

# U.S. Support for Democracy In Serbia and Montenegro

*Secretary Albright*

*Remarks at U.S.-EU-Serbian Opposition Meeting, Berlin,  
Germany, December 17, 1999.*

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My EU colleagues, Foreign Minister Halonen, Foreign Minister Gama, Commissioners Solana and Patten, and distinguished representatives of the Yugoslav people: It is my hope that historians will look back upon this meeting as a turning point in the quest of the people of Serbia and Montenegro to live in freedom and without fear.

Today, the representatives of the world's leading democracies come together to express solidarity with the leading democrats of Yugoslavia. In response to your call, we are here to support democratic change in Serbia and bolster democratic forces throughout the FRY. We want to help all the people of your country to have the opportunity to express their views openly and choose their leaders fairly.

Milosevic does not want you to exercise your rights. Week after week, he uses the blunt instrument of force to muzzle critics and harass you, because you are brave enough to demand a voice in determining your nation's destiny. He is perpetrating what Vuk Draskovic has referred to, based on his personal experience, as "state terrorism." And his repression is felt throughout the country, including Vojvodina and Sanjak.

Today, Milosevic's only ally is fear. The contrast could not be greater, for you, as democratic leaders, offer hope. You offer a future for Yugoslavia as a proud and prosperous partner within a strong and stable Europe.

Our purpose this afternoon is to discuss concrete steps toward creating such a future.

**First**, we must continue to help the most vulnerable. To this end, America will strive to diversify the channels by which we and our partners provide assistance. Last year, we gave \$25 million in humanitarian aid to Serbia through international organizations. We are developing plans for additional amounts this year and will work with you to establish more effective means for its delivery.

**Second**, we must support the construction of democratic institutions, including independent media. After all, democracies do not descend from the sky; they build from the ground up. And it is only right that those who live in freedom help those who seek to create the conditions for freedom in their own lands. That is why the United States will double its democratization assistance to Serbs this year and why we pledge to get that assistance to you without unnecessary delay.

**Third**, we must prepare now for economic recovery and reform in a democratic Yugoslavia. We must consider carefully the changes and initiatives required for your nation

## MESSAGE TO OUR READERS

The United States Department of State Dispatch has provided key speeches and testimony by senior State Department officials as well as current U.S. treaty actions since 1990. However, since all speeches, briefings, and testimony from State Department officials and the current U.S. treaty actions are available on the Department's web site at [www.state.gov](http://www.state.gov) upon release, hard copy distribution of this publication will end with this issue.

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truly to join Europe. And in Washington, we will be consulting with Congress about the full range of assistance we could provide.

**Fourth**, we will continue to support Montenegro's democratic and free market reforms as a model and stimulus for similar reforms throughout Yugoslavia. Last year, the United States provided \$55 million in economic and other assistance to Montenegro. We are working with the EU to sustain vitally needed support into the next century.

**Fifth**, we will support your regular, appropriate participation in international events. We value your voice, because the people you represent deserve a place at the table, and because we cannot fulfill our vision of a Europe whole and free without the full participation of a democratic Yugoslavia.

**Finally**, we must come together around common principles, procedures, and goals. This is important for

those outside trying to help; it is doubly important for those on the inside struggling for change, because there is much truth in the ancient Greek admonition "United we stand, divided we fall."

In days to come, Milosevic would have no greater friend than your division and no greater fear than your unity. But what does unity require? It demands putting aside personal differences and always respecting democratic principles and human rights. It requires understanding that the international community is not interested in supporting one of you in preference to another; we want to help all of you against the forces of repression that have been dragging Serbia down and holding it back.

Most immediately, it requires that you come together around a practical strategy aimed at securing early

elections under fair conditions. As you have agreed, this is the most promising path to democratic change.

As we go forward, we should pay tribute to the important role being played by Montenegro in the effort to build a free and democratic Yugoslavia. President Djukanovic has earned the world's admiration and respect for his courage in protecting the rights and interests of his people despite threats and harassment from Belgrade.

