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**CLASSIFICATION**: UNCLASSIFIED  
**DATE/TIME**: 011546Z  
**MESSAGE #**: SR004

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**ROOM**:  
**SUBJECT**: POTUS SPEECH  
**PAGES**: 11

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**SPECIAL DELIVERY INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS:**
PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON

REMARKS TO NORFOLK MILITARY COMMUNITY

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

APRIL 1, 1999
[Acknowledgments: Secretary Cohen, Senator Robb, Senator Levin, Congressmen Scott and Sisisky, General Shelton, Secretary Danzig, Admiral Gehman; Mayor Paul Fraim (Norfolk), Mayor Meyera Obendorf (Virginia Beach)]

Thank you for that welcome. I bet our fellow Americans can hear us all the way on the other side of the Atlantic.

I came to Norfolk today to speak in person to America’s men and women in uniform and your loved ones to say how much you mean to this nation.

Not just when you are in action, but every day. For the last hour, I visited with a number of families here. Navy, Air Force, Marine, and Army families. We talked about the sacrifices they make day in and day out, but especially when a family member is far from home. After our meeting, I had a chance to speak by phone with the 510th Fighter Squadron at Aviano Air Base in Italy. I told them how proud America is of the missions they are flying in support of Operation Allied Force.

Since the Cold War ended, we have asked a lot from our armed forces. We have asked you to deter aggression in the Persian Gulf and protect the peace in Korea. We have asked you to build hope in Central America after a devastating hurricane. We ask you now to stand with our allies against unspeakable brutality in Kosovo. Most of all, we ask you to stand ready each and every
day so that we can be confident America will be forever secure. And every time you respond ... with courage, competence and compassion.

I came here last July to commission a powerful instrument of war, the Navy's new aircraft carrier, USS HARRY S. TRUMAN, and to speak with you about what our nation might accomplish in peace. Today, we are acting to make sure that peace stays stronger than its enemies in the Balkans.

Kosovo is not an easy challenge, or one with a simple answer. If it were, it would have been resolved long ago. The mission I have asked our armed forces to carry out, together with our NATO allies, is a dangerous one. I said from the outset that it would carry risk and sacrifice. That is something the brave men and women of our armed forces understand, because you live with it every day; you know the sacrifices that come with service. Yesterday, three Army infantrymen were seized as they were carrying out a peaceful mission in Macedonia, protecting that neighboring country from the violence in Kosovo. There was absolutely no basis for them to be taken, nor should they be held. President Milosevic should make no mistake: We take care of our own. We will hold him and his government responsible for the safety and well-being of these men. We will carry out our mission with determination and resolve and we will stay the course.

Over the past few weeks I’ve been talking to the American people about how we arrived at this point and why our stake in staying the course justifies the dangers. It is particularly important
that I speak with you – the men and women who may be put in harm’s way. The roots of this conflict lie in the polices of Slobodan Milosevic, the dictator of Serbia, who has started three wars against sovereign countries. For ten years now, Mr. Milosevic has been using ethnic and religious hatred as a path to power and a justification for murder. That is what he did in Bosnia and Croatia. That is what he is doing in Kosovo today. That is what he will continue to do – to his people and his neighbors – unless we and our allies stand in his way.

For months, we exhausted every peaceful means of resolving this problem. With diplomacy backed by the threat of NATO force, we forged a cease fire last October that rescued hundreds of thousands of displaced people from cold and hunger. In February, with our allies and Russia, we proposed a peace agreement that would have given the people of Kosovo their autonomy and ended the fighting for good. We convinced the Kosovar leaders to sign that agreement, even though it did not give them the independence they have been fighting for. But Mr. Milosevic refused. In fact, while pretending to negotiate for peace, he massed 40,000 troops and hundreds of tanks in and around Kosovo, planning a new campaign of destruction and defiance. He started carrying out that plan the moment the peace talks ended.

Now his troops and police are rampaging through Kosovo, separating Kosovar men from their families and executing them in cold blood, burning homes – sometimes, we now hear, with people inside. They are forcing the survivors to leave everything behind, confiscating their identity papers, destroying records so their existence is erased from history. Yesterday, Mr.
Milosevic said that this problem can only be solved by negotiations. But yesterday, his forces continued to hunt down the very Kosovar leaders with whom he was supposed to be negotiating.

Altogether, more than half a million Kosovars have been pushed from their homes since the conflict began. They are arriving at Kosovo’s borders shaken by what they have seen. But they also say that NATO’s military action has given them hope. Had we not acted, the Serbian offensive would have been carried out with impunity. We have ensured it will carry a heavy price.

We are also acting to prevent a wider war. Kosovo may be a small place, but it sits on top of a major faultline: between Europe, Asia, and the Middle East, between Islam and Christianity, with our allies Greece and Turkey to the south and our new allies in central Europe to the north, surrounded by small, struggling democracies that could be overwhelmed by a large wave of refugees. Already, the flow of refugees is threatening the young democracy in Macedonia. Already, Serbian forces have made forays into neighboring Albania. Eventually, key U.S. allies could be drawn into a larger conflict … a war we would be forced to confront later. … a war our men and women in uniform would likely have to fight … only at far greater risk and cost.

Can America respond to every human tragedy in every corner of the world? No, we cannot, and we must not try. But just because we cannot do everything for everyone does not mean that we must, for the sake of consistency, do nothing for no one. Remember, these atrocities are happening at NATO’s doorstep. They are happening where we have allies willing to act with us.
They are happening in violation of commitments Mr. Milosevic made to us. They are happening to a people who have embraced peace, promised to lay down their arms, put their trust in us. We cannot let them down.

Our mission now is clear. To change Mr. Milosevic’s calculations by exacting a punishing cost for his present policy of repression. To diminish his capacity to carry out that policy. To attack his military from the air when he wants to preserve it conduct a military offensive on the ground.

We have been doing this for seven days. I wish I could tell you it will be over soon. But no one knows better than the men and women of our military that a conflict which has been mounting over a decade of ethnic warfare will not be ended overnight. We must be steady and determined. We must have the will to see this through. We must make sure that our mission determines our timetable, not the other way around. We must remember what is at stake: Are we, in the last year of the 20th century, going to look the other way as an entire people are forced to abandon their homeland or die defending it? Or are we going to impose a price on that kind of conduct and seek to end it?

Slobodan Milosevic often justifies his actions by talking about the 14th century. Sometimes I wonder if what he really wants is to bring back the 14th century. I have some news for him – there’s a new century beginning … and the new century will not tolerate hatred, destruction and ethnic cleansing. Our struggle in Kosovo today is not just for a small piece of the Balkans. It is
for the heart and soul of an entire continent. It is for the new century beginning – for the
American families who will be gathered here, like you, a hundred years from now.

The century now ending has been called the American century. In every category, we have
advanced at a phenomenal rate – in population, in production, in the reach of our imagination, in
the grasp of science, and in a thousand other ways.

But we must never forget that this was also a century of holocaust and genocide and terrible
carnage in battle. Our living memory of the World Wars is receding now. Over a thousand
World War Two veterans pass away every single day. But they live forever in our resolution to
protect the values they fought to defend, and to act in time to prevent the wars of the future.

