknowledge the pain you cause to others, it's one of the big challenges we face as we move into this next century. And it's something that I certainly have faced. But I look into the eyes of people all over my country and the world, and I know it's something all of us face.

AMANPOUR: On that note, thank you very much indeed for joining us.

CLINTON: Thank you.

AMANPOUR: That ends our special report from Skopje, Macedonia.

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