Although I have met with a number of you before, I especially welcome the opportunity to exchange thoughts with you in the context of this historic dialogue. Today, together, we take another step forward in showing the world that the citizens of Serbia and Montenegro desire democracy, and in showing you that the world is prepared to help as you strive fully to achieve it.

Thank you, and I look forward to hearing your views. ■

# Continuing the Fight for Human Rights In the 21st Century

*Secretary Albright*

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*Statement on U.S. Commemoration of Human Rights Day,  
Washington, DC, December 10, 1999.*

Today, December 10, is Human Rights Day, the 51st anniversary of the Proclamation by the United Nations General Assembly of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We mark this, the last Human Rights Day of the century, knowing that it is a better day, in large part because we have learned so many important lessons.

In Kosovo, we learned that the international community can come together to prevent wholesale human rights abuses. In East Timor, we learned that concerted action by the United Nations can prevent military units from overturning the will of a people. In Indonesia, Nigeria, and elsewhere, we learned that no nation, no religion, no culture is immune to democratic values. We have confirmed that international consensus is possible on worker rights issues when the United States is prepared to assume a leadership role, as it did in pressing for unanimous passage of the ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labor in June of this year.

There have been other lessons as well. We have learned that while there is no single model for democracy, basic human rights are universal. What a country does to people within its own borders is not solely its own business.

Everyone, whether they are Baha'i, Buddhist, Christian, Hindu, Muslim, Jewish, or of another faith, suffer equally when they are made to disappear, killed, or locked away for their beliefs.

So while we embrace the spread of human rights around the world and celebrate the emergence of new democracies, there are too many places where human rights and democracy are still elusive. In Belarus, the Lukashenko regime has headed deeper into authoritarianism, restricting its citizens' right to freedom of opinion, assembly, and expression. In Burma and Cuba, failing regimes bent on self-preservation continue to subject their citizens to arbitrary arrest and detention for daring to speak openly of the shortcomings of despotic rule. The tragic events in Kosovo and East Timor again demonstrate the need to protect life, liberty, and security by preventing mass atrocities.

In China, crackdowns on the China Democracy Party and Falun Gong, and continuing repression of Tibetan Buddhists and non-government-sanctioned religious groups, have demonstrated that the government still fails to recognize that everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion, as well as the right to freedom of peaceful assembly

and association. In Iraq, Saddam Hussein's regime continues to deny the Iraqi people virtually every right guaranteed by the Declaration. In Sudan, the government and rebels continue to pursue without remorse an endless civil war that has claimed the lives of nearly 2 million Sudanese and internally displaced 4 million others. In Afghanistan, the Taliban continue their oppression of women, denying them all the rights and freedoms set forth in the Declaration solely because of gender.

And in Chechnya, Russia, innocent people face bombardment as a result of military actions by all parties to the conflict. We remain deeply disturbed by the Russian Government's threat to engage in indiscriminate and disproportionate bombardment of Grozny, which reflects a fundamental disregard for the Declaration's promise that everyone has the right to dignity, to security, and to life and liberty.

So even as this December 10th marks a better day, we know that there is still much to do. The United States remains determined to work with all those who love freedom to ensure that the next century will see continued progress in the promotion of democracy and respect for human dignity and rights. ■

# Slovakia's Role in an Integrated Europe

*Secretary Albright*

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*Remarks at Comenius University, Bratislava, Slovakia,  
November 22, 1999.*

Thank you, Svorad Trnovec. And thank you, Rector Devinsky, Mr. Vice Rector Mraz and Mrs. Kvestor Dobrikova. This is my second visit to Comenius University, and I am very pleased to have been invited back. It makes coming to Slovakia feel even more like coming home.

Czech is my mother tongue, of course, and Prague is where I was born. Since then, I have been a European and an American, a student and a teacher, a refugee and a Secretary of State. Life is full of surprises. But when I was a child, I was a Czechoslovak. And when I come to Bratislava, with the sounds and sights I remember from childhood, I know that part of me will always be a Czechoslovak.