And they live in our commitment to our alliance with Europe. Each of NATO’s 19 members is
supporting our mission in Kosovo in some way, from France and Germany, to Turkey and
Greece, to our new allies Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic. This is the kind of NATO
we need in the next century, an alliance ready to meet the most pressing challenges to peace in
Europe, an alliance standing strong from eastern Europe to the eastern shore of our great nation.

This area not only contains many of America’s historic battlegrounds, it remains one of our most
important military communities. I suspect the congressional delegation that accompanied me
here has a little to do with that. Clearly, the Navy is well represented in the Hampton Roads
area. But there are also men and women from the great Air Force base at Langley, home of the
1st Fighter Wing, whose frequent deployments of F-15s are so essential ... from the Army bases at Fort Eustis and historic Fort Monroe ... from the Marine Corps operating out of the Amphibious Base at Little Creek ... and from the Coast Guard units of the Atlantic Area Command. Norfolk is home to a NATO Command, too, and the SACLANT headquarters is here, guiding our cooperation with our allies. There are reserve units and retirees. It is fitting the whole community has come together today, because our operations in the Balkans are going to require a joint-service team effort from start to finish.

Many of you have friends who are working hard right now to bring peace to Kosovo. This port is home to a hundred ships – not only the powerful battle groups now at sea led by the ENTERPRISE and THEODORE ROOSEVELT, but also ships in the Adriatic. Guided missile destroyers like USS GONZALEZ. Fast attack submarines like the USS NORFOLK. I cannot name every ship involved, but you know how hard each ship, aviation squadron and sub is working for our united cause – along with every Army unit and every serviceman and woman from base personnel up to the commanders of the operation.

I would also like to single out a special group of people ... the families of the men and women serving in the operation. You, too, serve our nation, in peacetime and in conflict. The newspapers have been showing pictures of families hugging before someone heads off to duty. But what you and I know is that these scenes happen all the time at Norfolk.

Right now, as you are here missing your loved ones, they are missing you just as much. At Aviano, in Tuzla ... and in other places around the world, from the Sinai Desert to the DMZ in
Korea to Soto Cano, Honduras, they are hard at work on the ground, in the air, and at sea. The end of the Cold War has not made the world any less dangerous. But you always do right by the American people. And I want to make sure we do right by you. The more we ask of you, the greater our responsibility to give our men and women in uniform the support and training and equipment you need to get the job done and to come home to America. That means fair pay and decent housing. It means cutting-edge weaponry and training to match. Our new defense budget contains not only a substantial pay raise, but increased funding to keep our readiness razor sharp. That is a common sense investment in America’s future. It is also our solemn obligation to you and to all those who accept danger and hardship on our behalf.

In April 1945, Franklin Roosevelt wrote his final speech, for a holiday honoring Virginia’s Thomas Jefferson. He did not live to give the speech, but it still speaks to us, brimming with confidence and clarity about America’s need to act in the world, and advising future generations how best to avoid conflict: “We, as Americans, do not choose to deny our responsibility. Nor do we intend to abandon our determination that, within the lives of our children and our children’s children, there will not be a third world war. We seek peace – enduring peace. More than an end to war, we want an end to the beginnings of all wars.”

Today, our armed forces are trying to end a war that has begun in Europe, and prevent the larger war that would come if we did not act. I do not think Roosevelt or his generation would have turned away from the challenge we face today. I know that we will not turn away from their example. For those of you serving America … for those of you thinking of your loved ones …
for all people who care about building peace ... thank you for all you have done to make this a safer world.

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We honor you, because you honor us. Everything you do makes a statement to the world: America will defend its interests, stay true to its ideals, and stand by its allies and friends. Now I'd like to make a statement on behalf of all Americans — to the servicemen and women of this
community – to your families – and to our men and women stationed around the world. Thank you for your service, thank you for your sacrifice, and thank you for a job well done.

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and hundreds of tanks in and around Kosovo, planning a new campaign of destruction and defiance. He started carrying out that plan the moment the peace talks ended, increasing our sense of urgency that NATO air strikes must begin.

Now his troops and police are rampaging through Kosovo, separating Kosovar men from their families and executing them in cold blood, burning homes, sometimes, we now hear, with people inside. They are forcing the survivors to leave everything behind, confiscating their identity papers, destroying the records of their existence so that they won’t return. Yesterday, Mr. Milosevic said that this problem can only be solved by negotiations. But yesterday, his forces continued to hunt down the very Kosovar leaders with whom he was supposed to be negotiating.

Altogether, more than half a million Kosovars have been pushed from their homes since the conflict began. They are arriving at Kosovo’s borders shaken by what they have seen. But they also say that NATO’s military action has given them hope. Had we not acted, the Serbian offensive would have been carried out with impunity. We have ensured it carries a heavy price. Can America respond to every human tragedy in every corner of the world? No, we cannot, and we must not try. But just because we cannot do everything for everyone does not mean that we must, for the sake of consistency, do nothing for no one. Remember, these atrocities are happening at NATO’s doorstep. They are happening where we have allies willing to act with us. They are happening in violation of commitments Mr. Milosevic made to us. They are happening to a people who have embraced peace, promised to lay down their arms, put their trust in us. We cannot let them down.

This also happening in a region where we have a national interest in preventing a wider war. Kosovo may be a small place, but it sits right on top of a major faultline: between Europe, Asia, and the Middle East, between Islam and Christianity, with our allies Greece and Turkey to the south and our new allies in central Europe to the north, surrounded by small, struggling democracies that could be overwhelmed by a large, new wave of refugees.

Already, the flow of refugees is threatening the young democracy in Macedonia. Already, Serbian forces have made forays into neighboring Albania. Eventually, key U.S. allies could be
drawn into a larger conflict ... a war we would be forced to confront later ... a war our men and women in uniform would likely have to fight ... only at far greater risk and cost.

Our mission now is clear. To change Mr. Milosevic's calculations by raising the cost of his present policy of repression. To diminish his capacity to carry out that policy. And to attack his military strength from the air when he still needs it to fight an armed insurgency on the ground to diminish his capacity to carry out that policy. (Otherwise sounds too much like we're the KLA air force.)

We have been doing this for seven days now. No one knows better than the men and women of our military that it will take more time. The conflict in Kosovo has been mounting for over a year. We will not end it overnight. We must be steady and determined. We must have the will to see this through. We must make sure that our mission determines our timetable, not the other way around. And we must remember what is at stake: Are we, in the last year of the 20th century, going to look the other way as an entire people are forced to abandon their homeland or die defending it? Or are we going to impose a price on that kind of conduct and seek to end it?

Slobodan Milosevic often justifies his actions by talking about the 14th century. Sometimes I wonder if what he really wants is to bring back the 14th century. I have some news for him – there's a new century beginning ... and the new century will not tolerate hatred, destruction and genocide. Our struggle in Kosovo today is not just for a small piece of the Balkans. It is for the heart and soul of an entire continent. It is for the new century beginning – for the American families who will be gathered here, like you, a hundred years from now.

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But we must never forget that this was also a century of holocaust and genocide and terrible carnage in battle. Our living memory of the World Wars is receding now. Over a thousand
World War Two veterans pass away every single day. But they live forever in our resolution to protect the values they fought to defend, and to act in time to prevent the wars of the future. And they live in the bravery and skill of our armed forces.