However, I ask your indulgence as I give the rest of my speech in English. As Alexander Dubcek told a crowd of half a million demonstrators in Prague just 10 years ago: "What matters is not how you speak but what you say." Ten years ago, students provided the spark that relit freedom's flame from Karlovy Vary to the Carpathian Mountains. They demanded liberty and dared to write freely in underground newspapers.

They demanded official accountability and denounced government brutality. They marched by the thousands, here in Bratislava, and their

appearance on national television inspired millions who hardly dared believe that change would come—and they won.

But what we could not know 10 years ago was whether that hope could endure and would ripen into stable democracy and lasting peace. That process has not been easy anywhere in central Europe. And I know many Slovaks feel that the hopes of 1989 have already been betrayed; that the freedom you gained has been left incomplete and purchased at too high a cost; and that the virtues of democracy have been overwhelmed by the temptation of corruption and the misuse of power.

I hope and believe that you are young enough to know better. After all, young Slovaks led the way in forcing democratic change in 1989 and 1998. Because your predecessors led the fight for democracy, a world of new possibilities is open for you. In 1998, you used them to make your voices heard. Young people ran campaigns, monitored polling places, and most important, voted—80% of Slovakia's eligible first-time voters participated. And because you defended democracy, you will come of age with a gift your parents did not—freedom.

I will not tell you to be patient, for I am not sure that patience is always a virtue. If Americans had always been

patient, we might never have had a civil rights movement or a woman Secretary of State. And if Slovaks had been patient 10 years ago, Comenius University might still have a department of Marxism-Leninism in place of your new business school.

I will not tell you to be content, for you have much work ahead of you. Slovakia lost a great deal of ground—first to communism and underdevelopment and then to greed and misrule. And like all the countries of this region, Slovakia lost a generation—to disaster and despair. The energy of young people—your vision and your faith—are the most important resources your nation possesses.

But I will tell you that you are not alone. I am proud that America has taken the lead, with our European partners, in helping the people of central Europe to integrate, in fact, into the community of freedom you never left in spirit. And it has been a special pleasure for me to serve first as America's ambassador to the United Nations, and then as Secretary of State, during this time of transition to democracy.

Our goal is to fulfill the elusive dream of a Europe wholly at peace and fully free. To that end, we have enlarged NATO and created the Partnership for Peace. We have encouraged

the European Union to adapt and take in new members as well. And we have worked to help the states of central Europe make the difficult transition away from communism. We have fought for peace and against autocracy and ethnic hatred in Bosnia and Kosovo.

Slovakia is an important partner in those efforts—and a full and welcome member of the community of democratic nations. The United States supports Slovakia's desire to become a member of NATO. We believe that NATO is the best guarantor of a peaceful, prosperous, and undivided Europe. And we believe Slovakia has much to contribute to NATO and much to gain from NATO membership.

NATO must set its standards high to remain cohesive and strong. But we have also heightened our efforts to help you meet NATO's standards. And that is why, at NATO's Washington summit, we established a clear road map—the membership action plan—to help European democracies prepare for membership.

By any measure, Slovakia is making good progress along that road. Slovakia has already distinguished itself as an active member of NATO's Partnership for Peace. And the United States is committed to helping Slovakia build its qualifications for membership, through NATO consultations and direct military-to-military support.

Of course, NATO is only one of the institutions that knit this continent together. We firmly support Slovakia's membership in the European Union. Slovakia is likely to be invited to begin accession negotiations at next month's EU summit, and for this Prime Minister Dzurinda and his government deserve tremendous credit. As the European Commission put it, the Dzurinda government has presented, and I quote: "courageous policy decisions and an impressive reform agenda."

Your determination to resolve ethnic disputes, fight discrimination, and promote tolerance has been praised across Europe. There is more to be done to secure the rule of law and safeguard the rights of minorities, especially the Roma. But these are challenges every nation, including my own, must wrestle with again and again. Democracy is always and everywhere a work in progress, as we learn to be guided by what our President Lincoln called "the better angels of our nature" and not the demons of nationalism and extremism that haunt us all.