The Tidewater area not only contains many of our most historic battlegrounds, it remains one of our most important military communities. I suspect the congressional delegation that accompanied me here had a little to do with that. Looking across the expanse of this great base, it is clear the Navy is well represented in the Hampton Roads area. But there are also men and women from the Marine base at Little Creek ... from the great Air Force base at Langley, home of the 1st Fighter Wing, whose deployments of F-15s are so essential ... from the Army bases at Fort Eustis and historic Fort Monroe ... and from the Coast Guard units from the Atlantic Area Command. Norfolk is a NATO Command, too, and the SACLANT headquarters is here, guiding our cooperation with our allies. There are reserve units and retirees, and it is fitting the whole community has come together today, because our operations in the Balkans are going to require a joint-service team effort from start to finish.

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I'd like to add how impressed I have been by the seamless cooperation of the NATO nations. Some of our allies are front-line states next to the fighting, like Greece and Turkey. Others are further away away, like Iceland, Luxembourg, and the new NATO allies of Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic. But every nation has offered it support in one way or another. From the eastern Pacific to eastern Europe, our alliance is standing strong.
I would also like to single out a special group of people... the families of the men and women serving in the operation. You, too, serve our nation, in peacetime and in conflict. No words of mine can fully express our gratitude. The newspapers have been showing pictures of families hugging before someone heads off to duty. But what you and I know is that these scenes happen all the time at Norfolk. It is part of the great sacrifice we ask you to make for our nation. But I know a computer screen and a mouse is no substitute for the person you’re missing – and I promise to do all I can to bring them home safe and sound.

I have always been moved by my visits to our troops stationed overseas, and I have tried to put into words how I feel about their service to this nation. Right now, as you are here missing your loved ones, they are missing you just as much. At Aviano, in Tuzla... and in other places around the world, from the Sinai Desert to the DMZ in Korea to Soto Cano, Honduras, they are hard at work on the ground, in the air, and at sea. The end of the Cold War has not made the world any less dangerous. But you always do right by the American people. And I want to make sure we do right by you. The more we ask of you, the greater our responsibility to give our troops the support and training and equipment you need to get the job done and to come home to America, safe and sound. That means fair pay and decent housing. It means cutting-edge weaponry and training to match. Our new defense budget contains not only a substantial pay raise, but funding to make keep our readiness razor sharp. That is a common sense investment in America’s future. It is also our solemn obligation to you and to all those who accept danger and hardship on our behalf.

With the right support, I know you will help us meet all the challenges we face today, the way we met all the challenges of our past. Not far from here, the battle of Yorktown was fought. Our political leaders declared independence in 1776 — but we achieved freedom when our armed forces and our French allies won it here in 1781. We achieved it again in the Civil War, fought all around these waters. We achieved it again when these great bases expanded in the 20th century as part of the worldwide fight against tyranny. We will never stop achieving freedom.

In April 1945, Franklin Roosevelt wrote his final speech, for a holiday honoring Virginia’s Thomas Jefferson. He did not live to give the speech, but it still speaks to us, brimming with
confidence and clarity about America's need to act in the world, and advising future generations about how best to avoid conflict: "We, as Americans, do not choose to deny our responsibility. Nor do we intend to abandon our determination that, within the lives of our children and our children's children, there will not be a third world war. We seek peace – enduring peace. More than an end to war, we want an end to the beginnings of all wars." Today, our armed forces are trying to end a war that has begun in Europe, and prevent the larger war that would come if we did not act.

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Altogether, more than half a million Kosovars have been pushed from their homes since the conflict began. They are arriving at Kosovo’s borders shaken by what they have seen. But they also say that NATO’s military action has given them hope. Had we not acted, the Serbian offensive would have been carried out with impunity. We have ensured it carries a heavy price.

Can America respond to every human tragedy in every corner of the world? No, we cannot, and we must not try. But just because we cannot do everything for everyone does not mean that we must, for the sake of consistency, do nothing for no one. Remember, these atrocities are happening at NATO’s doorstep. They are happening where we have allies willing to act with us. They are happening in violation of commitments Mr. Milosevic made to us. They are happening to a people who have embraced peace, promised to lay down their arms, put their trust in us. We cannot let them down.

This is also happening in a region where we have a national interest in preventing a wider war. Kosovo may be a small place, but it sits right on top of a major faultline: between Europe, Asia, and the Middle East, between Islam and Christianity, with our allies Greece and Turkey to the south and our new allies in central Europe to the north, surrounded by small, struggling democracies that could be overwhelmed by a large, new wave of refugees.

Already, the flow of refugees is threatening the young democracy in Macedonia. Already, Serbian forces have made forays into neighboring Albania. Eventually, key U.S. allies could be
drawn into a larger conflict ... a war we would be forced to confront later ... a war our men and women in uniform would likely have to fight ... only at far greater risk and cost.

Our mission now is clear. To change Mr. Milosevic’s calculations by raising the cost of his present policy of repression. To diminish his capacity to carry out that policy. To attack his military strength from the air when he still needs it to fight an armed insurgency on the ground.

We have been doing this for seven days now. No one knows better than the men and women of our military that it will take more time. The conflict in Kosovo has been mounting for over a year. We will not end it overnight. We must be steady and determined. We must have the will to see this through. We must make sure that our mission determines our timetable, not the other way around. And we must remember what is at stake: Are we, in the last year of the 20th century, going to look the other way as an entire people are forced to abandon their homeland or die defending it? Or are we going to impose a price on that kind of conduct and seek to end it?

Slobodan Milosevic often justifies his actions by talking about the 14th century. Sometimes I wonder if what he really wants is to bring back the 14th century. I have some news for him – there’s a new century beginning ... and the new century will not tolerate hatred, destruction and genocide. Our struggle in Kosovo today is not just for a small piece of the Balkans. It is for the heart and soul of an entire continent. It is for the new century beginning – for the American families who will be gathered here, like you, a hundred years from now.

The century now ending has been called the American century. In every category, we have advanced at a phenomenal rate – in population, in production, in the reach of our imagination, in the grasp of science, and in a thousand other ways.

But we must never forget that this was also a century of holocaust and genocide and terrible carnage in battle. Our living memory of the World Wars is receding now. Over a thousand World War Two veterans pass away every single day. But they live forever in our resolution to protect the values they fought to defend, and to act in time to prevent the wars of the future.

And they live in the bravery and skill of our armed forces.
The Tidewater area not only contains many of our most historic battlegrounds, it remains one of our most important military communities. I suspect the congressional delegation that accompanied me here had a little to do with that. Looking across the expanse of this great base, it is clear the Navy is well represented in the Hampton Roads area. But there are also men and women from the Marine Corps both here and at the Amphibious Base at Little Creek ... from the great Air Force base at Langley, home of the 1st Fighter Wing, whose deployments of F-15s are so essential ... from the Army bases at Fort Eustis and historic Fort Monroe ... and from the Coast Guard units from the Atlantic Area Command. Norfolk is a NATO Command, too, and the SACLANT headquarters is here, guiding our cooperation with our allies. There are reserve units and retirees, and it is fitting the whole community has come together today, because our operations in the Balkans are going to require a joint-service team effort from start to finish.

Many of you have friends who are working hard right now to bring peace to Kosovo. This port is home to a hundred ships - not only the powerful battle groups now at sea led by the ENTERPRISE and THEODORE ROOSEVELT, but also ships in the Adriatic that are part of our force there. Guided missile destroyers like USS GONZALEZ. Fast attack submarines like the USS NORFOLK. I cannot name every ship involved, but you know how hard each ship, aviation squadron and sub is working for our united cause – along with every Army unit and every serviceman and woman from base personnel up to the commanders of the operation.

I’d like to add how impressed I have been by the seamless cooperation of the NATO nations. Some of our allies are front-line states next to the fighting, like Greece and Turkey. Others are further away away, like Iceland, Luxembourg, and the new NATO allies of Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic. But every nation has offered it support in one way or another. From the eastern Pacific to eastern Europe, our alliance is standing strong.

I would also like to single out a special group of people ... the families of the men and women serving in the operation. You, too, serve our nation, in peacetime and in conflict. No words of mine can fully express our gratitude. The newspapers have been showing pictures of families hugging before someone heads off to duty. But what you and I know is that these scenes happen
all the time at Norfolk. It is part of the great sacrifice we ask you to make for our nation. But I know a computer screen and a mouse is no substitute for the person you’re missing – and I promise to do all I can to bring them home safe and sound.

I have always been moved by my visits to our people stationed overseas, and I have tried to put into words how I feel about their service to this nation. Right now, as you are here missing your loved ones, they are missing you just as much. At Aviano, in Tuzla ... and in other places around the world, from the Sinai Desert to the DMZ in Korea to Soto Cano, Honduras, they are hard at work on the ground, in the air, and at sea. The end of the Cold War has not made the world any less dangerous. But you always do right by the American people.

And I want to make sure we do right by you. The more we ask of you, the greater our responsibility to give our men and women in uniform the support and training and equipment you need to get the job done and to come home to America, safe and sound. That means fair pay and decent housing. It means cutting-edge weaponry and training to match. Our new defense budget contains not only a substantial pay raise, but funding to keep our readiness razor sharp. That is a common sense investment in America’s future. It is also our solemn obligation to you and to all those who accept danger and hardship on our behalf.

With the right support, I know you will help us meet all the challenges we face today, the way we met all the challenges of our past. Not far from here, the battle of Yorktown was fought. Our political leaders declared independence in 1776 – but we achieved freedom when our armed forces and our French allies won it here in 1781. We achieved it again in the Civil War, fought all around these waters. We achieved it again when these great bases expanded in the 20th century as part of the worldwide fight against tyranny. We will never stop achieving freedom.

In April 1945, Franklin Roosevelt wrote his final speech, for a holiday honoring Virginia’s Thomas Jefferson. He did not live to give the speech, but it still speaks to us, brimming with confidence and clarity about America’s need to act in the world, and advising future generations about how best to avoid conflict: “We, as Americans, do not choose to deny our responsibility. Nor do we intend to abandon our determination that, within the lives of our children and our children’s children, there will not be a third world war. We seek peace – enduring peace. More
than an end to war, we want an end to the beginnings of all wars.” Today, our armed forces are trying to end a war that has begun in Europe, and prevent the larger war that would come if we did not act.

I do not think Roosevelt or his generation would have turned away from the challenge we face today. I know that we will not turn away from their example. For those of you serving America ... for those of you thinking of your loved ones ... for all people who care about building peace ... thank you for all you have done to make this a safer world.

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PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS TO NORFOLK AIR STATION COMMUNITY
NORFOLK, VIRGINIA
APRIL 1, 1999

[Acknowledgments: Secretary Cohen, Senator Warner (T), Senator Robb, General Shelton, Admiral Gehman]

Thank you for that welcome. I bet our fellow Americans can hear us all the way on the other side of the Atlantic.

I came to Norfolk today for a simple reason. I wanted to speak in person to America's men and women in uniform and especially their loved ones to say how much you mean to this nation. I have just visited for the last hour with a number of families, heard their stories, discussed the problems they face, and explored how we can do more to improve the quality of their lives. They are great families, committed to their loved ones in uniform, committed to their military service, committed to this nation and its fundamental values. And I know that they are representative of all of you in this audience today.

Since the end of the Cold War, our armed forces have maintained very high rates of deployments and operations, and I know that that imposes a burden on you all. But lately, our military forces have been particularly busy in the news a lot lately – punishing Saddam Hussein's air defenses every time they defy the "no fly" rules over Iraq, helping to make the world safer in the Middle East... building hope in Central America after a devastating hurricane... and now, together with our steadfast allies in NATO, devastating Serbia's armed forces in response to Slobodan Milosevic's appalling failure to live up to his promise to stop killing the people of Kosovo.

Normally, military personnel report to me, but today, I have come here to report to you on how the American people feel about the job you've been doing. Simply put, you honor us. Both of these operations are making clear to tyrants and thugs around the world that the United States and its allies will not stand idle when America's interests are threatened, that while our innocent civilians are being slaughtered, friends need us and peace is threatened. Now, I'd like to make a statement to all of you - to the military men and women of this community - to their friends and families - and to all of our servicemen and women stationed around the world... Thank you for a job well done.

I came here last July to commission a powerful instrument of war, the Navy's newest aircraft carrier, the Harry S. Truman, and to describe a world in which our nation accomplishes great things, a world of what our nation might accomplish in peace. Today, we do not have the luxury of dreaming – we are acting to make sure that peace stays stronger than its enemies in the Balkans. When Harry Truman helped to build the remarkable NATO alliance that has brought stability to Europe for half a century, he was under no illusions. He knew there would be
profound challenges from many sources – from America's adversaries, from doubters at home, and from regional problems around the world that could spiral out of control if left unchecked.

Kosovo is one of those challenges. There is no doubt how Harry Truman would have responded – he boldly committed America to support Southeastern Europe when he issued the Truman Doctrine to defend freedom in Greece and Turkey. We do not intend to respond any less decisively.

As you can imagine, we've been putting in some pretty late hours at the White House. But you are the ones we depend on – and the ones who are foremost in our minds. You are the steel behind our diplomacy. We are not going to let you down.

Before last week, many Americans had never heard of Kosovo. Today we know some very important ideas are at stake there. The idea that Europeans can forge a better future, in cooperation, not conflict. The idea the people can work out their differences through pointed discussions rather than pointed guns. The idea that the sum total of our differences adds up to a fraction of what we have in common. The idea that the end of one century and the beginning of another is more than just a change in the calendar ... but a watershed moment, requiring all people to reflect on what we have and have not accomplished, not only as separate nations, but as a single species still searching for answers to hard questions about how to get along.

The 20th century has been the most important century in the history of the United States. In every category, we have advanced at a phenomenal rate – in population, in production, in the reach of the imagination, in the grasp of science, and in a thousand ways in which the daily lives of hard-working people have been improved. A hundred years ago, this was a nation of small towns, local in almost every sense. Today we are profoundly interested and involved in the rest of the world. That interest and involvement has been at the heart of our progress.