The United States has helped support the development of Slovak civil society and Slovakia's thriving community of non-governmental organizations. Today, Slovakia needs less help from the outside, but we continue to support efforts to combat corruption and

Already, your economy has begun to grow again, inflation is under control, and investors are showing renewed interest. But in the meantime, you are being asked to make difficult sacrifices. Economic problems are affecting your friends and families—and even this university. And the better times you were promised may seem very far away.

But remember that we're talking about your future: your freedom to choose your own job, to live where you like, to make trips, and to see the movies and think the thoughts that you please; your prospects in the global economy; your chance at a place in Europe's mainstream.

And I hope you agree that such a future is worth struggling for. Already, Slovaks are doing your part—and more—to support others along the path to freedom.

*"Slovakia has already distinguished itself as an active member of NATO's Partnership for Peace. And the United States is committed to helping Slovakia build its qualifications for membership, through NATO consultations and direct military-to-military support."*

improve the business climate. And at your government's request, we are increasing our support for legal and financial reform.

Prime Minister Dzurinda and his government face an equally daunting challenge in economic policy—creating jobs, fighting corruption, and making sure the benefits of growth are widely shared. Slovakia also needs to establish the strong laws and fair practices that will encourage foreign investment, for there is no doubt that private investment and commerce will be the main engine of growth in the century ahead. And there is no reason Slovakia, with its central location and well-educated people, shouldn't attract your fair share—and then some.

Last week in Istanbul, I had the chance to work with Jan Kubis, the Slovak diplomat who is doing an outstanding job as Secretary General of the OSCE. Today I will thank Foreign Minister Kukan for his role as United Nations special envoy in Kosovo. And I have congratulated President Schuster and Prime Minister Dzurinda on the performance of Slovak soldiers in peacekeeping operations in Bosnia, Eastern Slavonia, Albania, and Kosovo.

They have shown themselves to be worthy partners for NATO, and they have done their country proud. I know that many Slovaks were disturbed by

NATO's decision to use force to end Milosevic's murderous assault on Kosovo. And I thank Slovakia for standing with NATO and with Europe. Together, we accomplished two very important things. We made it clear that ethnic cleansing and the politics of hate have no place in the United Europe we are building. And we confirmed that NATO and the EU and our partners on this continent can and will act together for the common good.

Just as there is no longer a division between Berlin and Warsaw—or for that matter, between Bratislava and Prague—we must never allow Europe to be divided into zones of freedom and terror again.

To that end, we must now support the people of Yugoslavia as they seek to end Milosevic's rule and the hate, and terror, and isolation it has brought them. I thank those in Slovakia, both in the government and in civil society, who are offering assistance and ideas to Yugoslavia's young democrats. Ten years ago, we in the West knew beyond a doubt that the peoples of central Europe were blessed with extraordinary courage and dignity. We knew we were witnessing events that would never be forgotten—as long as men and women love liberty. And we lived again the hope that our fore-

bears—yours and mine—shared 80 years ago—the hopes of Wilson and Osusky and Masaryk.

Their dream of universal democracy was shattered by the illusion that the people of Paris and London and New York could simply go on with their lives while the people of central Europe were robbed of their freedom, crushed by tyrants, and sent to death in boxcars.

After World War II, it was Stalin's armies that crushed our dreams underfoot. And for the next 50 years, one-half of Europe lived in subjugation; the other half in fear. We were separated by concrete and barbed wire—and also by hatred and lies.

And just as students and young people have taken the lead in ending communism, and fighting for democracy, it will be up to young people, on both sides of the Atlantic, to make sure that we are never separated again, and that Slovakia maintains the place that destiny meant for you—at Europe's heart.

I believe that your generation will meet the test, for you have learned from your parents that freedom has a price—and have shown that you are willing to pay it.

You have found that democracy is a school, and you are not just learning its lessons, but teaching them. You have discovered a simple truth: that all work that is worth anything is done in faith. I don't mean a blind faith that everything is going to turn out all right; or, as one student leader of 1989 said recently, that Slovakia would turn into Switzerland overnight.

I mean faith that the future can—and must—be better than the past; confidence that men and women working together can change the world; and the certainty that when they do, they will explode outward the limits of possibility not just for themselves but for human beings everywhere on earth.