But we must never forget that this was also a century of holocaust and genocide. We fought terrible wars that dwarfed the American Revolution and Civil War in scale and suffering. Our living memory of the World Wars is receding as the generations that fought them fade from the scene. Roughly – [tk] World War Two veterans pass away every day. But they live forever in our resolution never to repeat the mistakes of the past. We cannot forget the responsibility they bequeathed to us, along with the freedom they fought so hard to defend. Throughout our history, Americans have learned that freedom is not simply given to us – it has to be earned.

As I look into this audience, I see the same spirit that has always preserved this nation. Anyone with half-decent eyesight can see why we are the greatest fighting force on earth – because our nation draws it strength from all its citizens, from all backgrounds.

The area around Norfolk not only contains many of the historic battlegrounds of our Revolution and Civil War, it also represents one of our most important military communities. I have a suspicion the congressional delegation that accompanied me here today had something to do with that. [laughter] Looking across the vast expanse of this great naval base, it is clear that obviously, the Navy is well represented in the Hampton Roads area. But there are also men and women from the Marine base at Little Creek, the great Air Force base at Langley, home of lst
Fighter Wing, the Army bases at Ft. Eustis and historic Ft. Monroe, the Coast Guard station at units from the Atlantic Area Command and, last, but far from least, the NATO Atlantic command here at Norfolk. Of course the Tidewater area is home to a great population of There are reserve units and, retirees, and an enormous variety of people providing goods to all of you. It is fitting that this whole community has come together here at this base today. I'm glad that all the services are in the audience today, because our challenging operations in Serbia and Kosovo are going to require Operation Noble Anvil is going to be a joint-service, team effort from start to finish.

Many of you have friends who are working hard right now to bring peace back to Kosovo. This port is home to a hundred vessels – not only the powerful battle groups now at sea led by the carriers Enterprise and Teddy Roosevelt, but also ships including some in the Adriatic that are as part of our force there presence. Guided missile destroyers like the USS Gonzalez. Fast attack submarines like the USS Norfolk. Other vessels are providing support from other locations, like the USS Thorn, USS Nashville, USS Nassau and USS Pensacola. I cannot name all of them, but you know how hard each ship and sub is working for our cause – and every aircraft ... every Army unit ... every serviceman and woman from base personnel up to the commanders of the operation.

I'd like to add how impressed I have been by the seamless cooperation of the NATO nations. Some of our allies are front-line states right next to close by the fighting, like Greece and Turkey and Hungary. Others are supporting us from farther away, like Iceland, Luxembourg, and the new NATO allies of Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic. And eleven (ck?) are engaged in combat operations. But every nation has offered it support in one way or another. From North America to the western Pacific to Central Eastern Europe, our alliance is standing strong.

I would also like to close by talking again to single a very special group of people – the families of the men and women serving in the operation. You, too, serve our nation – and no words of mine can fully express our gratitude. In peacetime and conflict, you are always close to the front lines. The newspapers have been showing pictures of fathers kissing their kids, or husbands hugging their wives, before heading off. But what you and I know is that these scenes happen all the time at Norfolk. It is part of the great sacrifice we ask you to make for our nation. You are working for peace every day of the year. I'm glad that email has made separation a little easier. But I know there's no substitute for the person you're missing – and I promise to do all I can to bring them home safe and sound. Look forward to meeting with a few families later today.

In my travels to other nations, I have always been moved by my visits to our troops stationed overseas. Right now, as you are here missing your loved ones, they are missing you just as much. At Aviano, at Tuzla ... and in other places around the world, from the Middle East to Korea to Honduras, they are hard at work on the ground, in the air, and at sea. The end of the Cold War has not made the world any simpler – and they have had plenty to do, often with less resources. They have never let us down.
I want to make sure we do right by our armed forces. If we are going to ask you to carry out tough assignments, we have to give you the tools to get the job done. That means fair pay and cutting-edge weaponry. Our new military budget contains not only a substantial pay raise, but funding to make sure our military remains at peak readiness. To my mind, this is one of the best investments we can make in America's future. It is plain common sense.

I know many of you want to hear about our plans for the near future in Kosovo. I have to tell you honestly that many challenges remain before the crisis will be resolved. Until the Serbian troops end their brutal campaign of ethnic cleansing—until the humanitarian crisis eases—until Slobodan Milosevic comes to the peace table with a genuine interest in peace, there will be plenty of work for all of us.

But we do not shrink from our responsibility. Great nations do what is hard because no one else is around to do it for them. It is the burden of responsibility. It is also the reward of responsibility. Because the entire world looks to America for leadership. And thanks to all of you, we are able to provide it. Our military will get any job done, no matter how difficult. And our people are 100% behind our armed forces. We have learned from experience that postponing a tough job does not make it easier—quite the contrary. By acting now, we are avoiding a costlier conflict down the line. To fail to act is simply not a responsible option.

In the past decade, we have seen great things in Europe—a new spirit of integration—revolutions tearing down the walls between people—a nearly universal determination to build democracy. It has been one of the great peaceful transformations in history. But one holdout has not only resisted this trend, but has actively fought to reverse it—to build walls of hatred—to reduce the flow of information—to solve problems not through talking, but through killing.

Slobodan Milosevic made his career talking about the 14th century—and he clearly wants to bring back the 14th century. I have some news for him—there's a new century beginning—and the new century will not tolerate hatred, destruction and genocide. Our struggle in Kosovo today is not just for a small piece of the Balkans. It is for the heart and soul of an entire continent. It is for the new century beginning—for the American families who will be gathered here, like you, a hundred years from now.

There are nine months left in the 20th century. The young children here will barely remember it. Their century is already beginning. But each new century is shaped, even before it begins, by the one before it. The 20th century began with peace, but war broke out because no one paid attention to the old fault lines beneath Europe's fragile architecture. We will not make that mistake again.

Our nation has met many challenges. We will meet this one the way we met all the others. Just north of here, the battle of Yorktown ended the American Revolution. Our political leaders declared independence in 1776—but we achieved freedom when our armed forces won it here in 1781. We reached it in the Civil War, fought all around these waters. We reached it again when these great bases expanded in the 20th century as part of the worldwide fight against tyranny.
In April 1945, Franklin Roosevelt wrote his final speech, for a holiday honoring Virginia's Thomas Jefferson. He did not live to give the speech, but it still speaks to us, brimming with confidence and clarity about America's need to act in the world, and already giving advice to future generations about how to avoid conflict:

"We, as Americans, do not choose to deny our responsibility. Nor do we intend to abandon our determination that, within the lives of our children and our children's children, there will not be a third world war. We seek peace - enduring peace. More than an end to war, we want an end to the beginnings of all wars ...."

I do not think he would have turned away from the challenge we face today. I know that we will not turn away from his example. For those of you serving America ... for those of you thinking of your loved ones ... for all people who care about building peace ... thank you for all you have done to make this a safer world.

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Thank you for that welcome. I bet our fellow Americans can hear us all the way on the other side of the Atlantic.

I came to Norfolk today to speak in person to America’s men and women in uniform and your loved ones to say how much you mean to this nation. Not just when you are in action, but every day. For the last hour, I visited with a number of families here. Navy, Air Force, Marine and Army families. We talked about the hardships and sacrifices they make day in and day out, but especially when a loved one is far from home, in harm’s way. Their strength was inspiring and humbling. I know they are representative of all of you in this audience today.

Since the end of the Cold War, we have asked our armed forces have maintained very high rates of deployments and operations, and I know that imposes a burden on all of you. But lately, our military has been especially busy. America is asking so much of you today. We have asked you to deter aggression in the Persian Gulf and protect the peace in Korea. We have asked you to build hope in Central America after a devastating hurricane. We ask you today to stand with our allies to keep a European people from sliding off the map... to stand against Slobodan Milosevic’s failure to live up to his promise to stop killing the innocent people of Kosovo. Most of all, we ask you to stand ready every each and every day so that we can be confident America will be forever safe, strong and secure. And every time, you respond, with courage, competence, and compassion... spine, skill, and heart.

Today, I have come here to report to you on how the American people feel about the job you are doing—We honor you, because you honor us. Everything you do makes a statement to the world: America will defend its interests, stay true to its ideals, and stand by its allies and friends. Now I’d like to make a statement on behalf of every American to all of you – to the military men and women of this community – to your families – and to all our servicemen and women stationed around the world. Thank you for your service, thank you for your sacrifice, and thank you for a job well done.

I came here last July to commission a powerful instrument of war, the Navy’s new aircraft carrier, USS HARRY S. TRUMAN, and to speak with you about what our nation might accomplish in peace. Today, we are acting to make sure that peace stays stronger than its enemies in the Balkans. When Harry Truman helped to build the remarkable NATO alliance that has brought stability to Europe for half a century, he knew we would face challenges from many sources—from America’s adversaries, from doubters at home, and from regional problems around the world that could spiral out of control if left unchecked.
Kosovo is not an easy one of those challenges. It is not an easy challenge; if it was, it would have been resolved long ago. The mission I have asked our armed forces to carry out is a dangerous one. We have already lost one plane. A few nights ago, our whole nation offered thanks for the incredible bravery and skill of the search and rescue team that brought the pilot of that plane home from hostile territory. We pray we will not have to call on them again, but we have no illusions and I know they are ready.

It is important that we all understand how we arrived at this point and why our stake in staying the course justifies the dangers to our men and women in uniform.

The roots of this conflict lie in the policies of Slobodan Milosevic, the dictator of Serbia, who in this decade has started three wars against sovereign countries— including the war in Bosnia— which claimed 200,000 innocent lives. For ten years now, Mr. Milosevic has been using ethnic and religious hatred as a justification for uprooting and murdering innocent, peaceful people, and to pave his path to absolute power. That is what he did when he stripped the people of Kosovo of their constitutional autonomy, denying them their right to speak their language, run their schools, shape their daily lives. That is what he is doing in Kosovo today. That is what he will continue to do — to his people and his neighbors — unless we and our allies stand in his way.

For months, we exhausted every peaceful means of resolving this problem. With diplomacy backed by the threat of NATO force, we forged a cease fire last October that rescued tens of thousands of displaced people from freezing and hunger in the hills. In February, with our allies and Russia, we proposed a peace agreement that would have given the people of Kosovo their autonomy and ended the fighting for good. We convinced the Kosovar leaders to sign that agreement, even though it did not give them the independence they have been fighting for. But Mr. Milosevic refused. In fact, while he was pretending to negotiate for peace, he was massing 40,000 troops and hundreds of tanks in and around Kosovo, planning a new campaign of destruction and defiance. He started carrying out that plan the moment the peace talks ended, increasing our sense of urgency that NATO air strikes must begin.

Now his troops and police are rampaging through Kosovo, separating Kosovar men from their families and executing them in cold blood, burning homes, sometimes, we now hear, with people inside. They are forcing the survivors to leave everything behind, confiscating their identity papers, destroying the records of their existence so that they won't return. Yesterday, Mr. Milosevic said that this problem can only be solved by negotiations. But yesterday, his forces continued to hunt down the very Kosovar leaders with whom he was supposed to be negotiating.

Altogether, more than half a million Kosovars have been pushed from their homes since the conflict began. They are arriving at Kosovo's borders shaken by what they have seen. But they also say that NATO's military action has given them hope. Had we not acted, the Serbian offensive would have been carried out with impunity. We have ensured it carries a heavy price.

Can America respond to every human tragedy in every corner of the world? No, we cannot, and we must not try. But just because we cannot do everything for everyone does not mean that we
must, for the sake of consistency, do nothing for no one. Remember, these atrocities are happening at NATO’s doorstep. They are happening where we have allies willing to act with us. They are happening in violation of commitments Mr. Milosevic made to us. They are happening to a people who have done everything we have asked: The Kosovars have embraced peace, promised to lay down their arms, put their trust in us. We cannot let them down.

This also happening in a region where we have a national interest in preventing a wider war. Kosovo may be a small place, but it sits right on top of a major faultline: between Europe, Asia, and the Middle East, between Islam and Christianity, with our allies Greece and Turkey to the south and our new allies in central Europe to the north, surrounded by small, struggling democracies that could be overwhelmed by a large, new wave of refugees.

Already, the flow of refugees is threatening the young democracy in Macedonia. Already, Serbian forces have made forays into neighboring Albania. Eventually, key U.S. allies could be drawn into a larger conflict— a war we would be forced to confront later... a war our men and women in uniform would likely have to fight... only at far greater risk and cost.

Our mission now is clear. To change Mr. Milosevic’s calculations by raising the cost of his present policy of repression. To diminish his capacity to carry out that policy. To attack his military strength from the air when he still needs it to fight an armed insurgency on the ground.

We have been doing this for seven days now. No one knows better than the men and women of our military that it will take more time. The conflict in Kosovo has been mounting for over a year. We will not end it overnight. We must be steady and determined. We must have the will to see this through. We must make sure that our mission determines our timetable, not the other way around. And we must remember what is at stake: Are we, in the last year of the 20th century, going to look the other way as an entire people are forced to abandon their homeland or die defending it? Or are we going to impose a price on that kind of conduct and seek to end it?

Slobodan Milosevic often justifies his actions by talking about the 14th century. Sometimes I wonder if what he really wants is to bring back the 14th century. I have some news for him— there’s a new century beginning... and the new century will not tolerate hatred, destruction and genocide. Our struggle in Kosovo today is not just for a small piece of the Balkans. It is for the heart and soul of an entire continent. It is for the new century beginning— for the American families who will be gathered here, like you, a hundred years from now.

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But we must never forget that this was also a century of holocaust and genocide and terrible carnage in battle. Our living memory of the World Wars is receding now. Roughly a thousand World War Two veterans pass away every single day. But they live forever in our resolution to protect the values they fought to defend, and to act in time to prevent the wars of the future.
The Tidewater area not only contains many of our most historic battlegrounds, it remains one of our most important military communities. I have a suspicion the congressional delegation that accompanied me here had a little to do with that. Looking across the expanse of this great base, it is clear the Navy is well represented in the Hampton Roads area. But there are also men and women from the Marine base at Little Creek ... from the great Air Force base at Langley, home of the 1st Fighter Wing, whose frequent deployments of F-15s are so essential to our efforts in the Gulf and Europe ... from the Army bases at Fort Eustis and historic Fort Monroe ... and from the Coast Guard units from the Atlantic Area Command. Norfolk is a NATO Command, too, and the SACLANT headquarters is here, guiding our cooperation with our allies. There are reserve units and retirees, and it is fitting the whole community has come together today, because our challenging operations in the Balkans, Serbia and Kosovo are going to require a joint-service team effort from start to finish.