And I mean faith that a democratic Slovakia, anchored in European institutions, will have before it a boundless future; and that you have the power and potential to drive your nation toward that goal.

In my lifetime, I have seen and done things I could hardly have dreamed of when I was young. But as much as anything, I cherish the fact that I'm alive now to see what a generation given its freedom in central Europe will do. And I will do my very best to support you in every way I can.

Thank you very much. ■

# U.S. Perspective on the WTO Ministerial Meeting

*Alan Larson*

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*Statement by Acting Under Secretary for Economic, Business, and Agricultural Affairs, Washington, DC, November 22, 1999.*

It'll be just over a week from now that the Seattle World Trade Ministerial will begin. This afternoon I'd like to highlight briefly the perspective of the United States Government on this very important meeting.

I think the starting point is that world trade has been a real driver of growth and prosperity ever since the end of World War II. This has been facilitated by a series of trade negotiations that have opened markets around the world. Certainly, we in the United States realize we've benefited greatly from this market-opening exercise, but we also know that hundreds of millions of people all around the world have been lifted out of poverty and have joined the middle class in part because of the success in opening up international trade.

At the Seattle WTO meeting, we intend to launch a new round of trade negotiations that can extend and expand this process we've all enjoyed since the end of World War II. In particular, the United States hopes to pursue a three-part agenda in Seattle.

The **first** is to make progress in identifying a market-opening agenda for agriculture, for services, and for manufactured goods.

**Second**, we want to make sure that the WTO itself is transformed in a way that makes it more transparent and accountable and in a way that makes sure that the benefits of trade liberalization are broadly shared around the world and within countries.

And, **third**, we hope that we can launch at Seattle some very specific initiatives that would take place there to mark the start of the round.

To elaborate briefly on these, with respect to the first broad area, identifying a market-opening agenda, in agriculture, we believe that thorough reform is at the heart of our own goals. We're seeking to eliminate export subsidies, to substantially reduce trade-distorting domestic supports, and to expand access through tariff cuts and better administration of tariff rate quotas.

In the services area, we would like to open a broad range of sectors to competition, including distribution, finance, telecommunications, audiovisual and environmental services, as well as the professions and construction. Besides these market-access commitments, we hope that we will be able to clarify existing commitments and pursue, to the extent needed, suitable guidelines for heavily regulated sectors, as we did in the case of the basic agreement on telecommunications.

In the area of industrial goods and products, Seattle should set the stage for negotiations aimed at reducing tariffs and non-tariff barriers, for developing new sectoral agreements and for increasing participation of countries in the existing agreements. This would include such things as zero-for-zero tariff cuts and tariff harmonization.

We do think that there are other topics that will need to be addressed as well, including trade facilitation, which is very important and very closely related to market access.

In terms of the second broad area that I mentioned, changing the institutional nature of the WTO itself, we believe that it's very important that the WTO be reformed to make sure that it is fully responsive to the new challenges that the world faces and that it works in a way that creates prosperity for all of our citizens. We have submitted, for example, a proposal for improving transparency in the WTO.

We also want to make sure that the developing countries are equipped to take full advantage of the opportunities that trade liberalization creates. And that means, in part, enhanced technical assistance to help them meet their obligations but also seize the opportunities. The United States has a number of

bilateral programs in this regard, and we have been working with a number of countries, including Lesotho, Nigeria, Senegal, Zambia, and Bangladesh, to submit a joint proposal to the WTO on technical assistance and capacity building.

Now, there are two other issues that are very important to the United States in this area of reforming the WTO. One is making sure that the WTO is responsive to the interests of working people around the world. We have called for a working group on trade and labor. We believe that such a working group could build on the principles set forth at the Singapore ministerial. We believe that the credibility of the WTO needs to be strengthened by demonstrating a commitment to examine trade-related labor issues.

The second topic that we think needs to be addressed is the relationship of trade and the environment. Here, one of our objectives is to find

win-win strategies—strategies that can advance trade objectives at the same time as they advance environmental objectives. For our own part, we have agreed—the President has decided, in fact—that we will do a written review of the likely environmental consequences of the round. This the President announced in an executive order on November 16th.