Many of you have friends who are working hard right now to bring peace to Kosovo. This port is home to a hundred vessels — not only the powerful battle groups now at sea led by the carriers ENTERPRISE and THEODORE ROOSEVELT, but also ships in the Adriatic that are part of our force there. Guided missile destroyers like USS GONZALEZ. Fast attack submarines like the USS NORFOLK. I cannot name every vessel involved, but you know how hard each ship, aviation squadron and sub is working for our united cause — along with every Army unit and every serviceman and woman from base personnel up to the commanders of the operation.

I’d like to add how impressed I have been by the seamless cooperation of the NATO nations. Some of our allies are front-line states next to the fighting, like Greece and Turkey. Others are further away away, like Iceland, Luxembourg, and the new NATO allies of Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic. But every nation has offered it support in one way or another. From the eastern Pacific to eastern Europe, our alliance is standing strong.

I would also like to single out a special group of people ... the families of the men and women serving in the operation. You, too, serve our nation, in peacetime and in conflict — and you are always close to the front lines. No words of mine can fully express our gratitude. The newspapers have been showing pictures of families hugging before someone heads off to duty. But what you and I know is that these scenes happen all the time at Norfolk. It is part of the great sacrifice we ask you to make for our nation. You are working for peace every day of the year. I’m glad that email has made separation a little easier. But I know a computer screen and a mouse is no substitute for the person you’re missing — and I promise to do all I can to bring them home safe and sound.

I have always been moved by my visits to our troops stationed overseas, and I have tried to put into words how I feel about their service to this nation. Right now, as you are here missing your loved ones, they are missing you just as much. At Aviano, in Tuzla ... and in other places around the world, from the Sinai Desert to the DMZ in Korea to Soto Cano, Honduras, they are hard at work on the ground, in the air, and at sea. The end of the Cold War has not made the world any less dangerous. But you always do right by the American people.

And I want to make sure we do right by you. The more we ask of you, the greater our responsibility to give our troops the support and training and equipment you need to get the job
done and to come home to America, safe and sound. That means fair pay and decent housing. It means cutting-edge weaponry and training to match. Our new defense budget contains not only a substantial pay raise, but funding to make keep our readiness razor sharp. That is a common sense investment in America’s future. It is also our solemn obligation to you and to all those who accept danger and hardship on our behalf.

With the right support, I know you will help us meet all the challenges we face today, the way we met all the challenges of our past. Not far from here, the Battle of Yorktown was fought. Our political leaders declared independence in 1776 — but we achieved freedom when our armed forces and our French allies won it here in 1781. We achieved it again in the Civil War, fought all around these waters. We achieved it again when these great bases expanded in the 20th century as part of the worldwide fight against tyranny. We will never stop achieving freedom.

In April 1945, Franklin Roosevelt wrote his final speech, for a holiday honoring Virginia’s Thomas Jefferson. He did not live to give the speech, but it still speaks to us, brimming with confidence and clarity about America’s need to act in the world, and advising future generations about how best to avoid conflict:

“We, as Americans, do not choose to deny our responsibility. Nor do we intend to abandon our determination that, within the lives of our children and our children’s children, there will not be a third world war. We seek peace — enduring peace. More than an end to war, we want an end to the beginnings of all wars ....” Today, our armed forces are trying to end a war that has begun in Europe, and prevent the larger war that would begin if we did not act.

I do not think Roosevelt or his generation would have turned away from the challenge we face today. I know that we will not turn away from their example. For those of you serving America ... for those of you thinking of your loved ones ... for all people who care about building peace ... thank you for all you have done to make this a safer world.

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146. *Postwar Expanding Economy and Full Employment*

... productive than we have ever had before. You know how completely I agree. I want you to know also how much I appreciate the agreement of such Americans as compose your board.

We have been fortunate in finding in Justice Byrnes and Judge Vinson public servants equal to our great tasks. They emphasize, as do the members of your board, that there has been no shrinkage in the stature and the spirit of the American. Indeed, I am sure that Americans who have done so much in the winning of the war have no doubt that we can give victory the rich meaning of full employment in the United States and of assistance to other Nations in their reconstruction. Victory, without the use for abundance of the powers we have developed in production for war, would be, indeed, a hollow victory. We must plan security and abundance together. Such a stronger American economy will be essential to carry out the responsibilities that lie in plans made at Bretton Woods, Hot Springs, and Dumbarton Oaks. Similarly, abundance at home depends upon organization for order and security in the world.

America is fortunate to have such a reaffirmation of the uninterrupted tradition of an advancing America enunciated by men who represent great organizations of labor, industry, and agriculture working together with others who represent the public. As such Americans chosen by the President and confirmed by the Senate, you have well stated the program by which we fight a victorious war and seek a meaningful peace.

Hon. O. Max Gardner,
Chairman, Advisory Board,
Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion,
Washington, D. C.

147. *Statement on the Anniversary of the Attacks on Norway and Denmark*

April 9, 1945

Today marks the anniversary of the infamous and ruthless attack on Denmark and Norway. For five long years the Danish and Norwegian peoples have suffered under the heel of the Nazi oppressor. Yet never has their courage lagged. Never have they ceased to resist. Very soon their period of martyrdom will be ended. Then, as the peoples of Denmark and Norway have fought as allies in the common struggle against the forces of aggression, so will they work with the other like-minded Nations to insure the maintenance of world peace and security.


Americans are gathered together this evening in communities all over the country to pay tribute to the living memory of Thomas Jefferson — one of the greatest of all democrats; and I want to make it clear that I am spelling that word "democrat" with a small d.

I wish I had the power, just for this evening, to be present at all of these gatherings.

In this historic year, more than ever before, we do well to consider the character of Thomas Jefferson as an American citizen of the world.
148. Undelivered Address for Jefferson Day

As Minister to France, then as our first Secretary of State and as our third President, Jefferson was instrumental in the establishment of the United States as a vital factor in international affairs.

It was he who first sent our Navy into far-distant waters to defend our rights. And the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine was the logical development of Jefferson's far-seeing foreign policy.

Today this Nation which Jefferson helped so greatly to build is playing a tremendous part in the battle for the rights of man all over the world.

Today we are part of the vast Allied force—a force composed of flesh and blood and steel and spirit—which is today destroying the makers of war, the breeders of hatred, in Europe and in Asia.

In Jefferson's time our Navy consisted of only a handful of frigates headed by the gallant U.S.S. Constitution—Old Ironsides—but that tiny Navy taught Nations across the Atlantic that piracy in the Mediterranean—acts of aggression against peaceful commerce and the enslavement of their crews—was one of those things which, among neighbors, simply was not done.

Today we have learned in the agony of war that great power involves great responsibility. Today we can no more escape the consequences of German and Japanese aggression than could we avoid the consequences of attacks by the Barbary Corsairs a century and a half before.

We, as Americans, do not choose to deny our responsibility. Nor do we intend to abandon our determination that, within the lives of our children and our children's children, there will not be a third world war.