Now, the third broad area that I mentioned is the set of initiatives that could be launched at Seattle itself. Here we would like to see an agreement on transparency in government procurement, which would create new opportunities for companies that are bidding on government contracts and would facilitate good governance by ensuring that there is a basic standard of openness and transparency in the way that governments go about procuring goods and services.

A second key goal for us at Seattle is to get agreement on the extension of a moratorium on duties on electronic

commerce. A third deliverable at Seattle could be ratification of the results of an ongoing review of the dispute settlement understanding, the so-called DSU.

And finally, we hope that countries will agree at Seattle to the adoption of what's called ITA-2—the new Information Technology Agreement, Part Two. This is really an agreement to eliminate duties on those goods that are so important to information technology. This is a quick overview of some of the objectives that my government has.

I would end by just saying that we recognize that, as the host of this meeting, we have some responsibilities to work with other countries to find an agenda that can command the support of all. And we are going to be working very hard with all of the delegates at Seattle to get a successful launch of the new round. As I said at the beginning, I think this is very important in order to extend and expand this record of prosperity that we have enjoyed over the last 50 years. ■





# TREATY ACTIONS

## MULTILATERAL

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### Civil Aviation

Protocol on the authentic quadrilingual text of the convention on international civil aviation (Chicago, 1944), with annex. Done at Montreal September 30, 1977. Treaty Doc. Ex. O, 96th Cong., 1st Sess. Entry into force of the Protocol: September 16, 1999

Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Done at New York October 26, 1956. Entered into force July 29, 1957.  
TIAS 3873; 276 UNTS 3; 8 UST 1093.

*Acceptance:* Angola, November 9, 1999

## BILATERAL

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### Bosnia and Herzegovina

Agreement regarding the consolidation, reduction and rescheduling of certain debts owed to, guaranteed by, or insured by the United States Government and its agencies, with annexes. Signed at Sarajevo August 19, 1999. Entered into force October 21, 1999.

### Brazil

Arrangement for the exchange of technical information and cooperation in [nuclear] regulatory and safety research matters, with addenda. Signed at Vienna September 30, 1999. Entered into force September 30, 1999.

### Colombia

Agreement regarding mutual [customs] assistance. Signed at Miami September 21, 1999. Entered into force September 21, 1999.

### Costa Rica

Air transport agreement, with annexes. Signed at San Jose May 8, 1997. Entered into force October 15, 1999.

### Honduras

Agreement regarding the reduction, consolidation, and rescheduling of certain debts owed to, guaranteed by, or insured by the United States Government and its agencies, with annexes. Signed at Tegucigalpa August 23, 1999. Entered into force September 27, 1999.

### Indonesia

Agreement regarding the consolidation and rescheduling of certain debts owed to, guaranteed by, or insured by the United States Government and its agencies, with annexes. Signed at Washington September 1, 1999. Entered into force October 22, 1999.

### Italy

Arrangement for the exchange of technical information and cooperation in nuclear safety matters, with addendum. Signed at Vienna September 28, 1999. Entered into force September 28, 1999.

### Japan

Agreement concerning the acquisition by the Government of Japan of remote sensing parts and components and related information for the indigenous development of an Information Gathering Satellite System. Effected by exchange of notes at Tokyo September 29, 1999. Entered into force September 29, 1999.

Agreement concerning cooperation on anticompetitive activities. Signed at Washington October 7, 1999. Entered into force October 7, 1999.

### Mozambique

Investment incentive agreement. Signed at Maputo September 23, 1999. Entered into force September 23, 1999.

### Spain

Agreement extending the agreement of January 29, 1964, as amended and extended (TIAS 5533, 5896, 10717; 15 UST 153, 16 UST 1710), for a tracking and data acquisition station. Effected by exchange of notes at Madrid January 29, 1999. Entered into force October 19, 1999.

### United Kingdom

Memorandum of understanding for the Joint Anti-Armor Weapon System (JAAWS) Project. Signed at Quantico and Abbey Wood September 20 and October 1, 1999. Entered into force October 1, 1999. ■