We seek peace—enduring peace. More than an end to war, we want an end to the beginnings of all wars—yes, an end to this brutal, inhuman, and thoroughly impractical method of settling the differences between governments.

The once powerful, malignant Nazi state is crumbling. The Japanese war lords are receiving, in their own homeland, the retribution for which they asked when they attacked Pearl Harbor.

But the mere conquest of our enemies is not enough. We must go on to do all in our power to conquer the doubts and the fears, the ignorance and the greed, which made this horror possible.

Thomas Jefferson, himself a distinguished scientist, once spoke of "the brotherly spirit of Science, which unites into one family all its votaries of whatever grade, and however widely dispersed throughout the different quarters of the globe."

Today, science has brought all the different quarters of the globe so close together that it is impossible to isolate them one from another.

Today we are faced with the preeminent fact that, if civilization is to survive, we must cultivate the science of human relationships—the ability of all peoples, of all kinds, to live together and work together, in the same world, at peace.

Let me assure you that my hand is the steadier for the work that is to be done, that I move more firmly into the task, knowing that you—millions and millions of you—are joined with me in the resolve to make this work endure.

The work, my friends, is peace. More than an end of this war—an end to the beginnings of all wars. Yes, an end, forever, to this impractical, unrealistic, settlement of the differences between governments by the mass killing of peoples.

Today, as we move against the terrible scourge of war—as we go forward toward the greatest contribution that any generation of human beings can make in this world—the contribution of lasting peace—I ask you to keep up your faith. I measure the sound, solid achievement that can be made at this time by the straight edge of your own confidence and your resolve. And to you, and to all Americans who dedicate themselves with us to the making of an abiding peace, I say:
I48. Undelivered Address for Jefferson Day.

The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith.

NOTE: This is the latest draft of the President's proposed speech. The last sentence was written into the typed draft in his own hand. The draft was not the final one; the preparation of the final draft was prevented by death.

The President died at 4:35 P.M. Eastern Standard Time, April 12, 1945, at Warm Springs, Georgia.

Facsimile of last page of the draft for address President Roosevelt planned to deliver on Jefferson Day, 1945. The President was working on this draft on the day before his death, and the last word he wrote for public utterance was the word “faith.”
... meet it without shrinking, twice often apprehend danger.

Writings Vol. 4 p. 316

... discharge of their Duty in time of reward, and fear of slavery and hope of reward) are in mind Soldiers; but the latter (fear adds the one from the other.

Writings Vol. 4 p. 316

but if he breaks his Ranks, and with Death by his own party, will the Man who thinks little of the present feelings regardless of

Writings Vol. 4 p. 316

... The usual time for exploits of this kind is a little before day for which reason a vigilant Officer is then more on the watch I therefore recommend a midnight hour ... A Dark Night and even a Rainy one if you can find the way, will contribute to your success.

To Anthony Wayne, July 10, 1776

Writings Vol. 15 p. 398

... The firmness requisite for the real business of fighting is only to be attained by a constant course of discipline and service. I have never yet been witness to a single instance that can justify a different opinion; and it is most earnestly to be wished the liberties of America may no longer be trusted in any material degree to so precarious a dependence.

To the President of Congress, September 15, 1780

Writings Vol. 20 p. 50

... I confess, I have felt myself greatly embarrassed with respect to a vigorous exercise of Military power. An ill placed humanity perhaps a reluc-

Writings Vol. 3 p. 431

To the President of Congress, September 15, 1780

Writings Vol. 20 p. 50

MILITARY POWER

Lives are determined to hand down to Posterity those just and invaluable Privileges, which they received from their Ancestors.

To Thomas Gage, August 20, 1775

Writings Vol. 3 p. 431

THE SOLDIER'S MOTTO

... Perseverance and spirit have done Wonders in all Ages.

To Philip Schuyler, August 20, 1775

Writings Vol. 3 p. 437

SPIES

... Single men in the night will be more likely to ascertain facts than the best glasses in the day.

To Anthony Wayne, July 10, 1779

Writings Vol. 15 p. 397

SURPRISALS OF THE ENEMY

... The usual time for exploits of this kind is a little before day for which reason a vigilant Officer is then more on the watch I therefore recommend a midnight hour ... A Dark Night and even a Rainy one if you can find the way, will contribute to your success.

To Anthony Wayne, July 10, 1776

Writings Vol. 15 p. 398

REGULAR TROOPS, SUPERIOR TO MILITIA

... Regular Troops alone are equal to the exigencies of modern war, as well for defence, as offence, and whenever a substitute is attempted it must prove illusory and ruinous.

To the President of Congress, September 15, 1780

Writings Vol. 20 p. 49

... No Militia will ever acquire the habits necessary to resist a regular force.

To the President of Congress, September 15, 1780

Writings Vol. 20 p. 50

SOURCES

... The firmness requisite for the real business of fighting is only to be attained by a constant course of discipline and service. I have never yet been witness to a single instance that can justify a different opinion; and it is most earnestly to be wished the liberties of America may no longer be trusted in any material degree to so precarious a dependence.

To the President of Congress, September 15, 1780

Writings Vol. 20 p. 50

MILITARY POWER
72. Six Hundred and Sixty-fourth Press Conference

72 (The Six Hundred and Sixty-fourth Press Conference. Held During a Tour of Inspection of Certain Defense Facilities. July 29, 1940

(WPA labor at the navy yards — Expanded construction facilities — Housing needs for defense workers — Adequacy of defenses.)

(The President spoke extemporaneously as follows, following his disembarkation at Norfolk Navy Yard, 10:10 A.M.)

I am delighted to come back to Norfolk after a great many years, to see the splendid work being done, not only to facilitate new construction but also repair work.

I am very much reminded of 1917 and 1918 when this was one of the most important yards we had in the Navy.

(The following Press Conference took place just before leaving the Norfolk Navy Yard, at 10:30 A.M. Admiral Manly H. Simons, Commandant of the Navy Yard, took part in this Conference.)

THE PRESIDENT: Admiral [Admiral Simons], stand right out here and tell the newspapermen what has been happening here.

ADMIRAL SIMONS: I think most of them have that broadcast. [Referring to the copy of his report to the President with respect to the activities of the Norfolk Navy Yard.]

THE PRESIDENT: But they haven't what I want, quite. I will just ask you some questions:

How many men do you have in the Yard, all told?

ADMIRAL SIMONS: Twelve thousand.

THE PRESIDENT: How many did you have a year ago?

ADMIRAL SIMONS: Last September we had seventy-six hundred.

THE PRESIDENT: On construction work, we are building the Alabama, the first battleship to be built at this Yard.

ADMIRAL SIMONS: No, sir; the first modern battleship. The old Texas was built at this Yard.

THE PRESIDENT: That was almost before you and I were born.

ADMIRAL SIMONS: Yes, sir; that was in the gay nineties, sir.
No one doubts... we are dreamers and doers.

The military always tries to make our loftiest dreams achievable, attainable.

We signed our independence in Phila in 1776.
We achieved it or

We re-achieved it at Hampton Roads in 1861.

YIM, USS Enterprise & Yorktown.

After leaving the Navy.

The Army represents U.S. helps us.

In any email.

Each century determined by the one before it.